CHAPTER XIII.

MILLARD FILLMORE.


MILLARD FILLMORE, the thirteenth President of the United States, was born at Summer Hill, Cayuga County, N. Y., on the 7th of January, 1800. His father was a farmer, and, owing to mis-
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sérial loveliness, sweetness of disposition, graceful manners, and exquisite sensibilities. She died in 1831; having lived to see her son a young man of distinguished promise, though she was not permitted to witness the high dignity which he finally attained.

In consequence of the secluded home and limited means of his father, Millard enjoyed but slender advantages for education in his early years. The common schools, which he occasionally attended, were very imperfect institutions; and books were scarce and expensive. There was nothing then in his character to indicate the brilliant career upon which he was about to enter. He was a plain farmer's boy; intelligent, good-looking, kind-hearted. The sacred influences of home had taught him to revere the Bible, and had laid the foundations of an upright character. When fourteen years of age, his father sent him some hundred miles from home, to the then wilds of Livingston County, to learn the trade of a clothier. Near the mill there was a small village, where some enterprising man had commenced the collection of a village library. This proved an inestimable blessing to young Fillmore. His evenings were spent in reading. Soon every leisure moment was occupied with books. His thirst for knowledge became insatiate; and the selections which he made were continually more elevating and instructive. He read history, biography, oratory; and thus gradually there was enkindling in his heart a desire to be something more than a mere worker with his hands; and he was becoming, almost unknown to himself, a well-informed, educated man.

This intellectual culture of necessity pervaded his whole being. It beamed forth from his countenance; it inspired his words; it placed its impress of dignity and refinement upon his manners. The young clothier had now attained the age of nineteen years, and was of fine personal appearance and of gentlemanly demeanor. It so happened that there was a gentleman in the neighborhood of ample pecuniary means and of benevolence,—Judge Walter Wood,—who was struck with the prepossessing appearance of young Fillmore. He made his acquaintance, and was so much impressed with his ability and attainments, that he advised him to abandon his trade, and devote himself to the study of the law. The young man replied that he had no means of his own, no friends to help him, and that his previous education had been very imperfect. But Judge Wood had so much confidence in him that he kindly offered
to take him into his own office, and to loan him such money as he
needed. Most gratefully the generous offer was accepted.

There is in many minds a strange delusion about a collegiate
education. A young man is supposed to be liberally educated if
he has graduated at some college. But many a boy loiters through
university halls, and then enters a law office, who is by no means
as well prepared to prosecute his legal studies as was Millard
Fillmore when he graduated at the clothing-mill at the end of four
years of manual labor, during which every leisure moment had been
devoted to intense mental culture.

Young Fillmore was now established in the law office. The
purity of his character, the ardor of his zeal, his physical health,
and his native abilities, all combined to bear him triumphantly
forward in his studies. That he might not be burdened with debt,
and that he might not bear too heavily on the generosity of his
benefactor, he, during the winter months, taught school, and, in
various other ways, helped himself along. After spending two
years in this retired country village, he went to the city of Buffalo,
and entered a law office there, where he could enjoy the highest
advantages. Here, for two years more, he pressed onward in his
studies with untiring zeal, at the same time supporting himself
mainly by teaching.

In 1823, when twenty-three years of age, he was admitted to the
Court of Common Pleas. He then went to the beautiful little
village of Aurora, situated on the eastern banks of Cayuga Lake,
and commenced the practice of the law. In this secluded, peaceful
region, his practice, of course, was limited, and there was no oppor-
tunity for a sudden rise in fortune or in fame. Here, in the year
1826, he married a lady of great moral worth, and one capable of
adorning any station she might be called to fill,—Miss Abigail
Powers, daughter of Rev. Lemuel Powers. In this quiet home of
rural peace and loveliness, Mr. Fillmore continued to devote himself
to juridical studies, and to the fundamental principles of law, as if
he had been conscious of the exalted destiny which was before him.
Probably no portion of his life was more happy than these serene,
untroubled hours.

But true merit cannot long be concealed. His elevation of char-
acter, his untiring industry, his legal acquirements, and his skill as
an advocate, gradually attracted attention, and he was invited to
enter into partnership, under highly advantageous circumstances, with an elder member of the bar in Buffalo. Just before removing to Buffalo, in 1829, he took his seat in the House of Assembly of the State of New York, as representative from Erie County. Though he had never taken a very active part in politics, his vote and his sympathies were with the Whig party. The State was then Democratic, and he found himself in a helpless minority in the legislature; still the testimony comes from all parties, that his courtesy, ability, and integrity won, to a very unusual degree, the respect of his associates. To the important bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt he gave his earnest and eloquent cooperation, speaking upon the subject with convincing power.

The state Legislature is not unfrequently the entrance-door to the national Congress. After discharging, with great acceptance to his Whig constituents, his responsibilities in the House of Assembly for three years, he was, in the autumn of 1832, elected to a seat in the United States Congress. He entered that troubled arena in some of the most tumultuous hours of our national history. The great conflict respecting the National Bank, and the removal of the deposits, was then raging. Experienced leaders, veterans in congressional battles, led the contending hosts. There was but little opportunity for a new-comer to distinguish himself. In this battle of the giants Mr. Fillmore could do but little more than look on, study the scene, garner wisdom, watch his opportunity, and cast his silent vote.

His term of two years closed, and he returned to his profession, which he pursued with increasing reputation and success. After the lapse of two years he again became a candidate for Congress, was re-elected, and took his seat in 1837. His past experience as a representative gave him strength and confidence. The first term of service in Congress to any man can be but little more than an introduction. He was now prepared for active duty. All his energies were brought to bear upon the public good. Every measure received his impress. The industry and the intensity with which he applied himself to his congressional duties were characteristic of the man, and have, perhaps, never been surpassed.

His reputation now began to be national. The labors which devolved upon him were more arduous than can well be conceived of by one who has not been in the same situation. To draft resolutions in the committee-room, and then to defend them against the
most skillful opponents on the floor of the house, requires readiness
of mind, mental resources, and skill in debate, such as few possess.
Weary with these exhausting labors, and pressed by the claims of
his private affairs, Mr. Fillmore, just before the close of the session,
wrote a letter to his constituents, declining to be a candidate for re-
election. Notwithstanding this communication, his friends met in
convention, and unanimously, and by acclamation, renominated him,
with the most earnest expression of their desire that he would com-
ply with their wishes. Though greatly gratified by this proof of
their appreciation of his labors, he adhered to his resolve; and, at
the close of the term for which he was elected, he returned to his
home, rejoicing at his release from the agitating cares of official life.

Mr. Fillmore was now a man of wide repute, and his popularity
filled the State. The lines between the two parties, the Whig and
Democratic, were strongly drawn; and the issues involved excited
the community to the highest degree. The Whig party brought
forward Mr. Fillmore as the strongest candidate whom they could
present for the office of governor. The canvass was one of the
most exciting which had ever agitated the State, and the Whig
party was signally defeated. In the year 1847 he was elected, by
a very great majority, to the very important office of comptroller of
the State. Many who were not with him in political principles
gave him their vote, from their conviction of his eminent fitness for
that office.

In entering upon the responsible duties which this situation de-
manded, it was necessary for him to abandon his profession, and,
sundering those social ties which bound him to his numerous friends
in Buffalo, to remove to the city of Albany. It was universally ad-
mitted that the duties of this office were never more faithfully dis-
charged.

Mr. Fillmore had attained the age of forty-seven years. His
labors at the bar, in the Legislature, in Congress, and as comptroller,
had given him very considerable fame. The Whigs were casting
about to find suitable candidates for President and Vice-President
at the approaching election. Far away, on the waters of the Rio
Grande, there was a rough old soldier, who had fought one or two
successful battles with the Mexicans, which had caused his name to
be proclaimed in trumpet-tones all over the land. He was an un-
polished, unlettered man, entirely inexperienced in all statesmanlike
accomplishments; but he was a man of firmness, of uncompromising integrity, and of sound common sense and practical wisdom. He was an available man; for "Palo Alto" and "Resaca de la Palma" would ring pleasantly upon the popular ear, and catch the popular vote. But it was necessary to associate with him on the same ticket some man of reputation as a statesman, and in whose intellectual powers and varied experience the community might repose confidence.

Under the influence of these considerations, the names of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore became the rallying-cry of the Whigs as their candidates for President and Vice-President. The Whig ticket was signally triumphant. On the 4th of March, 1849, General Taylor was inaugurated President, and Millard Fillmore Vice-President, of the United States. He was admirably adapted for this position. His tall, well-proportioned, manly form, and the natural dignity and grace of his bearing, gave him an imposing presence. His mind, originally of a high order, and disciplined by the laborious culture of years, enabled him promptly and successfully to meet every intellectual emergency. His countenance gave expression to those traits of firmness, gentleness, and conscientiousness which marked his character.

The stormy days of the republic were now at hand. The great question of slavery was permeating every subject which was brought before Congress, shaping the whole legislation of the country, arousing fiery debate, arraying parties in hostile lines in the Senate and in the House, and agitating as with earthquake-throes every city and village in the Union. It was evident that the strength of our institutions was soon to be severely tried. John C. Calhoun, when president of the Senate, had taken the position that he had no power to call a senator to order for words, however intemperate, when spoken in debate. Vice-President Fillmore, upon taking his chair as presiding officer over that august body, announced to the Senate his determination to maintain decorum in that chamber, and that he should promptly call senators to order for any offensive words which might be spoken. The Senate manifested its approval of this decision by unanimously ordering the views thus expressed to be entered upon their journal.

On the 9th of July, 1850, President Taylor, but about one year and four months after his inauguration, was suddenly taken sick,
and died. By the Constitution, Vice-President Fillmore thus became President of the United States. He appointed a very able Cabinet, of which the illustrious Daniel Webster was Secretary of State. The agitated condition of the country brought questions of very great delicacy before him. He was bound by his oath of office to execute the laws of the United States. One of those laws was understood to be, that if a slave, escaping from bondage, should reach a free State, the United States was bound to help catch him, and return him to his master. Most Christian men loathed this law. President Fillmore felt bound by his oath rigidly to see it enforced. Slavery was organizing armies to invade Cuba, as it had invaded Texas, and annex it to the United States. President Fillmore gave all the influence of his exalted station against the atrocious enterprise. The illustrious Hungarian, Kossuth, visited our shores, and was cordially received by the President, while he frankly informed him that it was the policy of our government to avoid all complications in European affairs.

Mr. Fillmore had very serious difficulties to contend with, since
the opposition had a majority in both houses. He did everything in his power to conciliate the South; but the proslavery party in the South felt the inadequacy of all measures of transient conciliation. The population of the free States was so rapidly increasing over that of the slave States, that it was inevitable that the power of the government should soon pass into the hands of the free States. The famous compromise measures were adopted under Mr. Fillmore's administration, and the Japan Expedition was sent out.

On the 4th of March, 1853, Mr. Fillmore, having served one term, retired from office. He then took a long tour throughout the South, where he met with quite an enthusiastic reception. In a speech at Vicksburg, alluding to the rapid growth of the country, he said,

"Canada is knocking for admission, and Mexico would be glad to come in; and, without saying whether it would be right or wrong, we stand with open arms to receive them: for it is the manifest destiny of this government to embrace the whole North American continent."

In 1855 President Fillmore went to Europe, where he was received with those marked attentions which his position and character merited. Returning to this country in 1856, he was nominated for the presidency by the strangely called "Know-Nothing" party. Mr. Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, was the successful competitor for the prize. After that time Mr. Fillmore lived in retirement. During the terrible conflict of the civil war he was mostly silent. It was generally supposed that his sympathies were rather with those who were endeavoring to overthrow our institutions. Edward Everett, who had been a candidate for the vice-presidency, left no one in doubt respecting his abhorrence of the Rebellion, and his devotion to his country's flag. President Fillmore kept aloof from the conflict, without any cordial words of cheer to the one party or the other. He was thus forgotten by both. He died in Buffalo, N. Y., March 8, 1874, aged seventy-five years and two months.
CHAPTER XIV.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.


FRANKLIN PIERCE, the fourteenth President of the United States, was born in Hillsborough, N. H., November 23, 1804. His father was a Revolutionary soldier, who, with his own strong arm, hewed him out a home in the wilderness. He was a man of inflexible integrity; of strong, though uncultivated mind; and an uncompro-
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mising Democrat. When, under the administration of John Adams, an effort was made to draw our country into an alliance with England in her war against the French republic, Major Pierce, as his title then was, was offered a high commission in the army which was proposed to be levied.

"No, gentlemen," was his reply. "Poor as I am, and acceptable as would be the position under other circumstances, I would sooner go to yonder mountains, dig me a cave and live on roast potatoes, than be instrumental in promoting the objects for which that army is raised."

His energetic and upright character and commanding abilities gave him great influence in the secluded region where he dwelt, and he occupied nearly every post of honor and emolument which his neighbors could confer upon him. He was for several years in the state Legislature; was a member of the governor's council, and a general of the militia. He was an independent farmer; a generous, large-hearted, hospitable man. The mother of Franklin Pierce was all that a son could desire,—an intelligent, prudent, affectionate, Christian woman. Franklin was the sixth of eight children.

Old General Pierce was a politician, ever ready for argument; and there was ample opportunity for the exercise of his powers in those days of intense political excitement, when, all over the New England States, Federalists and Democrats were arrayed so fiercely against each other. Franklin, as a boy, listened eagerly to the arguments of his father, enforced by strong and ready utterance and earnest gestures. It was in this school that he was led to ally himself with the Democratic party so closely as to be ready to follow wherever it might lead.

Franklin was a very bright and handsome boy, generous, warm-hearted, and brave. He won alike the love of old and young. The boys on the play-ground loved him. His teachers loved him. The neighbors looked upon him with pride and affection. He was by instinct a gentleman; always speaking kind words, doing kind deeds, with a peculiar unstudied tact which taught him what was agreeable. Without developing any precocity of genius, or any unnatural devotion to books, he was a good scholar; in body, in mind, in affections, a finely-developed boy.

When sixteen years of age, in the year 1820, he entered Bowdoin College at Brunswick, Me. The writer there became personally ac-
quainted with him. He was one of the most popular young men in college. The purity of his moral character, the unvarying courtesy of his demeanor, his rank as a scholar, and his genial nature, rendered him a universal favorite. There was something very peculiarly winning in his address, and it was evidently not in the slightest degree studied: it was the simple outgushing of his own magnanimous and loving nature.

Upon graduating, in the year 1824, Franklin Pierce commenced the study of law in the office of Judge Woodbury, one of the most distinguished lawyers of the State, and a man of great private worth. The eminent social qualities of the young lawyer, his father's prominence as a public man, and the brilliant political career into which Judge Woodbury was entering, all tended to entice Mr. Pierce into the fascinating yet perilous paths of political life. With all the ardor of his nature, he espoused the cause of General Jackson for the presidency. He commenced the practice of law in Hillsborough, and was soon elected to represent the town in the state Legislature. Here he served for four years. The two last years he was chosen speaker of the house by a very large vote.

In 1833, at the age of twenty-nine, he was elected a member of Congress. Without taking an active part in the debates, he was faithful and laborious in duty, and ever rising in the estimation of those with whom he was associated. Strenuously he supported the administration of General Jackson, securing not only the confidence, but the personal friendship, of that extraordinary man. Mr. Pierce sympathized in the fears of the State-Rights party, that the national government would consolidate so much power as to endanger the liberties of the individual States. In Congress he warmly allied himself with the Democratic party, being apparently in sympathy with them in all its measures.

In 1837, being then but thirty-three years of age, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, taking his seat just as Mr. Van Buren commenced his administration. He was the youngest member in the Senate. The ablest men our country has produced were then among the leaders of the Democracy,—Calhoun, Buchanan, Benton. Senator Pierce was a remarkably fluent, graceful speaker, always courteous and good-tempered; and his speeches were listened to by both parties with interest. In the year 1834 he married Miss Jane Means Appleton, a lady of rare beauty and accomplishments,
and one admirably fitted to adorn every station with which her hus-
band was honored. Of three sons who were born to them, all now
sleep with their mother in the grave.

In the year 1838, Mr. Pierce, with growing fame, and increasing
business as a lawyer, took up his residence in Concord, the capital
of New Hampshire. The citizens of his native town, in token of
their high esteem, gave him a parting dinner. He devoted himself
with new zeal to his duties at the bar, and took his rank at once
among the ablest lawyers. His tact, his genial spirit, and his un-
varying courtesy, gave him extraordinary power with a jury. It is
said that he was never known to insult, browbeat, or endeavor to
terrify, a witness.

President Polk, upon his accession to office, appointed Mr. Pierce
attorney-general of the United States; but the offer was declined,
in consequence of numerous professional engagements at home, and
the precarious state of Mrs. Pierce's health. He also, about the
same time, declined the nomination for governor by the Democratic
party. The war with Mexico called Mr. Pierce into the army.
Receiving the appointment of brigadier-general, he embarked, with a portion of his troops, at Newport, R. I., on the 27th of May, 1847.

General Pierce landed upon a sand-beach, at a place called Virgara, on the 28th of June. There was already an encampment of about five hundred men, under the command of Major Lally, at that place. He was ordered to make no delay there, and yet no preparations had been made for his departure. About two thousand wild mules had been collected from the prairies; but a stampede had taken place, in which fifteen hundred had disappeared. He was compelled to remain for several weeks in this encampment, upon sand as smooth as a floor, and so hard that it would scarcely show the footprints of a mule. For three miles the waves dashed magnificently on this extensive beach. Though the mornings were close, and the heat excessive, by eleven o'clock a fine sea-breeze always set in. There were frequent tropical showers, in which the rain fell in floods; and there were peals of thunder such as are rarely heard, and flashes of lightning, such as are, perhaps, never seen, in regions farther north.

Every morning the troops were under drill: they could not bear the exposure to the midday sun. Though they were not far from the city, General Pierce preferred to dwell in his tent upon the beach, rather than to occupy any of the houses. Vigorous measures were adopted to collect mules and mustangs, in preparation for their advance. These animals were generally caught wild upon the prairies, unaccustomed to the harness, and even to the bridle. Much labor was required in taming them, and in breaking them to harness. The troops were kept constantly on the alert, in anticipation of an attack from the Mexicans.

At ten o'clock in the evening of the 7th of July there was an alarm. Musketry-firing was heard in the direction of the advanced pickets. The long-roll was beaten, and the whole command was instantly formed in line of battle. It proved to be a false alarm, or rather was caused by the approach of a small band of guerrillas to the vicinity of the sentinels. The next day, July 9th, Lieutenant Whipple was lured by curiosity to visit the cemetery, near the walls of the city. Imprudently he went unarmed, and accompanied but by a single private. Six guerrillas attacked, overpowered, and seized him; while the private escaped, and informed General Pierce. He im-
Immediately dispatched a troop of cavalry in pursuit; but no trace of Lieutenant Whipple could be discovered. In a few days, however, they learned that his life had been spared, but that he was a prisoner about twelve miles from the camp. A detachment was sent by night to surprise the banditti. They took the village; but the guerrillas fled, taking their prisoner with them.

At length, on the 13th of July, after a delay of nearly three weeks, and after great labor and perplexity, General Pierce was able to give orders for an advance. The beautiful beach was covered with wagons, mules, horses, and all the imposing paraphernalia of war.

On the morning of the 14th eighty wagons started, under Captain Wood. They took the Jalapa road for San Juan, twelve miles distant. There they were to await the remainder of the brigade. The heat was so intense that they could not move between the hours of nine in the morning and four in the afternoon. Colonel Ransom accompanied the train with two companies of infantry. Everything being ready, they moved at an early hour, in fine order and spirits. The next day a detachment of six companies was sent off. It was not until the 16th that General Pierce was able to leave. In his journal he writes,—

"After much perplexity and delay, on account of the unbroken and intractable teams, I left the camp this afternoon at five o'clock, with the Fourth Artillery, Watson's marine corps, a detachment of the third dragoons, and about forty wagons. The road was very heavy, the wheels were sinking almost to the hubs in sand, and the untried and untamed teams almost constantly bolting in some part of the train. We were occupied rather in breaking the animals to harness than in performing a march. At ten o'clock at night we bivouacked in the darkness and sand by the wagons in the road, having made but three miles from camp."

The next morning, at four o'clock, they were again on the move. The road was still heavy with sand, leading over short, steep hills. At eight o'clock in the morning they reached Santa Fé, but eight miles from Vera Cruz. The heat of a blazing, torrid sun was now overpowering; and the army remained in camp until four o'clock in the afternoon. Just before starting, two muleteers came in, greatly agitated, bringing the report that five hundred guerrillas, armed to the teeth, were on the Jalapa road, rushing on to attack.
the camp. The whole force was immediately called to arms, and two pieces of artillery placed in position to command the road. It either proved a false alarm, or the guerrillas, taking counsel of discretion, changed their course.

Resuming their march at four o’clock, the column reached San Juan about nine o’clock in the evening, in a drenching rain. The guerrillas had attempted to retard the march by destroying a bridge over one of the branches of the San Juan River; but the New England men, accustomed to every variety of work, almost without delay repaired the structure. All night, all the next day, and the next night, the rain poured in such floods as are nowhere seen, save in the tropics. The encampment was on low ground, along the margin of the stream. As there was nothing but mud and water to rest in, it was thought best to continue the march.

On the 20th they reached Telema Nueva, twenty-four miles from Vera Cruz. As they were marching along, several musket-shots were fired upon them from an eminence on their left. A few round-shot were thrown in that direction, and a small detachment dashed up the hill; but the enemy had fled. After advancing about a mile farther, quite a number of mounted Mexicans were seen hovering about, evidently reconnoitring parties. As it was supposed that a large force was in the vicinity, all precautionary arrangements were made to repel an attack. Three companies of infantry and a detachment of dragoons were sent to flank our march by advances through a path on the left of the main road. Just as this detachment was returning by the circuitous route to the road along which the main body was passing, the enemy opened a brisk fire upon them.

The foe was in ambush, concealed in the dense chaparral on each side of the road. Our troops met this attack from unseen assailants, and promptly returned the fire. The guns were speedily unlimbered, and a few discharges of canister silenced the fire of the enemy. They fled too rapidly to be caught. We lost six wounded, and seven horses shot. A Mexican paper stated their loss at forty.

“I witnessed,” writes General Pierce, “with pleasure, the conduct of that part of my command immediately engaged on this occasion. The first fire of the enemy indicated a pretty formidable force, the precise strength of which could not be ascertained, as they were
completely covered by the chaparral. It was the first time on the march that any portion of my command had been fairly under fire. I was at the head of the column, on the main road, and witnessed the whole scene. I saw nothing but coolness and courage on the part of both officers and men.”

On the night of the 20th of July the brigade encamped at Paso de Orejas. The rear-guard did not reach the encampment until after dark. As it was descending a slope towards the camp, a band of guerrillas was seen approaching. All the day they had been noticed on the distant hills, watching the advance of our lines. As they approached menacingly within cannon-range, a gun was brought to bear upon them, and a few discharges put them to flight. Paso de Orejas is on the west side of a beautiful stream spanned by a substantial bridge.

At four o'clock on the morning of July 21st they again broke camp, and pursued their course towards Puente Nacional, anticipating an attack at every exposed point. When they reached the summit of a long hill which descended on the west to the Antigua River, General Pierce halted his command, and with his glass carefully examined the country before them. In the distance could be seen the little village of Puente Nacional, on the western side of the river. This stream is also crossed by a bridge. A few lancers could be seen in the village, in their gay uniforms, riding rapidly from one position to another, and flourishing their red flags as if in defiance. A strong barricade, defended by a breastwork, was thrown across the bridge. A large body of the enemy was posted on a bluff one hundred and fifty feet high, which commanded the structure over which the little army must pass. It was impossible to turn their position.

General Pierce rode forward to reconnoitre the enemy's works more closely. He then brought forward his artillery, and, by some deadly discharges, swept the bridge, and dispersed the lancers. A few shots were also thrown at the heights, which so distracted the attention of the enemy that Colonel Bonham, with a few companies of picked men, made a rush upon the bridge with a loud battle-cry, leaped the barricade of brush and timber, reached the village, rallied his men under cover of its buildings, and rushed up the steep bluff, to gain its summit just in time to see the bewildered and disorganized foe disappear in the distance. One grand cheer from the
victors on the bluff, echoed back by the troops below, greeted this heroic achievement. The remainder of the command followed rapidly, and in good order. A company of dragoons dashed through the village, hoping to cut off the retreat of the fugitives; but terror had added such wings to their flight, that they had entirely disappeared in the dense chaparral in their rear.

Colonel Bonham’s horse was shot, and General Pierce received a musket-ball through the rim of his hat. It is indeed wonderful that so few were hurt, when the bullets, for a short time, rattled so thickly around them; but the Mexicans on the bluff took poor aim, and most of their balls passed over our heads. Here they encamped for the night, at a distance of thirty miles from Vera Cruz. General Pierce established his headquarters at a large and splended estate which he found here belonging to General Santa Anna.

At four o’clock the next morning, July 22d, the brigade was again in motion. As they moved along, upon all the surrounding heights armed bands of Mexicans were seen watching them. They kept, however, at too great a distance to be reached by bullet or ball. At one point of the march the head of the column was fired upon by a few guerrillas hidden in the chaparral, who succeeded in wounding three horses; but the skirmishers thrown out in pursuit of them could find no trace even of their ambuscade. At length, on this day’s tramp, they came in sight of an old Spanish fort, which commanded both the road, and a bridge that crossed a stream at this point. The bridge was barricaded, with the evident intention of defending it. Here General Pierce expected a stern conflict; but, to his surprise, he found both fort and barricade silent and solitary. Removing the obstructions, they came to another stream, much broader, also spanned by a bridge.

“It was,” writes General Pierce, “a magnificent work of art, combining great strength and beauty,—a work of the old Spaniards (so many of which are found upon this great avenue from the coast), fitted to awaken the admiration and wonder of the traveler. The fact that the main arch, a span of about sixty feet, had been blown up, first burst upon me as I stood upon the brink of the chasm, with a perpendicular descent of nearly a hundred feet to the bed of a rapid stream much swollen by the recent rains. As far as the eye could reach, above and below, the banks on the west side, of vast height, descended precipitously, almost in a perpendicular line, to the water’s edge.
"This sudden and unexpected barrier, I need not say, was somewhat withering to the confidence with which I had been animated. The news having extended back along the line, my officers soon crowded around me; and the deep silence that ensued was more significant than anything which could have been spoken. After a few moments' pause, this silence was broken by many short epigrammatical remarks, and more questions. 'We have it before us now,' said Colonel Hebert. 'The destruction of this magnificent and expensive work of a past generation could not have been ordered but upon a deliberate and firm purpose of a stern resistance.' 'This people have destroyed,' said another, 'what they never will rebuild.'"

What to do was now the question. In the mean time a small body of infantry had descended the steep by the aid of trees, rocks, and stumps, and, fording the steam, had taken possession of a stone church on the other side. The line of wagons, brought to a stand, extended back along the road for a distance of a mile and a half. For miles around the growth was dwarfed and scrubby, affording no timber to reconstruct the arch. It was now night; and, weary, and not a little despondent, all sank to repose.

It so happened that there was in the army a Maine lumberman, Captain Bodfish, who had been accustomed to surmount many difficulties of this kind in the logging-swamps of his native state. General Fierce, the next morning, at an early hour, sent for him. With a practiced eye, he examined the ground, and said that he could construct a road over which the train could pass.

"How much time do you need," inquired General Pierce, "to complete the road?"

"That depends," said he, "upon the number of men employed. If you give me five hundred men, I will furnish you a road over which the train can pass safely in four hours."

The detail was immediately ordered, and in three hours the trains were in motion. "Bodfish's road," says General Pierce, "unless this nation shall be regenerated, will be the road at that place, for Mexican diligences, for half a century to come." Before the sun went down on the evening of the 23d, every wagon had passed without the slightest accident. There was great glee that night in the camp. Many were the jokes about Mexican stupidity and Yankee cunning. All were now eager to press on; for all felt new assurance in the final success of their bold enterprise.
They were approaching Cerro Gordo. From the heights in that vicinity the Mexicans could easily embarrass the march by a plunging fire. General Pierce himself, with a body of cavalry, set out in the darkness and the rain to occupy the eminences. The darkness was so great that one's hand could scarcely be seen before him, and it soon became impossible to advance. The detachment slept upon their arms until the earliest dawn of the morning, when they pressed on, and succeeded in seizing the important position. A few Mexicans were seen upon one of the heights, who discharged a volley of bullets, harmless from the distance, upon a portion of the train. A six-pounder was brought forward, which threw a few canister-shot into the midst of them, and they scattered in all directions.

They soon reached another of the magnificent estates of Santa Anna, well stocked with fat cattle. General Pierce, in his journal, says very naïvely, "As there was no owner of whom to purchase, I have sent out detachments to supply our wants. The boys had great fun in playing 'hunt buffalo;' and, in the excitement of the chase, some of them wandered to an imprudent distance from the camp. One of them got a bullet-shot through the thigh in consequence. All the night guerrillas were prowling about the camp."

Upon Santa Anna's estate, or hacienda as it was called, they found delightful encampment upon a green lawn, gently sloping to a fine stream of clear, pure water. They were then but eight miles from Jalapa.

On the morning of the 24th they left, with regret, their delightful encampment at Encero. The verdant lawn, the sparkling stream rippling over its pebbly bed, and the cultivated region around, reminded all of their New England homes. At noon they reached Jalapa unopposed. Here General Pierce rode to an inn kept by a Frenchman, and dined. At the inn he met several well-dressed, intelligent Mexicans. They were profuse in their commendations of the achievements of the Yankees. The army proceeded about three miles beyond the city, and encamped by another fine stream, "which drives the spindles of Don Garcia, a quarter of a mile below us." He there ascertained, that, beyond doubt, the gentlemen with whom he had conversed in the inn at Jalapa were guerrillas in disguise. They were ever hovering around the skirts of the army, ready to murder and to rob as they could find opportunity. That
very day a servant who had been sent to water a horse, not six rods from the road, was killed, and his horse stolen.

The next day, the 27th, as they made a short tarry in their encampment just out from Jalapa, several soldiers, who had wandered, in violation of orders, from the camp to the vicinity of the surrounding farms, never returned. It is supposed that they were either killed or captured.

On the morning of the 29th, at seven o'clock, the march was again resumed. The sick-list was increasing, and there were over four hundred on the surgeon's roll. Few inexperienced in such matters can imagine the care and skill requisite to move a body, even of twenty-four hundred men, hundreds of miles, with four hundred sick men in wagons, so that the wants of all shall be attended to, and that every man shall have his regular and proper meals. Fruits were abundant along the line of march, and the soldiers indulged freely. The rain was also falling in torrents, which kept all drenched to the skin, and penetrated the tents, while the flood rushed in torrents through the gullies.

The morning of the 30th found them near the Castle of Perote. "I reached the castle," General Pierce writes, "before dark; and Colonel Windcoop, who was in command of the castle, with Captain Walker's elegant company of mounted riflemen, kindly tendered me his quarters. But I adhered to a rule from which I have never deviated on the march,—to see the rear of the command safely in camp; and where they pitched their tents, to pitch my own. The rear-guard, in consequence of the broken condition of the road, did not arrive until nine o'clock, when our tents were pitched in darkness, and in the sand which surrounds the castle on all sides."

Here they made a halt of two or three days to repair damages, and to refresh the sick and the exhausted. Two hundred of the sick were sent to the hospital in the castle. The next day Captain Ruff arrived with a company of cavalry, having been sent by General Scott to ascertain the whereabouts and condition of General Pierce's command, and to afford him assistance if needed. Soon they resumed their march, and on the 7th of August reached the main body of the army under the commander-in-chief at Puebla. General Pierce had conducted twenty-four hundred men on this arduous march, without the loss of a single wagon.
General Scott had been waiting at Puebla for the arrival of the reinforcement under General Pierce. He was now prepared to move vigorously forward in his attack upon the city of Mexico. Santa Anna had an advance-guard of about seven thousand men at Contreras. General Scott wished to cut off these detached troops from the main body of the Mexican army, and, by destroying their communications with the city, to have them at his mercy. He therefore sent a division of his army, by a circuitous route, to occupy the villages and strong positions in their rear. To hide this movement from the foe, and to distract their attention, General Pierce was ordered, with four thousand men, to make an impetuous assault upon their front.

It was indeed severe service upon which he was thus detached. The enemy had nearly two to his one. They were in their own chosen positions, and were protected by intrenchments, from which, unexposed, they could hurl a storm of shot and shell into the faces of their assailants. The ground over which the charge was to be made was exceedingly rough, bristling with sharp points of rocks, and broken by ridges and gullies. The Mexicans threw out skirmishers, who were posted in great force among the irregularities of this broken ground. As our troops advanced, they were met with a murderous fire of musketry from these concealed riflemen, while the heavy balls from the Mexican batteries shivered the rocks around them. Had the Mexicans been expert gunners, General Pierce's command would have been annihilated; but, fortunately or providentially, most of the shot from the intrenched camp passed over the heads of our troops.

"In the midst of this fire, General Pierce," writes Hawthorne, his eloquent biographer, "being the only officer mounted in the brigade, leaped his horse upon an abrupt eminence, and addressed the colonels and captains of the regiments, as they passed, in a few stirring words, reminding them of the honor of their country, of the victory their steady valor would contribute to achieve. Pressing forward to the head of the column, he had nearly reached the practicable ground that lay beyond, when his horse slipped among the rocks, thrust his foot into a crevice, and fell, breaking his own leg, and crushing his rider heavily beneath him."

The general was stunned by the fall, and almost insensible. His orderly hastened to his assistance, and found him very severely
bruised, and suffering agonizingly from a sprain of the left knee, upon which the horse had fallen. The bullets and balls of the enemy were flying thickly around. As the orderly attempted to assist the wounded general to reach the shelter of a projecting rock, a shell buried itself in the earth at their feet, and, exploding, covered them with stones and sand. “That was a lucky miss,” said General Pierce calmly.

Leaving him under shelter of the rock, the orderly went in search of a surgeon. Fortunately, he met Dr. Ritchie near by, who was following the advancing column. He rendered such assistance as the circumstances would permit; and soon General Pierce recovered full consciousness, and became anxious to rejoin his troops. Notwithstanding the surgeon’s remonstrances, he leaned upon his orderly’s shoulder, and, hobbling along, reached a battery, where he found a horse, whose saddle had just been emptied by a Mexican bullet. He was assisted into the saddle. “You will not be able to keep your seat,” said one. “Then you must tie me on,” replied the general. Thus bruised and sprained, and agonized with pain, he again rode forward into the hottest of the battle.

Till nightfall the conflict raged unabated. It was eleven at night before General Pierce left his saddle. He had withdrawn his troops from their exposed position, and assembled them in a sheltered spot, where they were to pass the night. The rain was then falling in torrents. It is a curious phenomenon, that it often rains almost immediately after a battle. There were no tents; there was no protection for officers or men: drenched, exhausted, hungry, they threw themselves upon the flooded sods for sleep. General Pierce lay down upon an ammunition-wagon; but the torture of his inflamed and swollen knee would not allow him a moment of repose.

But one hour after midnight of that dark and stormy night had passed, when General Pierce received orders from General Scott to put his brigade in a new position in front of the enemy’s works, to be prepared for a new assault with the earliest dawn of the morning. In the midst of the gloom and the storm the movement was made.

As soon as a few glimmers of light were seen in the east these men of invincible resolution and iron sinews were again on the move. General Pierce was again in his saddle, and at the head of his brigade. The Mexican camp was attacked simultaneously in front and rear. In seventeen minutes the “stars and stripes” floated over the
ramparts of the foe, and the cheers of the victors proclaimed that the conquest was complete. Many prisoners were taken. Those who escaped fled in wildest disorder towards Chernbusco.

General Pierce almost forgot exhaustion, wounds, and agony, in his eager pursuit of the fugitives. The roads and fields were strewn with the dead and the dying, and every conceivable form of human mutilation and misery. The pursuit continued until one o'clock. The victors then found themselves checked by the strong fortifications of Chernbusco and San Antonio, where Santa Anna was prepared to make another desperate stand. General Scott feared that Santa Anna might escape, and concentrate all his troops within the walls of the city of Mexico. To prevent this, he sent an aide, Colonel Noah E. Smith, to call General Pierce to his presence, that he might give him directions to take a route by which he could assail the foe in their rear. Colonel Smith met the general at the head of his brigade. He writes, —

"General Pierce was exceedingly thin, worn down by the fatigue and pain of the day and night before, and then evidently suffering severely. Still there was a glow in his eye, as the cannon boomed, that showed within him a spirit ready for the conflict."

General Scott was sitting on horseback beneath a tree, issuing orders to his staff, as General Pierce rode up. The commander-in-chief had heard of the accident which had befallen the general, and, as he noticed his aspect of pain and physical exhaustion, said to him, —

"Pierce, my dear fellow, you are badly injured. You are not fit to be in the saddle."

"Yes, general," was the reply; "I am, in a case like this."

"You cannot touch your foot to the stirrup," said Scott.

"One I can," answered Pierce.

General Scott looked at him for a moment in silence, and then said in decided tones, "You are rash, General Pierce: we shall lose you, and we cannot spare you. It is my duty to order you back to St. Augustine."

But General Pierce pleaded so earnestly that he might be permitted to remain, and take part in the great battle then imminent, that Scott at last reluctantly consented, and ordered him to advance with his brigade. His path led over a marsh, intersected with ditches filled with water. Over several of these ditches the general leaped
his horse. At last he came to one ten feet wide and six feet deep. He was there compelled to leave his horse. He, however, succeeded in getting across the ditch, and was there with his troops under fire. He had now gone to the farthest point of physical endurance. Entirely overcome by sleeplessness, exhaustion, pain, and fatigue, he sank to the ground, fainting, and almost insensible.

Some soldiers hastened to lift him and bear him from the field. He partially revived and, resisting, said, "No, do not carry me off. Let me lie here." There he remained, in the midst of his struggling troops, exposed to the shot of the foe, while the tremendous battle of Cherubusco raged around him. At length the cheers of our men announced their victory. Santa Anna sent a flag of truce, proposing an armistice. General Pierce was appointed one of the commissioners to meet him. He was unable to walk, or to mount his horse without assistance. He was, however, helped into his saddle, and rode to Tacubaya; and the conference was held at the house of the British consul from late in the afternoon until four o'clock the next morning.

They could not come to satisfactory terms, and military operations were soon renewed. Not long after, on the 8th of September, the sanguinary battle of Molino del Rey, the fiercest conflict of the war, was fought. General Worth, with three thousand men, attacked fourteen thousand Mexicans. General Pierce was ordered to his support. Just as he reached the field, a shell burst almost beneath the feet of his horse, and he narrowly escaped being thrown over a precipice. Again the vanquished enemy fled, and made another stand under protection of the Castle of Chepultepec. In the heroic storming of that castle, on the 13th of September, General Pierce could take no part, though his brigade performed gallant service. But their general had been conveyed to the headquarters of General Worth, where he was taken so extremely ill that he was unable to leave his bed for thirty-six hours. This was the last great struggle. The city of Mexico now fell into the hands of the Americans. General Pierce remained in the captured city until December, when he returned from these strange scenes of violence and blood to the wife and child whom he had left about nine months before among the peaceful hills of New Hampshire.

When General Pierce reached his home in his native State, he was received enthusiastically by the advocates of the Mexican war,
and coldly by its opponents. He resumed the exercise of his pro-
profession, very frequently taking an active part in political questions,
giving his cordial support to the proslavery wing of the Democratic
party. The compromise measures met cordially with his approval;
and he strenuously advocated the enforcement of the fugitive-slave
law, which so shocked the religious sensibilities of the North. He
thus became distinguished as a "Northern man with Southern prin-
ciples." The strong partisans of slavery in the South consequently
regarded him as a man whom they could safely trust in office to
carry out their plans.

On the 12th of June, 1852, the Democratic convention met in
Baltimore to nominate a candidate for the presidency. For four
days they continued in session, and in thirty-five ballotings no one
had obtained a two thirds vote. Not a vote had thus far been
thrown for General Pierce. Then the Virginia delegation brought
forward his name. There were fourteen more ballotings, during
which General Pierce constantly gained strength, until, at the forty-
ninth ballot, he received two hundred and eighty-two votes, and all
other candidates eleven. General Winfield Scott was the Whig
candidate. General Pierce was chosen with great unanimity. Only
four States—Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee—
cast their electoral votes against him. On the 4th of March, 1853,
he was inaugurated President of the United States.

His administration proved one of the most stormy our country
had ever experienced. The controversy between slavery and free-
dom was then approaching its culminating point. It became evi-
dent that there was an "irrepressible conflict" between them, and
that this nation could not long exist "half slave and half free." President Pierce, during the whole of his administration, did every-
thing which could be done to conciliate the South; but it was all
in vain. The conflict every year grew more violent, and threats of
the dissolution of the Union were borne to the North on every
southern breeze.

At the demand of slavery, the Missouri Compromise was re-
pealed, and all the territories of the Union were thrown open to
slavery. The Territory of Kansas, west of Missouri, was settled by
emigrants mainly from the North. According to law, they were
about to meet, and decide whether slavery or freedom should be
the law of that realm. It was certain that they would decide for
freedom.
Slavery in Missouri and other Southern States rallied her armed legions, marched them in military array into Kansas, took possession of the polls, drove away the citizens, deposited their own votes by handfuls, went through the farce of counting them, and then declared that, by an overwhelming majority, slavery was established in Kansas. These facts nobody denied, and yet President Pierce’s administration felt bound to respect the decision obtained by such votes.

This armed mob from other States then chose a legislature of strong proslavery men; convened them in a small town near Missouri, where they could be protected from any opposition from the Free-Soil citizens of the State; and called this band, thus fraudulently elected, the “Legislature of Kansas.” No one could deny these facts; and yet President Pierce deemed it his duty to recognize this body as the lawful legislature.

This bogus legislature met, and enacted a code of proslavery laws which would have disgraced savages. Neither freedom of speech nor of the press was allowed, and death was the doom of any one who should speak or write against slavery; and yet President Pierce assumed that these laws were binding upon the community.

The armed mob of invasion consisted of nearly seven thousand men. As they commenced their march, one of their leaders thus addressed them:

“To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, state or national, the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger. I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver. Neither give nor take quarter, as our case demands it. It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal.”

They marched with artillery, banners, music, and mounted horsemen. By such a force, infant Kansas was subjugated, and the most sacred rights of American freemen were trampled in the dust. When the army returned to the city of Independence in Missouri, the “squatter sovereign” of that place said, “They report that not a single antislavery man will be in the Legislature of Kansas.”

The citizens of Kansas, the great majority of whom were Free-State men, met in convention, and adopted the following resolve:

“Resolved, That the body of men who, for the past two months,
have been passing laws for the people of our Territory, moved, counseled, and dictated to by the demagogues of Missouri, are to us a foreign body, representing only the lawless invaders who elected them, and not the people of the Territory; that we repudiate their action as the monstrous consummation of an act of violence, usurpation, and fraud, unparalleled in the history of the Union."

The Free-State people of Kansas also sent a petition to the general government, imploring its protection. In reply, the President issued a proclamation, declaring that the legislature thus created must be recognized as the legitimate legislature of Kansas, and that its laws were binding upon the people; and that, if necessary, the whole force of the governmental arm would be put forth to enforce those laws.

Such was the condition of affairs when President Pierce approached the close of his four years' term of office. The North had become thoroughly alienated from him. The antislavery sentiment, goaded by these outrages, had been rapidly increasing; and all the intellectual ability and social worth of President Pierce were forgotten in deep reprehension of these administrative acts. The slaveholders of the South also, unmindful of the fidelity with which he had advocated those measures of government which they approved, and perhaps, also, feeling that he had rendered himself so unpopular as no longer to be able acceptably to serve them, ungratefully dropped him, and nominated James Buchanan as the Democratic candidate to succeed him in the presidency. John C. Frémont was the candidate of the Free-Soil party.

James Buchanan was the successful candidate. He had pledged himself to stand upon the same platform which his predecessor had occupied, "lowered never an inch." On the 4th of March, 1857, President Pierce retired to his home in Concord, N. H. Of three children, two had died, and his only surviving child had been killed before his eyes by a railroad accident; and his wife, one of the most estimable and accomplished of ladies, was rapidly sinking in consumption. The hour of dreadful gloom soon came, and he was left alone in the world, without wife or child.

When the terrible Rebellion burst forth, which divided our country into two parties, and two only, Mr. Pierce remained steadfast in the principles which he had always cherished, and gave his sympathies to that proslavery party with which he had ever been allied.
He declined to do anything, either by voice or pen, to strengthen the hands of the national government. He continued to reside in Concord until the time of his death, which occurred in October, 1869. He was one of the most genial and social of men, an honored communicant of the Episcopal Church, and one of the kindest of neighbors. Generous to a fault, he contributed liberally of his moderate means for the alleviation of suffering and want, and many of his townspeople were often gladdened by his material bounty.
CHAPTER XV.

JAMES BUCHANAN.


James Buchanan, the fifteenth President of the United States, was born in a small frontier town, at the foot of the eastern ridge of the Alleghanies, in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, on the 23d of April, 1791. The place where the humble cabin of his father stood was called Stony Batter. It was a wild and romantic spot in a gorge of the mountains, with towering summits rising grandly all around.
His father was a native of the north of Ireland; a poor man, who had emigrated in 1783, with little property save his own strong arms. Five years after his arrival in this country he married Elizabeth Spear, the daughter of a respectable farmer, and, with his young bride, plunged into the wilderness, staked his claim, reared his log-hut, opened a clearing with his axe, and settled down there to perform his obscure part in the drama of life.

In this secluded home, where James was born, he remained for eight years, enjoying but few social or intellectual advantages. His father was industrious, frugal, and prosperous, and was unusually intelligent for a man in his situation. His mother also was a woman of superior character, possessing sound judgment, and a keen appreciation of the beautiful in nature and in art. When James was eight years of age his father removed to the village of Mercersburg, where his son was placed at school, and commenced a course of study in English, Latin, and Greek. His progress was rapid; and, at the age of fourteen, he entered Dickinson College, at Carlisle. Here he developed remarkable talent, and took his stand among the first scholars in the institution. His application to study was intense, and yet his native powers enabled him to master the most abstruse subjects with facility.

In the year 1809 he graduated with the highest honors of his class. He was then eighteen years of age; tall and graceful, vigorous in health, fond of athletic sports, an unerring shot, and enlivened with an exuberant flow of animal spirits. He immediately commenced the study of law in the city of Lancaster, and was admitted to the bar in 1812, when he was but twenty-one years of age. Very rapidly he rose in his profession, and at once took undisputed stand with the ablest lawyers of the State. When but twenty-six years of age, unaided by counsel, he successfully defended before the state Senate one of the judges of the State, who was tried upon articles of impeachment. At the age of thirty, it was generally admitted that he stood at the head of the bar; and there was no lawyer in the State who had a more extensive or a more lucrative practice.

Reluctantly, he then, in 1820, consented to stand a candidate for Congress. He was elected; and, for ten years, he remained a member of the lower house. During the vacations of Congress he occasionally tried some important cause. In 1831 he retired alto-
gether from the toils of his profession, having acquired an ample fortune.

In 1812, just after Mr. Buchanan had entered upon the practice of the law, our second war with England occurred. With all his powers, he sustained the government, eloquently urging the vigorous prosecution of the war, and even enlisting as a private soldier to assist in repelling the British, who had sacked Washington, and were threatening Baltimore.

Mr. Buchanan was at that time a Federalist. This term took its rise from those who approved of the federal Constitution, with all the powers which it gave to the national government. The anti-Federalists, who thought that the Constitution gave the central government too much power, and the state governments too little, took the name of Republicans. But, when the Constitution was adopted by both parties, Jefferson truly said, "We are all Federalists; we are all Republicans." Still it was subsequently found that the Constitution allowed some latitude of construction. Consequently, those who approved of a liberal construction, in favor of the general government, still retained the name of Federalists; while those who were in favor of a strict construction, not allowing the central government one hair's breadth more of power than the letter of the Constitution demanded, retained the name of Republicans.

The opposition of the Federal party to the war with England, and the alien and sedition laws of John Adams, brought the party into disrepute; and the name of Federalist became a reproach. Mr. Buchanan, almost immediately upon entering Congress, began to incline more and more to the policy of the Republicans.

As a member of Congress, Mr. Buchanan was faithful to his duties. He was always in his seat, and took an active part in every important question. The speeches which he made indicated great care in their preparation, and were distinguished for depth of thought and persuasive eloquence. The great question, as to the power of the national government to promote internal improvements, agitated Congress. Mr. Buchanan was in sympathy with the Republicans, and voted against any appropriation to repair the Cumberland Road. The bill, however, passed Congress. President Monroe vetoed it. Mr. Buchanan argued that Congress was not authorized to establish a protective tariff; that it was authorized to impose a tariff for revenue only. In an earnest speech upon this subject, he said,—
“If I know myself, I am a politician neither of the East nor of the West, of the North nor of the South. I therefore shall forever avoid any expressions, the direct tendency of which must be to create sectional jealousies, and at length disunion,—that worst and last of all political calamities.”

In the stormy presidential election of 1824, in which Jackson, Clay, Crawford, and John Quincy Adams were candidates, Mr. Buchanan espoused the cause of General Jackson, and unrelentingly opposed the administration of Mr. Adams. When our government undertook the singular task of regulating the dress in which our ambassadors should appear in foreign courts, prohibiting the court-costume which most of those monarchs required, Mr. Buchanan supported the measure.

“Imagine,” said he, “a grave and venerable statesman, who never attended a militia-training in his life, but who has been elevated to the station of a foreign minister in consequence of his civil attainments, appearing at court, arrayed in this military coat, with a chapeau under his arm, and a small sword dangling at his side! What a ridiculous spectacle would a grave lawyer or judge of sixty years of age present, arrayed in such a costume!”

General Jackson, upon his elevation to the presidency, appointed Mr. Buchanan minister to Russia. The duties of his mission he performed with ability, which gave satisfaction to all parties. Upon his return, in 1833, he was elected to a seat in the United States Senate. He there met, as his associates, Webster, Clay, Wright, and Calhoun. He advocated the measure proposed by President Jackson, of making reprisals against France to enforce the payment of our claims against that country; and defended the course of the President in his unprecedented and wholesale removals from office of those who were not the supporters of his administration. Upon this question he was brought into direct collision with Henry Clay. He also, with voice and vote, advocated expunging from the journal of the Senate the vote of censure against General Jackson for removing the deposits. Earnestly he opposed the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and urged the prohibition of the circulation of antislavery documents by the United States mails.

In December, 1835, there was a fire in New York, which consumed property amounting to eighteen millions of dollars. The merchants overwhelmed by this calamity owed the United States
the sum of three million six hundred thousand dollars. A bill was introduced for their relief, simply asking for an extension of payment, with ample security. Generously and eloquently Mr. Buchanan advocated the bill. In the discussion of the question respecting the admission of Michigan and Arkansas into the Union, Mr. Buchanan "defined his position" by saying,

"The older I grow, the more I am inclined to be what is called a State-Rights man."

As to petitions on the subject of slavery, he advocated that they should be respectfully received; and that the reply should be returned, that Congress had no power to legislate upon the subject. "Congress," said he, "might as well undertake to interfere with slavery under a foreign government as in any of the States where it now exists." Many of his speeches developed great ability; all, earnestness and deep conviction; while he invariably treated his opponents in the most courteous manner, never allowing himself to exhibit the slightest irritation.

M. de Tocqueville, in his renowned work upon "Democracy in America," foresaw the trouble which was inevitable from the doctrine of state sovereignty as held by Calhoun and Buchanan. He was convinced that the national government was losing that strength which was essential to its own existence, and that the States were assuming powers which threatened the perpetuity of the Union. Mr. Buchanan reviewed this book in the Senate, and declared the fears of De Tocqueville to be groundless: and yet he lived to sit in the presidential chair, and see State after State, in accordance with his own views of State Rights, breaking from the Union, thus crumbling our republic into ruins; while the unhappy old man folded his arms in despair, declaring that the national Constitution invested him with no power to arrest the destruction.

When Mr. Tyler succeeded President Harrison, and, to the excessive disappointment of the Whigs, vetoed their bank bill, Mr. Buchanan warmly commended his course. In reply to the argument, that Mr. Tyler ought to have signed the bill in fidelity to the party which elected him, he said,

"If he had approved that bill, he would have deserved to be denounced as a self-destroyer, as false to the whole course of his past life, false to every principle of honor, and false to the sacred obligation of his oath to support the Constitution."
Mr. Buchanan opposed the ratification of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in reference to our northeastern boundary, and advocated the annexation of Texas, that it might be cut up into slave States, "to afford that security to the Southern and Southwestern slave States which they have a right to demand." Upon Mr. Polk's accession to the presidency, Mr. Buchanan became Secretary of State, and, as such, took his share of the responsibility in the conduct of the Mexican war. Mr. Polk assumed that crossing the Nueces by the American troops into the disputed territory was not wrong, but for the Mexicans to cross the Rio Grande into that territory was a declaration of war. No candid man can read with pleasure the account of the course our government pursued in that movement. At the close of Mr. Polk's administration, Mr. Buchanan retired to private life; but still his intellectual ability, and great experience as a statesman, enabled him to exert a powerful private influence in national affairs.

He identified himself thoroughly and warmly with the party devoted to the perpetuation and extension of slavery, and brought all the energies of his mind to bear against the Wilmot Proviso. He gave his cordial approval to the compromise measures of 1850, which included the fugitive-slave law. Mr. Pierce, upon his election to the presidency, honored Mr. Buchanan with the mission to England. The plan then arose to purchase Cuba. It was feared that Spain might abolish slavery in Cuba, and thus endanger the institution in our Southern States. To consider this important question, Mr. Buchanan, and Messrs. Mason and Soulé, our ministers to France and Spain, met at Ostend. The substance of the result of their deliberations is contained in the following words:

"After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, 'Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union?' Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power."

This Ostend Manifesto created intense excitement, both in this country and in Europe; but our own internal troubles which soon arose caused it to be forgotten. In the year 1856 a National Democratic Convention nominated Mr. Buchanan for the presidency. In
the platform adopted by the convention, it was stated, in connection with other principles to which all parties would assent, "that Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; that the foregoing proposition covers the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; that the Democratic party will adhere to a faithful execution of the compromise measures, the act of reclaiming fugitives from service or labor included; that the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made; and that the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles of non-interference by Congress with slavery in State and Territory, or in the District of Columbia."

The political conflict was one of the most severe in which our country has ever engaged. All the friends of slavery were on one side; all the advocates of its restriction and final abolition, on the other. Mr. Frémont, the candidate of the enemies of slavery, received 114 electoral votes. Mr. Buchanan received 174, and was elected. The popular vote stood 1,340,618 for Frémont, 1,224,750 for Buchanan. On the 4th of March, 1857, Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated President. The crowd which attended was immense, and the enthusiasm with which he was greeted had never been surpassed. Mr. Buchanan was a man of imposing personal appearance, an accomplished gentleman, endowed with superior abilities improved by the most careful culture, and no word had ever been breathed against the purity of his moral character. His long experience as a legislator, and the exalted offices he had filled at home and abroad, eminently fitted him for the station he was called to fill. Under ordinary circumstances, his administration would probably have been a success.

But such storms arose as the country had never experienced before. Mr. Buchanan was far advanced in life. But four years were wanting to fill up his threescore years and ten. His own friends, those with whom he had been allied in political principles and action for years, were seeking the destruction of the government, that they might rear upon the ruins of our free institutions a nation whose corner-stone should be human slavery. In this emergency, Mr. Buchanan was hopelessly bewildered. He could not, with his long-avowed principles, consistently oppose the State-Rights party in
their assumptions. As President of the United States, bound by his oath faithfully to administer the laws, he could not, without perjury of the grossest kind, unite with those endeavoring to overthrow the republic. He therefore did nothing.

In August, 1857, a correspondence took place between a number of gentlemen of distinction in New Haven, Conn., and President Buchanan, which, in consequence of its having been made public by the President, has become historic. As this correspondence develops very clearly most of the points at issue between President Buchanan and the great Republican party which elected President Lincoln, we shall quote freely from it. Impartiality will be secured by allowing each of the parties to speak in its own language. The circumstances which called forth the correspondence were as follows:

After the repeal of the Missouri Compromise a struggle began between the supporters of slavery and the advocates of freedom, for the possession of the Territory of Kansas by population and settlement. The more vigorous emigration from the free States, induced
by voluntary organizations to favor it, soon resulted in a large excess of population in favor of freedom. To wrest from this majority their proper control in the legislation and regulation of this Territory, large organized and armed mobs repeatedly passed over from the contiguous State of Missouri, and appeared in force at the polls. We have described these occurrences with some particularity in the sketch of President Pierce.

They drove away the regularly constituted inspectors of election, and substituted their own, who received the votes of the mob without scruple. In some instances lists of fictitious votes were returned under feigned names; and representatives of the Missouri mob were thereby furnished by the fraudulent inspectors with regular forms of election. Unfortunately, the territorial governor of Kansas (Reeder), embarrassed by these regular forms, and not knowing how far he would be justified in disputing them, did not, in all instances, withhold his certificates from these fraudulent claimants to seats in the legislature long enough for the people to bring evidence of the fraud. The administrations of both Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, and the supporters of those administrations, strongly proslavery in their sympathies, upheld this iniquitously chosen legislature in its authority and acts.

Governor Walker, who succeeded Governor Reeder, in a public address to the citizens of Kansas, announced that President Buchanan was determined to sustain this legislature, thus mob elected, as the lawful legislature of Kansas; and that its acts would be enforced by executive authority and by the army. This announcement created intense excitement with the advocates of liberty all over the Union.

About forty of the most distinguished gentlemen of New Haven, embracing such names as Benjamin Silliman, A. C. Twining, Nathaniel W. Taylor, Theodore Woolsey, Charles L. English, and Leonard Bacon, sent a memorial to the President upon this subject. It has recently appeared, in the published Life of Professor Silliman, that the paper was from the pen of Professor A. C. Twining, LL. D. It reads as follows:

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BUCHANAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"The undersigned, citizens of the United States, and electors of the State of Connecticut, respectfully offer to your excellency this memorial:"
"The fundamental principle of the Constitution of the United States, and of our political institutions, is, that the people shall make their own laws, and elect their own rulers.

"We see with grief, if not with astonishment, that Governor Walker of Kansas openly represents and proclaims that the President of the United States is employing through him an army, one purpose of which is to force the people of Kansas to obey laws not their own, nor of the United States, but laws which it is notorious, and established upon evidence, they never made, and rulers they never elected.

"We represent, therefore, that, by the foregoing, your excellency is openly held up and proclaimed, to the great derogation of our national character, as violating in its most essential particular the solemn oath which the President has taken to support the Constitution of this Union.

"We call attention further to the fact, that your excellency is in like manner held up to this nation, to all mankind, and to all posterity, in the attitude of levying war against a portion of the United States, by employing arms in Kansas to uphold a body of men, and a code of enactments, purporting to be legislative, but which never had the election nor the sanction nor the consent of the people of that Territory.

"We earnestly represent to your excellency, that we also have taken the oath to obey the Constitution, and your excellency may be assured that we shall not refrain from the prayer that Almighty God will make your administration an example of justice and beneficence, and, with his terrible majesty, protect our people and our Constitution."

To this, which was called the Silliman Letter, the President returned a very carefully written reply from his own hand, covering seventeen folio pages. As he was well aware that the distinguished character of the memorialists would stamp the memorial with importance, and attract to it national attention, it cannot be doubted that he took counsel in its preparation, and presented those arguments upon which he and his Cabinet wished to rely with posterity in defense of their measures. After some preliminary remarks, which had but little bearing upon the points at issue, he said,—

"When I entered upon the duties of the presidential office, on
the 4th of March last, what was the condition of Kansas? This Territory had been organized under the act of Congress of 30th May, 1854, and the government in all its branches was in full operation. A governor, secretary of the Territory, chief justice, two associate justices, a marshal, and district attorney, had been appointed by my predecessor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and were all engaged in discharging their respective duties. A code of laws had been enacted by the territorial Legislature, and the judiciary were employed in expounding and carrying these laws into effect. It is quite true that a controversy had previously arisen respecting the validity of the election of members of the territorial Legislature, and of the laws passed by them, but, at the time I entered upon my official duties, Congress had recognized the Legislature in different forms and by different enactments.

"The delegate elected by the House of Representatives under a territorial law had just completed his term of service on the day previous to my inauguration. In fact, I found the government of Kansas as well established as that of any other Territory.

"Under these circumstances what was my duty? Was it not to sustain this government? to protect it from the violence of lawless men who were determined either to rule or ruin? to prevent it from being overturned by force? in the language of the Constitution, 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed'? It was for this purpose, and this alone, that I ordered a military force to Kansas, to act as a posse comitatus in aiding the civil magistrate to carry the laws into execution.

"The condition of the Territory at the time, which I need not portray, rendered this precaution absolutely necessary. In this state of affairs, would I not have been justly condemned had I left the marshal, and other officers of like character, impotent to execute the process and judgments of courts of justice established by Congress, or by the territorial Legislature under its express authority, and thus have suffered the government itself to become an object of contempt in the eyes of the people? And yet this is what you designate as forcing 'the people of Kansas to obey laws not their own, nor of the United States,' and for doing which you have denounced me as having violated my solemn oath.

"I ask, What else could I have done, or ought I to have done? Would you have desired that I should abandon the territorial gov-
ernment, sanctioned as it had been by Congress, to illegal violence, and thus renew the scenes of civil war and bloodshed which every patriot in the country had deplored? This would have been, indeed, to violate my oath of office, and to fix a damning blot on the character of my administration.

"I most cheerfully admit that the necessity for sending a military force to Kansas to aid in the execution of the civil law reflects no credit upon the character of our country. But let the blame fall upon the heads of the guilty. Whence did this necessity arise? A portion of the people of Kansas, unwilling to trust to the ballot-box, — the certain American remedy for the redress of all grievances, — undertook to create an independent government for themselves. Had this attempt proved successful, it would, of course, have subverted the existing government prescribed and recognized by Congress, and substituted a revolutionary government in its stead.

"This was a usurpation of the same character as it would be for a portion of the people of Connecticut to undertake to establish a separate government within its chartered limits, for the purpose of redressing any grievance, real or imaginary, of which they might have complained against the legitimate state government. Such a principle, if carried into execution, would destroy all lawful authority, and produce universal anarchy.

"I ought to specify more particularly a condition of affairs which I have embraced only in general terms, requiring the presence of a military force in Kansas. The Congress of the United States had most wisely declared it to be 'the true intent and meaning of this act' (the act organizing the Territory) 'not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.'

"As a natural consequence, Congress has also prescribed by the same act, that, when the Territory of Kansas shall be admitted as a State, it 'shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.' Slavery existed at that period, and still exists, in Kansas under the Constitution of the United States. This point has at last been finally decided by the highest tribunal known to our laws. How it could ever have been seriously doubted, is to me a mystery. If a
confederation of sovereign States acquire a new Territory at the expense of the common blood and treasure, surely one set of the partners can have no right to exclude the other from its enjoyment by prohibiting them from taking into it whatsoever is recognized as property by the common Constitution.

"But when the people, the bonâ fide residents of such Territory, proceed to frame a state Constitution, then it is their right to decide the important question for themselves — whether they will continue, modify, or abolish slavery. To them, and to them alone, does this question belong, free from all foreign interference. In the opinion of the territorial Legislature of Kansas, the time had arrived for entering the Union; and they accordingly passed a law to elect delegates for the purpose of framing a state Constitution. This law was fair and just in its provisions. It conferred the right of suffrage on every bonâ fide inhabitant of the Territory, and, for the purpose of preventing fraud and the intrusion of citizens of near or distant States, most properly confined this right to those who had resided there three months previous to the election.

"Here a fair opportunity was presented for all the qualified resident citizens of the Territory, to whatever organization they might have previously belonged, to participate in the election, and to express their opinions at the ballot-box on the question of slavery. But numbers of lawless men still continue to resist the regular ter-

1 It is to be observed that President Buchanan limits the term people to mean white people only. If a man had the slightest tinge of colored blood in his veins, he was not to be considered as one of the people. If there were two hundred thousand colored persons in the State, and one hundred thousand white persons, it was “most wisely declared” that these white persons should be permitted to decide whether these colored persons should work for them, without wages, in lifelong bondage. It most was “wisely declared” that James Buchanan, a white man, should be permitted to decide whether Frederick Douglass, a colored man, and in no respect his inferior, either morally, intellectually, or physically, should be compelled to black his boots, and groom his horse, from the cradle to the grave; and should James Buchanan thus decide, and should Frederick Douglass make any objection to the decision, “illegal, unjustifiable, unconstitutional,” then it was fitting that a United States army should he sent under the “stars and the stripes” to compel Frederick Douglas to ply the shoebrush and the curry-comb for James Buchanan. And this was called democracy, “equal rights for all!”

2 Colored persons, no matter how intelligent, wealthy, or refined, were no more considered inhabitants than they were considered people. As Mr. Buchanan employs these words with a significance different from that in which they are defined in every English dictionary, it is necessary to explain the sense in which he uses them in order to make his meaning clear.

3 These “lawless men” were the Free-State men of Kansas, who met in convention,
ritorial government. They refused either to be registered or to vote, and the members of the convention were elected legally and properly without their intervention.

"The convention will soon assemble to perform the solemn duty of framing a Constitution for themselves and their posterity; and in the state of incipient rebellion which still exists in Kansas, it is my imperative duty to employ the troops of the United States, should this become necessary, in defending the convention against violence while framing the Constitution; and in protecting the bona fide inhabitants qualified to vote under the provisions of this instrument in the free exercise of the right of suffrage, when it shall be submitted to them for their approbation or rejection.

"Following the wise example of Mr. Madison towards the Hartford Convention, illegal and dangerous combinations, such as that of the Topeka Convention, will not be disturbed, unless they shall attempt to perform some act which will bring them into actual collision with the Constitution and the laws."

The above contains the whole of Mr. Buchanan's reply bearing upon the points at issue. As this question was so all-absorbing during his administration, and created such intense excitement throughout the whole country, justice, to Mr. Buchanan seemed to demand that his views, which were cordially accepted and indorsed by his party, should be fully unfolded. This reply President Buchanan caused to be published, with the memorial; and it was very widely circulated. By the friends of his administration, it was declared to be triumphant. The rejoinder on the part of the memorialists consisted of an address to the public, also from the pen of Professor Twining. It is too long to be quoted; but its substance is contained in the following extracts:

"No man will question that the inhabitants of Kansas, by their Organic Act, became possessed of the same elective privilege with and passed the resolve, "That the body of men who for the last two months have been passing laws for the people of our Territory, moved, counseled, and dictated to by the demagogues of Missouri, are to us a foreign body, representing only the lawless invaders who elected them, and not the people of the Territory; that we repudiate their action as the monstrous consummation of an act of violence, usurpation, and fraud, unparalleled in the history of the Union."

1 These rebels were those who objected to the State being ruled by "border-ruffians" from Missouri.
the people of a State, just so far, at least, as that act entitles them to it. Since, therefore, it cannot be denied that the Constitution extends its protection over the elective franchise in that Territory as fully as in any State of the Union, it follows that the employment of troops to compel obedience to a notoriously non-elected and therefore usurping body, would, if performed in a sovereign State, Connecticut for example, be no more fully an unconstitutional act, no more really levying war against a portion of the United States, than if performed in Kansas.

"Are we, inhabitants of the comparatively feeble State of Connecticut, to hold our liberties at so precarious a tenure, that if, hereafter, thousands of armed men from our stronger neighbor in the West shall make an incursion among us, seize our ballot-boxes, deposit their votes, and write certificates for representatives of their own choosing, with the point of the sword, the President of this Union shall assume to compel our obedience 'by the whole power of the government?' Could it be expected that even such a menace would drive our citizens to recognize any valid authority in a mere banditti, because of their possession of the stolen and empty forms of law and government?

"It has been denied by the apologists of the Missouri invaders, that what is called the territorial Legislature of Kansas is, in fact, such a non-elected and usurping body as we have just described. How stands this in the President's reply? Does that reply deny that the body referred to 'never had the election nor sanction nor consent of the people of the Territory'? Not at all. In that document, emanating from so high a source, no such denial is made. Nay, we are at liberty to receive it as more; even as being, under the circumstances, an impressive recognition. And yet, while he does not deny our chief assertion and fact, the President justifies the employment of troops to uphold a body of men and a code of enactments which he has tacitly admitted never had the election nor sanction nor consent of the people of the Territory.

"But the President puts forward a vindication. It rests almost entirely upon two grounds, which we feel called upon briefly to review. The first ground may be sufficiently stated by a single quotation from his document: 'At the time I entered upon my official duties, Congress had recognized this legislature in different forms and by different enactments.'
"What particular forms and enactments are intended, is, with a single exception, left to our conjecture; but by attentively considering that exception, which amounts only to the admission of a delegate to the house after two marked rejections, you will clearly apprehend that there never was any enactment of Congress from which anything more could be derived than some doubtful or imperfect constructive recognition of the territorial body referred to.

"Our first answer, then, to the ground of vindication above stated, is an explicit denial that any joint action of the House and the Senate, not to mention the President, expressly purporting to recognize or make valid the body in question, can be found among the statutes of this nation,—anything approaching in solemnity the Organic Act. Again: we assert that the Organic Act stands in all the force of an unrepealed national law. And in this we refer especially to its provisions for an elective representation of the people. No man will dispute us on this point. That great charter of popular representation in Kansas remains unrevoked; and it is undeniable, that the fundamental Organic Act ought to and must control all side-issues. Mere implications cannot be construed to conflict with the unmistakable and express enactments according to which the 'duly elected' legislative assembly shall consist of the persons having the highest number of legal votes, and with the intent 'to leave the people thereof (i. e. of the Territory) free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject (not to invaders, but) only to the Constitution of the United States.'

"And here we might rest; for here our answer is complete. But we go farther, and deny the propriety even of the implications claimed. The President adduces specifically only the admission of a delegate sent to the house by the supporters of the usurping legislature. Now, it is enough to remark in reply, that, although the admission of a delegate is final as to his seat for a time, it has not even force to obligé a succeeding Congress not to exclude him, much less to obligé a President to subjugate a Territory. But is it on such a knife-edge as this that the franchise of a whole people is made to oscillate and tremble? and is this the logic which guides our statesmen?

"To adduce a meagre vote of a single branch of the government as an act of Congress; to adduce it as such in the face of the repeated adverse action of even that single branch; to do this by
LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

ignoring the procedures of that same branch, which, acting as the
grand inquest of the nation, had sent forth the details of frauds and
the evidence of invalidity, on the strength of which, as contained
in the report of their investigating committee, they had formally
voted to abrogate the body for whom their sanction is now claimed!

"The Organic Act, and, under it, the fundamental principle of
our Constitution, stand in full force in Kansas. But, contrary to
that act and that principle, a body of men are assuming to legislate,
who were never elected or sanctioned by the people. When, therefore,
the President offers his oath and his obligation to see the laws
faithfully executed, as a plea for supporting that illegal body, he
proposes the solecism, that his obligation to the laws binds him to
subvert the organic law, and that his oath to preserve and protect
the Constitution binds him to contravene the very fundamental ele-
ment of the Constitution.

"The President's other ground of vindication is embraced in the
following extracts: 'I found the government of Kansas as well es-
ablished as that of any other Territory. A governor, secretary of
the Territory, chief justice, two associate justices, a marshal, and
district attorney, had been appointed by my predecessor, by and
with the advice and consent of the Senate. A code of laws had
been enacted by the territorial Legislature (mark our italics), and
the judiciary were employed in carrying those laws into effect.'

"We assent to the proposition, that if the bond fide settlers of
Kansas have, as a body, given their sanction and consent to the
representative authority of the territorial Legislature above referred
to, even without having given it their election, and if that authority
is of force to execute its enactments in the Territory, it constitutes
de facto, in union with the federal government and other officers, a
valid republican government; but then that sanction, it is obvious,
must have been the clear, explicit, unmistakable act of the major-
ity. How, then, does the fact stand in the instance before you?

"So far from such sanction or consent of the majority being in
evidence, or even presumable, the President's reply itself supplies
distinct proof, in part, to the reverse; and facts notorious to com-
mon information supply the rest. 'A portion of the people of
Kansas,' you read in the reply, 'undertook to create an independent
government for themselves,' 'continued to resist the regular territo-
rial government,' and even 'refused either to be registered or vote.'
“A ‘portion of the people’ have always acted out a strong protest. How large a portion, the reply does not state; but you are aware, from good authorities, that it is two thirds at least, and perhaps four fifths, of the entire population.”

After showing the conclusive evidence upon which this fact is established, evidence which no one now calls in question, the memorialists continue, —

“The emphatic protest of the majority in Kansas, which was expressed by their afore-mentioned refusal to vote, is imputed to them by the President as a political and public wrong. His language is, ‘A portion of the people of Kansas, unwilling to trust to the ballot-box, — the certain American remedy for the redress of all grievances, — undertook to create an independent government. Numbers of lawless men continued to resist the territorial Legislature. They refused either to be registered or to vote.’

“The resistance of these lawless men, be it observed, was merely a steady refusal to vote, or to recognize the pretended legislature. But were they indeed unwilling to trust the ballot-box? When and how? Was it in November, 1854, when, at the first election for a delegate, they were overpowered by parties of armed intruders, who, obtaining violent possession of the polls, cast about six tenths the entire ‘vote of the Territory? Was it in the following March, when thousands of armed men from Missouri, with tents, provision-wagons, music, and the entire appointments of an invading army, poured into Kansas, occupied every council district, took possession of the ballot-boxes, and excluded all rightful voters whose sentiments were not agreeable to them? Has it been at any subsequent election, every one of which has been controlled by voters from Missouri? Under these circumstances, which are all open to the light of day, the reproachful charge of being ‘unwilling to trust to the ballot-box’ cannot reach those at whom it is aimed.

“Fellow-citizens, we know not why the President should have introduced to us and to you the exciting subject of slavery, respecting which our memorial was silent. We leave his startling assertions on that subject without any other comment than that our silence is not to be construed into any assent.”

The friends of Mr. Buchanan’s administration, North and South, were satisfied with his letter. They accepted and adopted the views it expressed as a triumphant defense of the policy which the govern-
ment was pursuing. On the other hand, the opponents of the administration accepted and adopted the views contained in the memorial of the New Haven gentlemen, and in their response to the President's letter. It was upon this very platform that the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas planted his feet so firmly, and in defense of which he fought, perhaps, the most heroic battle ever waged in senatorial halls. This was essentially the issue which was presented to the nation in the next presidential election, and which resulted in the choice of Abraham Lincoln by an overwhelming majority of votes.

In the great excitement which this state of things created in the United States, the opponents of Mr. Buchanan's administration nominated Abraham Lincoln as their standard-bearer in the next presidential canvass. The proslavery party declared that if he were elected, and the control of the government were thus taken from their hands, they would secede from the Union, taking with them, as they retired, the national Capitol at Washington, and the lion's share of the territory of the United States.

Mr. Buchanan's sympathy with the proslavery party was such, that he had been willing to offer them far more than they had ventured to claim. All that the South had professed to ask of the North was non-intervention upon the subject of slavery. Mr. Buchanan had been ready to offer them the active cooperation of the government to defend and extend the institution. In a "private and confidential letter," addressed to Jefferson Davis in 1850, he wrote, in reference to a letter which he was urged to have published,—

"From a careful examination of the proceedings in Congress, it is clear that non-intervention is all that will be required by the South. Under these circumstances, it would be madness in me to publish my letter, and take higher ground for the South than they have taken for themselves. This would be to out-Herod Herod, and to be more Southern than the South. I shall be assailed by fanatics and free-soilers as long as I live for having gone farther in support of the rights of the South than Southern senators and representatives."

As the storm increased in violence, the slaveholders claiming the right to secede, and Mr. Buchanan avowing that Congress had no power to prevent it, one of the most pitiable exhibitions of governmental imbecility was exhibited the world has ever seen.
as it was known that Mr. Lincoln was elected, the slaveholding States, drilled to the movement, began to withdraw. Mr. Buchanan had not a word of censure for them. All his rebukes were addressed to those who had wished to prevent the extension of slavery. "The long-continued and intemperate interference," he said, "of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States, has at length produced its natural effects." He declared that Congress had no power to enforce its laws in any State which had withdrawn, or which was attempting to withdraw, from the Union. This was not the doctrine of Andrew Jackson, when, with his hand upon his sword-hilt, he exclaimed, "The Union must and shall be preserved!" It was an alarming state of things when the supreme executive declared that he had no power "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

Innumerable plans of concession were proposed; but the secessionists did not hesitate to avow their utter contempt for the government of the United States, and to spurn its advances. Mr. Buchanan approached the rebels on his knees. They hastened to avail themselves of his weakness, and to accomplish all their disorganizing measures before his successor should come into power.

South Carolina seceded in December, 1860; nearly three months before the inauguration of President Lincoln. Mr. Buchanan looked on in listless despair. The rebel flag was raised in Charleston; Fort Sumter was besieged; The Star of the West, in endeavoring to carry food to its famishing garrison, was fired upon; and still Mr. Buchanan sat in the White House, wringing his hands, and bemoaning his helplessness. Our forts, navy-yards, and arsenals were seized; our dépôts of military stores were plundered; and our custom-houses and post-offices were appropriated by the rebels: and all that President Buchanan could do was to send a secret messenger to Charleston to implore the rebels to hold back their hand a little until the close of his administration.¹ Members of his Cabinet began

¹ "By the middle of December, Hon. Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts was dispatched to Charleston by President Buchanan as a commissioner or confidential agent of the executive. His errand was a secret one; but, so far as its object was allowed to transpire, he was understood to be the bearer of a proffer from Mr. Buchanan, that he would not attempt to reinforce Major Anderson, nor initiate any hostilities against the secessionists, provided they would evince a like pacific spirit by respecting the federal authorities down to the close of his administration, now but a few weeks distant." — The American Conflict, by Horace Greeley, vol. i. p. 409.
to retire, and join the rebels, after they had scattered the fleet, and robbed the arsenals and the public treasure.

The energy of the rebels, and the imbecility of our executive, were alike marvelous. Before the close of January, the rebels had plundered the nation of millions of property, had occupied and fortified many of the most important strategic points, had chosen their flag, and organized their government; while President Buchanan had not lifted a hand to check them. The nation looked on in agony, waiting for the slow weeks to glide away, and close this administration, so terrible in its weakness.

General Scott, in view of the threatening aspect of affairs, called repeatedly upon President Buchanan, and urged that strong garrisons should be sent to all the imperiled forts. Many of these forts had no garrisons at all, and could at any time be seized and appropriated by the rebels, rendering their reconquest costly in both blood and treasure. Mr. Buchanan would not permit them to be strengthened. General Scott entreated that at least a circular might be sent to the forts where there were garrisons, giving them warning of their peril, and urging them to be on the alert. His request was not granted until it was too late to be of avail.

Had General Scott's plan been adopted, it would have placed all the arsenals and forts commanding the Southern rivers and strategic points so firmly in the hands of the national government, that the rebels would scarcely have ventured to attack them. In all probability, it would have prevented the uprising. It would have saved the country four thousand millions of money, and nearly a million of lives. Whatever may have been the motives which influenced Mr. Buchanan, no one can be blind to the result of his conduct. Probably history may be searched in vain for a parallel case, in which the chief ruler of a great country, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy, all seemed to combine to leave the most important fortresses of the nation in as defenseless a condition as possible, when arrogant and armed rebellion was threatening their capture. Was this treachery? Was it imbecility?

It is very evident that for some reason the secessionists had no fear that President Buchanan would place any obstacles in their path. In December, 1860, Hon. L. M. Keitt was serenaded in Columbia, S. C. In response, he made a speech, in which he is reported to have said as follows:—
"South Carolina cannot take one step backwards now without receiving the curses of posterity. South Carolina, single and alone, is bound to go out of this accursed Union. Mr. Buchanan is pledged to secession, and I mean to hold him to it. Take your destinies in your own hands, and shatter this accursed Union. South Carolina can do it alone; but, if she cannot, she can at least throw her arms around the pillars of the Constitution, and involve all the States in a common ruin."

When South Carolina, under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, in the days of Andrew Jackson's presidency, was threatening nullification and secession, General Scott received an order from the War Department to hasten to Washington. He arrived in the evening, and immediately had an interview with the President. "The Union must and shall be preserved," said General Jackson, as he inquired of General Scott his views as to the best military measures to be adopted.

General Scott suggested strong garrisons for Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, and for the arsenal at Augusta, which was filled with the matériel of war. Fort Sumter was not then built. He also urged that a sloop-of-war and several armed revenue-cutters should be immediately sent to Charleston Harbor.

"Proceed at once," said General Jackson, "and execute those views. I give you carte blanche in respect to troops. The vessels shall be there, and written instructions shall follow you."

Under these persuasives, nullification and secession soon came to grief. There surely was as great a difference in the treatment of the disease by Jackson and by Buchanan as there was in the results of that treatment.

At length the long looked-for hour of deliverance came, when the sceptre was to fall from the powerless hand of Mr. Buchanan, and to be grasped by another, who would wield it with more of the dignity and energy becoming the chief ruler of one of the most powerful nations on the globe. It was the 4th of March, 1861. Attempts had been made by the rebels to assassinate Abraham Lincoln on his journey to Washington. Very narrowly he escaped. It was deemed necessary to adopt the most careful precautions to secure him from assassination on the day of his inauguration. Mr. Buchanan remained in Washington to see his successor installed, and then retired to his home in Wheatland.
The administration of President Buchanan was certainly the most calamitous our country has experienced. His best friends cannot recall it with pleasure. And still more deplorable it is for his fame, that, in the dreadful conflict which rolled its billows of flame and blood over our whole land, no word came from the lips of President Buchanan to indicate his wish that our country's banner should triumph over the flag of rebellion. He might by a few words have rendered the nation the most signal service; but those words were not spoken. He died at his beautiful Wheatland retreat, June 1, 1868, aged seventy-seven years.
CHAPTER XVI.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.


In the interior of the State of Kentucky there is the county of La Rue. Even now it is but sparsely populated. Seventy-five years ago it was quite a wilderness, highly picturesque in its streams, its forests, and its prairies; in places, smooth as a floor, and again swelling into gentle undulations like the ocean at the subsidence of
a storm. The painted Indian here had free range; a savage more ferocious than the wild beasts he pursued. Though Daniel Boone had explored this region, and had returned to the other side of the Alleghanies laden with peltry, and with the report that it was an earthly paradise, there were but few who were ready to plunge into the pathless wilderness, leaving all vestiges of civilization hundreds of miles behind them. But Providence, for the sake of peopling this country, seems to have raised up a peculiar class of men who loved hardship and peril and utter loneliness. The Indians were always clustered in villages, but these men, the pioneers of civilization, penetrated the recesses of the forest, and reared their cabins in the most secluded valleys, where they seldom heard the voice or saw the face of their brother man.

About the year 1780, when the war of the Revolution was still raging, one of these men, Abraham Lincoln, left the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah, in Virginia, for the wilds of Kentucky. His wife and one or two children accompanied him. There were no roads; there were no paths but the trail of the Indian. All their worldly goods they must have carried in packs upon their backs, unless, possibly, they might have been enabled to take with them a horse or a mule. What motive could have induced a civilized man to take such a step it is difficult to imagine, and still, from the earliest settlement of our country until the present day, there have been thousands thus ever crowding into the wilderness. Only two years after this emigration Abraham Lincoln, still a young man, while working one day in his field, was stealthily approached by an Indian and shot dead. His widow was left in the extreme of poverty with five little children. How she struggled along through the terrible years of toil and destitution we are not informed. It was one of those unwritten tragedies of which earth is full.

There were three boys and two girls in the family. Thomas, the youngest of these boys, was four years of age at the time of his father's death. This Thomas was the father of Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, whose name must henceforth forever be enrolled amongst the most prominent in the annals of our world. Of course no record has been kept of the life of one so lowly as Thomas Lincoln. He was among the poorest of the poor. His home was a wretched log-cabin; his food the coarsest and the meanest. Education he had none; he could never either read or
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write. As soon as he was able to do anything for himself, he was compelled to leave the cabin of his starving mother, and push out into the world, a friendless, wandering boy, seeking work. He hired himself out, and thus spent the whole of his youth as a laborer in the fields of others.

When twenty-eight years of age he built a log-cabin of his own and married Nancy Hanks, the daughter of another family of poor Kentucky emigrants, who had also come from Virginia. Their second child was Abraham Lincoln, the subject of this sketch. Thomas, his father, was a generous, warm-hearted, good-natured man, with but little efficiency. He greatly deplored his want of education, and was anxious that his children should not suffer in this respect as he had done. The mother of Abraham was a noble woman, gentle, loving, pensive, created to adorn a palace, doomed to toil and pine and die in a hovel. “All that I am, or hope to be,” exclaims the grateful son, “I owe to my angel-mother: blessings on her memory!”

Both the father and mother of Abraham Lincoln were earnest Christians. Their grateful son could ever say, —

“'T is not my boast that I deduce my birth
From loins enthroned, and rulers of the earth;
But higher far my proud pretensions rise,
The child of parents passed into the skies.”

Abraham’s mother had received some education, and would often delight her children by reading them some story from the very few books she could command. In that remote region schools were few, and very humble in their character. Abraham, when in his seventh year, was sent to one teacher for about two months, and to another for about three. His zeal was so great, that, in that time, he learned both to read and write. His parents were members of the Baptist Church; and occasionally an itinerant preacher came along, and gathered the scattered families under a grove or in a cabin for religious service. Good old Parson Elkin gave Abraham his first ideas of public speaking.

When he was eight years of age his father sold his cabin and small farm, and moved to Indiana. Three horses took the family and all their household goods a seven days’ journey to their new home. Here kind neighbors helped them in putting up another log-cabin. In a home more cheerless and comfortless than the
readers of the present day can easily comprehend, Mrs. Lincoln, with the delicate organization, both of body and mind, of a lady, sank and died beneath the burdens which crushed her. Abraham was then ten years of age. Bitterly he wept as his mother was laid in her humble grave beneath the trees near the cabin. The high esteem in which this noble woman was held may be inferred from the fact that Parson Elkin rode a hundred miles on horseback, through the wilderness, to preach her funeral sermon; and the neighbors, to the number of two hundred, who were scattered in that sparsely-settled region over a distance of twenty miles, assembled to attend the service.

It was a scene for a painter,—the log-cabin, alone in its solitude; the wide-spread prairie, beautiful in the light of the Sabbath morning sun; the grove; the grave; the group seated around upon logs and stumps; the venerable preacher; the mourning family; and Abraham, with his marked figure and countenance, his eyes swimming with tears, gazing upon the scene which was thus honoring the memory of his revered mother.

Abraham had written the letter inviting the pastor to preach the funeral sermon. He soon became the scribe of the uneducated community around him. He could not have had a better school than this to teach him to put thoughts into words. He also became an eager reader. The books he could obtain were few; but these he read and re-read until they were almost committed to memory. The Bible, Æsop’s “Fables,” and the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” were his favorites. The Lives of Washington, Franklin, and Clay produced a deep impression upon his sensitive mind. All the events of their varied careers were so stored up in his memory that he could recall them at any time.

An anecdote is related illustrative of that conscientiousness of character which was early developed, and which subsequently gave him the name, throughout the whole breadth of the land, of “Honest Abe.” He had borrowed Ramsay’s “Life of Washington.” By accident, the book was seriously injured by a shower. In consternation at the calamity, he took it back to the owner, and purchased the soiled copy by working for it for three days.

His father soon married again a very worthy woman, who had also several children. Abraham remained at home, toiling upon the farm, and occasionally working as a day-laborer. He had re-
markable muscular strength and agility, was exceedingly genial and obliging, and secured to an eminent degree the affection and respect of the lowly community with which he was associated. He was ever ready to make any sacrifice of his own comfort to assist others. Having some considerable mechanical skill, he built a boat to carry the produce of the farm down the Ohio River to a market. One morning, as he was standing by his boat at the landing, two men came down to the shore, and wished to be taken out to a steamer in the river. He sculled them out with their luggage. Each of them tossed a silver half-dollar to him. In telling this story in the day when his income was twenty-five thousand dollars a year, and he had obtained almost world-wide renown, he said, —

"I could scarcely believe my eyes. It was a most important incident in my life. I could scarcely believe that I, a poor boy, had earned a dollar in less than a day. The world seemed wider and fairer before me. I was more hopeful and confident from that time."

When nineteen years of age, a neighbor applied to him to take charge of a flat-boat to float a cargo of produce down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, — a distance of more than a thousand miles. A more exciting trip for an adventurous young man can scarcely be imagined. Housed safely in his capacious boat, with food and shelter; floating down the tranquil current of the beautiful Ohio, and swept resistlessly along by the majestic flood of the Father of Waters; passing headlands and forests, huts and villages, the tortuous river bearing the boat in all directions, — north, south, east, west; the stream now compressed within narrow banks, and now expanding to a lake, and almost to an ocean; to be borne along by an insensible motion through such scenes, in the bright morning sunshine or in the serene moonlight, must have enkindled emotions in the bosom of young Lincoln never to be forgotten. With a rifle, and a small boat attached to their floating ark, they could supply themselves with game. Whenever they wished, they could tie their boat to the shore, and visit the cabins of the remote settlers for supplies.

One night, when tied to the shore, they were attacked by seven robbers eager for plunder. Quite a little battle ensued, when the robbers were put to precipitate flight. Having arrived at New Orleans, the cargo was sold, and the boat disposed of for lumber.
Young Lincoln with his companions retraced their passage back to Indiana in a long and weary journey, most of the way on foot. As the years rolled on, the lot of this lowly family was the usual lot of humanity. There were joys and griefs, weddings and funerals. Abraham’s sister Sarah, to whom he was tenderly attached, was married when a child of but fourteen years of age, and soon died. The family was gradually scattered. Mr. Thomas Lincoln, naturally restless, finding his location unhealthy in the almost unbroken wilderness of Spencer County, Indiana, and lured by the accounts which he had heard of the marvelous fertility of Illinois, sold out his squatter’s claim in 1830, and emigrated two hundred miles farther northwest,—to Macon County, Illinois. It was a weary spring journey over swollen streams and through roads of mire. The carts, containing the personal effects of the emigrants, were dragged by oxen; and fifteen days were occupied in reaching their new home upon the banks of the Sangamon.

Abraham Lincoln was then twenty-one years of age. With vigorous hands, he aided his father in rearing another log-cabin. It was made of hewn timber. The only tools they had to work with were an axe, a saw, and a draw-knife. A smoke-house and barn were also built, and ten acres of land were fenced in by split rails. Abraham worked diligently at this until he saw the family comfortably settled, and their small lot of inclosed prairie planted with corn, when he announced to his father his intention to leave home, and to go out into the world to seek his fortune. Little did he or his friends imagine how brilliant that fortune was to be. But the elements of greatness were then being developed. He saw the value of education, and was intensely earnest to improve his mind to the utmost of his power. He saw the ruin which ardent spirits were causing, and became strictly temperate; refusing to allow a drop of intoxicating liquor to pass his lips. And he had read in God’s word, “Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;” and a profane expression he was never heard to utter. Religion he revered. His morals were pure, and he was uncontaminated by a single vice.

It is difficult to explain the reason for the fact, that one young man, surrounded by every influence which should elevate, sinks into ruin; and that another, exposed to all the temptations which would naturally tend to degrade, soars to dignity and elevation which
render him an honor to his race. Young Abraham worked for a time as a hired laborer among the farmers. Then he went to Springfield, where he was employed in building a large flat-boat. In this he took a herd of swine, floated them down the Sangamon, to the Illinois, and thence by the Mississippi to New Orleans. Whatever Abraham Lincoln undertook, he performed so faithfully as to give great satisfaction to his employers. In this adventure his employers were so well pleased, that, upon his return, they placed a store and a mill under his care. A blessing seemed to follow him. Customers were multiplied. His straightforward, determined honesty secured confidence. In settling a bill with a woman, he took six and quarter cents too much. He found it out in his night’s reckoning, and immediately, in the dark, walked to her house, two miles and a half distant, to pay it back to her. Just as he was closing the store one night, in the dusk, he weighed out half a pound of tea for a woman. In the morning he found, that, by an accidental defect in the scales, the woman had received scant weight by four ounces. He weighed out the four ounces, shut up the store, and carried them to her; a long walk before breakfast.

A bully came into the store one day, rioting, blustering, insulting beyond endurance, trying to provoke a fight. “Well, if you must be whipped,” said Abraham at last, “I suppose I may as well whip you as any other man.” He seized him with his long, powerful arms, threw him upon the ground as though he had been a child, and, gathering in his hand some “smart-weed” which chanced to be near, rubbed it in his face, until the fellow bellowed with pain, and cried for mercy. Abraham, with “malice towards none,” helped him up, got some cool water to bathe his burning face, and made him ever after one of his best friends.

He borrowed an English grammar, studied it thoroughly, and completely mastered it. He sought the society of the most intelligent men in that region, joined a debating-club, and took “The Louisville Journal,” which he not only read, but carefully pondered all its leading articles. Every leisure moment was devoted to study and thought.

In 1832 the celebrated Indian chief Black Hawk crossed the Mississippi, and, with a large band of savages, was ascending Rock River. Volunteers were called for to resist him. Lincoln, with enough others in his immediate neighborhood to make a company,
enlisted. Who should be their captain? There were two candidates,—Mr. Lincoln and a Mr. Kirkpatrick, a man of extensive influence, and who had been a former employer of Mr. Lincoln, but who was so arrogant and overbearing that Mr. Lincoln could not live with him. The mode of election was very simple. The two candidates were placed apart, and each man was told to go to the one whom he preferred. Nearly the whole band was soon found clustered around Lincoln. This was with Mr. Lincoln the proudest hour of his life. The little army of twenty-four hundred ascended Rock River in pursuit of Black Hawk. The savages were attacked, routed, and Black Hawk was taken prisoner. Zachary Taylor was colonel, and Abraham Lincoln captain, in this campaign. Nothing seemed then more improbable than that either of those men should ever become President of the United States.

Upon his return to Sangamon County, he was proposed as a candidate for the state Legislature. He was then twenty-three years of age, and was the political admirer of Henry Clay, and not of General Jackson. The great majority of the county were Jacksonian Democrats: but Mr. Lincoln's personal popularity was such, that he received almost every vote in his own precinct; though, in the general vote, he was defeated. He again tried his hand at storekeeping, and, with a partner, purchased a lot of goods. But his partner proved fickle and dissipated, and the adventure was a failure. He now received from Andrew Jackson the appointment of postmaster for New Salem. The duties were light, and the recompense small, in that wilderness. His only post-office was his hat. All the letters he received he carried there, ready to deliver as he chanced to meet those to whom they were addressed.

That new country was constantly demanding the services of a surveyor. Mr. Lincoln studied the science, and, entering upon the practice of this new profession, followed it vigorously and successfully for more than a year. He was still rapidly acquiring information, and advancing in mental culture. Shakespeare he read and re-read. Burns he could almost repeat by heart. Occasionally he ventured to make a political speech.

In 1834 he again became a candidate for the state Legislature, and was triumphantly elected. Mr. Stuart of Springfield, an eminent lawyer, advised him to study law; offering to lend him such assistance in money as he needed. He walked from New Salem to
Springfield, borrowed of Mr. Stuart a load of books, carried them upon his back to New Salem, and commenced his legal studies. With earnestness which absorbed every energy of his soul, he entered upon his student-life. He had no pleasant office, no choice library, none of the appliances of literary luxury, to entice him. Much of his time, his study was the shade of an oak-tree. When the Legislature assembled, he trudged on foot, with his pack on his back, one hundred miles to Vandalia, then the capital of the State. He was a silent but studious member, gaining strength and wisdom every day. At the close of the session he walked home, and resumed the study of the law, supporting himself by surveying. These years of thought and study had accomplished their work, and suddenly he flashed forth an orator. It was at a public meeting in Springfield that he electrified the audience, and was at once recognized as one of the most eloquent men in the State.

In 1836 he was reelected to the state Legislature. Mr. Lincoln was now twenty-seven years of age, and a prominent man in the State of Illinois. It was during this session of the Legislature that Mr. Lincoln first met Stephen A. Douglas, who was then but twenty-three years old. The slavery question was beginning to agitate the country. Both parties were bowing submissive to that great power. Some extreme proslavery resolutions passed the Legislature. There were but two men who ventured to remonstrate. Abraham Lincoln was one. "Slavery," Mr. Lincoln said in his protest, which was entered upon the journal of the house, "is founded on both injustice and bad policy." He was still poor. He walked to Vandalia. He walked home; his only baggage, a bundle in his hand.

Major Stuart of Springfield now proposed that Mr. Lincoln should become his partner in the law; and accordingly, in April, 1839, he removed to Springfield, and commenced the practice of his new profession. In the mean time the capital was removed to Springfield, and Mr. Lincoln, by successive elections, was continued in the Legislature, and was soon recognized as its leading member on the Whig side. In the practice of the law, his success with the jury was so great, that he was engaged in almost every important case in the circuit.

Mr. Lincoln at once took a very high position at the bar. He would never advocate a cause which he did not believe to be a just one, and no amount of odium or unpopularity could dissuade him.
from espousing a cause where he thought the right was with his client. Few lawyers were at that time willing to undertake the defense of any one who had helped a fugitive slave on his way to Canada. A man who was accused of that crime applied to one of the first lawyers in Springfield as his advocate. The lawyer declined, saying that he should imperil all his political prospects by undertaking the case. He then applied to an earnest antislavery man for advice. "Go," said he, "to Mr. Lincoln. He is not afraid of an unpopular cause. When I go for a lawyer to defend an arrested fugitive slave, other lawyers will refuse me; but if Mr. Lincoln is at home, he will always take my case."

Judge Caton said of him, "His mode of speaking was generally of a plain and unimpassioned character; and yet he was the author of some of the most beautiful and eloquent passages in our language, which, if collected, would form a valuable contribution to American literature."

Judge Breese, speaking of him after his death, said, "For my single self, I have, for a quarter of a century, regarded Mr. Lincoln as the finest lawyer I ever knew, and of a professional bearing so high-toned and honorable, as justly, and without derogating from the claims of others, entitling him to be presented to the profession as a model well worthy the closest imitation."

Judge Drummond's testimony is equally full and emphatic. He says, "With a voice by no means pleasant, and indeed, when excited, in its shrill tones sometimes almost disagreeable; without any of the personal graces of the orator; without much in the outward man indicating superiority of intellect; without quickness of perception, — still his mind was so vigorous, his comprehension so exact and clear, and his judgment so sure, that he easily mastered the intricacies of his profession, and became one of the ablest reasoners and most impressive speakers at our bar. With a probity of character known to all, with an intuitive insight into the human heart, with a clearness of statement which was itself an argument, with uncommon power and felicity of illustration, — often, it is true, of a plain and homely kind, — and with that sincerity and earnestness of manner which carried conviction, he was, perhaps, one of the most successful jury-lawyers we have ever had in the State. He always tried a case fairly and honestly. He never intentionally misrepresented the evidence of a witness or the argument of an op-
ponent. He met both squarely, and if he could not explain the one, or answer the other, substantially admitted it. He never misstated the law according to his own intelligent view of it."

At one time Mr. Lincoln came very near being drawn into a duel very foolishly, but at the same time with a certain kind of characteristic magnanimity. A lady wrote a satirical poem in allusion to a young lawyer in Springfield, which some mischievous person took from her desk, and published in "The Journal." The lawyer, exasperated, called upon the editor, and demanded the name of the author. The editor was perplexed. It would seem ignoble to escape the responsibility by throwing it upon a lady. He consulted Mr. Lincoln, who was a personal friend of the lady. "Inform him," was the prompt reply, "that I assume the responsibility." A challenge was given and accepted. Mr. Lincoln chose broad-swords, intending to act simply on the defensive. Friends interposed; and the silly renounter, which, had it resulted in the death of Mr. Lincoln, would have proved a great national calamity, was prevented.

In allusion to this event, Mr. Carpenter says, "Mr. Lincoln himself regarded the circumstance with much regret and mortification, and hoped it might be forgotten. In February preceding his death, a distinguished officer of the army called at the White House, and was entertained by the President and Mrs. Lincoln for an hour in the parlor. During the conversation, the gentleman said, turning to Mr. Lincoln, 'Is it true, Mr. President, as I have heard, that you once went out to fight a duel for the sake of the lady by your side?' 'I do not deny it,' replied Mr. Lincoln; 'but, if you desire my friendship, you will never mention the circumstance again.'"

In 1842 Mr. Lincoln married Miss Mary Todd, daughter of Hon. Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Ky., who had resided several years in Springfield. During the great political contest of 1844 Mr. Lincoln earnestly espoused the cause of his political idol, Henry Clay. In the canvass he acquired much celebrity as an efficient speaker. His chagrin was intense that an intelligent people could prefer Mr. Polk to Mr. Clay. For a time he mistrusted the capacity of the people for self-government, and resolved to have no more to do with politics.

In 1846 Mr. Lincoln was nominated from the Sangamon District for Congress. He was elected by a very great majority, and in
December, 1847, took his seat in the thirtieth Congress. During the same session, Stephen A. Douglas took his seat in the Senate. Mr. Douglas was one of the champions of the Democratic party in the Senate. Mr. Lincoln was the warm advocate of Whig principles in the House. He was opposed to the Mexican war, as “unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States.” A speech which he made on this subject was one of a very high order of ability. His clearness, directness, vigor of style, and oratorical impressiveness, are all remarkable. Speaking of President Polk’s apologies for the war, he says, —

“I more than suspect that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels that the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him; that he ordered General Taylor into the midst of a peaceful Mexican settlement, purposely to bring on a war; that originally having some strong motive, which I will not stop now to give my opinion concerning, to involve the two nations in a war, and trusting to escape scrutiny by the extreme brightness of military glory, — that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood, that serpent’s eye that charms to destroy, — he plunged into it and swept on and on, till, disappointed in his calculations of the ease with which Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself he knows not where.”

War and victories were then something new to the American people. General Taylor was nominated in 1848 as the Whig candidate for the presidency. General Cass was the Democratic candidate. General Taylor had said, in accepting the nomination, —

“Upon the subject of the tariff, the currency, the improvement of our great highways, rivers, lakes, and harbors, the will of the people, as expressed through their representatives in Congress, ought to be respected and carried out by the executive.”

Mr. Lincoln, pithily and approvingly commenting upon this, said, “The people say to General Taylor, ‘If you are elected, shall we have a national bank?’ He answers, ‘Your will, gentlemen, not mine.’ ‘What about the tariff?’ ‘Say yourselves.’ ‘Shall our rivers and harbors be improved?’ ‘Just as you please. If you desire a bank, an alteration in the tariff, internal improvements, any or all, I will not hinder you; if you do not desire them, I will not attempt to force them on you. Send up your members to Congress from the various districts, with opinions according to your
own; and if they are for these measures, or any of them, I shall have nothing to oppose; if they are not for them, I shall not, by any appliances whatever, attempt to dragoon them into their accomplishment."

"In a certain sense," Mr. Lincoln continued, "and to a certain extent, the President is a representative of the people. He is elected by them as Congress is. But can he, in the nature of things, know the wants of the people as well as three hundred other men coming from all the various localities of the nation? If so, where is the propriety of having Congress?"

This was the platform upon which Mr. Lincoln ever stood. It was understood that General Taylor was opposed to the Mexican war. He certainly advocated an offensive instead of a defensive attitude. Mr. Lincoln cordially supported him in preference to General Cass, the Democratic candidate. He advocated the Wilmot Proviso, which excluded slavery from the Territories. He prepared a bill which declared that no person hereafter born in the District of Columbia should be held a slave, and which also encouraged emancipation. At the same time there is evidence that, while his sympathies were strongly against slavery, he still then thought that slaves were recognized as property under the Constitution. Still he afterwards denied, in a controversy with Douglas, that the "right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution." At the close of his two years' term of service in Washington he returned to Springfield, and assiduously devoted himself to the duties of his profession. He was always ready to advocate the cause of the poor and the oppressed, however small the remuneration, or great the obloquy incurred. The fugitive slave never appealed to him in vain.

In 1854 the proslavery party secured the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, and thus threw open the whole of the Northwest to the invasion of slavery. This outrage roused the indignation of Mr. Lincoln. He had long and anxiously watched the encroachments of slavery; and he now became convinced that there could be no cessation of the conflict until either slavery or freedom should gain the entire victory. Stephen A. Douglas, with whom Mr. Lincoln had long been more or less intimately associated, was responsible for the bill repealing the Missouri Compromise. It was regarded as his bid for Southern votes to secure the presidency.
Mr. Douglas was a man of great intellectual power, and of consummate tact and skill in debate. In October, 1854, he attended a state fair in Springfield, Ill., and addressed a vast assemblage in defense of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill as it was called. The next day Mr. Lincoln replied to him in a speech three hours in length. "The Springfield Republican," in its report, says,—

"He quivered with emotion. The whole house was still as death. He attacked the bill with unusual warmth and energy; and all felt that a man of strength was its enemy, and that he intended to blast it, if he could, by strong and manly efforts. He was most successful; and the house approved the glorious triumph of truth by long and loud continued huzzas. Women waved their handkerchiefs in token of woman's silent but heartfelt consent."

The fundamental principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was, that the white people in the Territories had a right to decide whether or not they would enslave the colored people. Thus pithily Mr. Lincoln replied to it:—

"My distinguished friend says it is an insult to the emigrants to Kansas and Nebraska to suppose that they are not able to govern themselves. We must not slur over an argument of this kind because it happens to tickle the ear. It must be met and answered. I admit that the emigrant to Kansas and Nebraska is competent to govern himself; but I deny his right to govern any other person without that person's consent."

It was the almost universal testimony, that, in this meeting at Springfield, Mr. Douglas was vanquished. Mr. Douglas went to Peoria. Mr. Lincoln followed him. The public excitement drew an immense crowd. Again these able and illustrious men met in the sternest conflict of argument. Mr. Lincoln's speech upon this occasion was fully reported. It was read with admiration all over the Union, and was generally considered an unanswerable refutation of the positions assumed by Mr. Douglas. One portion we will quote, since it has a direct bearing upon one of the questions now deeply exciting the public mind.

Mr. Douglas had assumed that it was a question of no importance whatever to the people of Illinois whether men were enslaved or not in the Territories. "I care not," he said, "whether slavery is voted up or voted down in Kansas."

Mr. Lincoln replied, "By the Constitution, each State has two
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senators; each has a number of representatives in proportion to the number of its people; and each has a number of presidential electors equal to the whole number of its senators and representatives together.

"But, in ascertaining the number of the people for the purpose, five slaves are counted as being equal to three whites. The slaves do not vote. They are only counted, and so used as to swell the influence of the white people's vote. The practical effect of this is more aptly shown by a comparison of the States of South Carolina and Maine. South Carolina has six representatives, and so has Maine. South Carolina has eight presidential electors, and so has Maine. This is precise equality so far, and of course they are equal in senators, each having two.

"But how are they in the number of their white people? Maine has 581,513. South Carolina has 274,567. Maine has twice as many as South Carolina, and 32,679 over. Thus each white man in South Carolina is more than double any man in Maine. This is all because South Carolina, besides her free people, has 387,984 slaves."

It is now proposed that all these colored people, to whom South Carolina refuses the rights of freemen, should be counted in the representation, thus not only continuing but augmenting this inequality. If they are admitted to the rights of citizenship, then their votes will be thrown for such measures as they approve; but if they are denied the rights of citizens, and are yet counted in the representation, it more than doubles the political power of their former masters, and leaves the freedmen utterly helpless in their hands. In a letter which Mr. Lincoln wrote, August 24, 1855, he says,—

"You inquire where I now stand. That is a disputed point. I think I am a Whig; but others say that there are no Whigs, and that I am an abolitionist. When I was in Washington, I voted for the Wilmot Proviso as good as forty times, and I never heard of any attempt to unwhig me for that. I do no more than oppose the extension of slavery. Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that 'all men were created equal.' We now practically read it, 'All men are created equal, except negroes.' I am not a Know-Nothing; that's certain. How could I be? How can any one, who abhors the op-
pression of the negroes, be in favor of degrading classes of white people? When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, 'All men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics.' When it comes to that, I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty,—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, without the base alloy of hypocrisy."

The new Republican party, embracing all of every name who were opposed to slavery extension, was now rising rapidly into power, and Mr. Lincoln cordially connected himself with it. He assisted in organizing the party in Illinois, and on the occasion made a speech, of which it was said, "Never was an audience more completely electrified by human eloquence. Again and again, during the progress of its delivery, they sprang to their feet and upon the benches, and testified, by long-continued shouts and the waving of their hats, how deeply the speaker had wrought upon their minds and hearts."

Abraham Lincoln was now the most prominent man in the Republican party in all the West. His name was presented to the National Convention for the vice-presidency, to be placed upon the ticket with John C. Frémont; but Mr. Dayton was the successful competitor. During this campaign he was rudely interrupted, in a glowing speech he was making, by some one crying out from the crowd,—

"Mr. Lincoln, is it true that you entered this State barefoot, driving a yoke of oxen?"

Mr. Lincoln paused for nearly a minute, while there was a breathless silence, and then said very deliberately, "I think that I can prove the fact by at least a dozen men in this crowd, any one of whom is more respectable than the questioner." Then, resuming his impassioned strain as if he had not been interrupted, he said, "Yes, we will speak for freedom and against slavery as long as the Constitution of our country guaranties free speech; until everywhere on this wide land the sun shall shine, and the rain shall fall, and the wind shall blow, upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil."

The Missouri mob had now formed the Lecompton Constitution, imposing slavery upon Kansas; and the President had given it his sanction. The country was agitated as never before. Mr. Doug-
las had thrown open the Northwest to the slave-power. It was capable of demonstration, that the Lecompton Constitution was not the act of the people of Kansas. Any thoughtful man could have been assured that it would not secure the support of the people of the United States. The Silliman Memorial, to which we have referred, was exerting a wide influence; and conscientious men of all parties were denouncing the fraud. Under these circumstances, Mr. Douglas abandoned the base forgery, and took his stand upon the platform of the Silliman Memorial. The Democratic State Convention of Illinois indorsed his position. Still, Mr. Douglas had not changed his fundamental position. He still advocated the opening of the Territory, which had been consecrated to freedom, to the entrance of slavery; and he still would allow the white inhabitants of the Territory, in their Constitution, to decide whether or not they would perpetrate the enslavement of the colored inhabitants. But he would not support the doings of an armed mob from Missouri, which had invaded Kansas, chosen a legislature, and framed a Constitution. Upon this point he broke away from Mr. Buchanan and his administration.

The Republicans of Illinois were not willing to send back to the Senate one who was the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, but Mr. Douglas was the recognized leader of the Democratic party in Illinois, and they rallied around him. The Republican State Convention met at Springfield on the 16th of June, 1858. Nearly one thousand delegates were present. Mr. Lincoln was unanimously nominated for the Senate in opposition to Mr. Douglas. In the evening he addressed the convention at the State House. The following extracts will give some faint idea of this remarkable speech:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all another. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."
"In the notable argument of squatter sovereignty, otherwise called 'sacred right of self-government,' this latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, is so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this,—that, if any one man choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object."

The campaign was now fairly opened. After one or two speeches, in which Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln addressed the same audiences, but at different meetings, Mr. Lincoln, on the 24th of July, 1858, sent a proposition to Mr. Douglas that they should make arrangements to speak at the same meetings, dividing the time between them. The proposition was agreed to for seven towns. At the first, Mr. Douglas was to speak for an hour, and Mr. Lincoln for an hour and a half, then Mr. Douglas was to have the closing speech of half an hour. At the next the time occupied was to be reversed. Thus they were to alternate until the close.

The first meeting was at Ottawa. Twelve thousand citizens had assembled. Mr. Douglas had the opening speech. The friends of Mr. Lincoln were roused to the greatest enthusiasm by his triumphant reply upon this occasion, and they almost literally bore him from the stage upon their shoulders. Immense crowds attended every meeting. Both speeches were carefully reported. The whole nation looked on with interest. The Republican party were so well pleased with Mr. Lincoln's success, that they published in one pamphlet the speeches on both sides, and circulated them widely as a campaign document. The verdict of the nation has been that Mr. Lincoln was morally and intellectually the victor.

By an unfair apportionment of the legislative districts Mr. Lincoln was beaten in his contest for a seat in the Senate, but, very unexpectedly to himself, he won a far higher prize. Mr. Lincoln made about sixty speeches during the canvass. When asked how he felt after his defeat, he replied characteristically, "I felt like the boy who had stubbed his toe,—too badly to laugh, and too big to cry."

Mr. Lincoln was now a man of national fame. He was recognized as one of the ablest statesmen and one of the most eloquent men in the nation. He was a good writer, an able debater, a man of well-disciplined mind, and extensive attainments in political science. In years long since past he had helped to split rails to
fence in a farm. Unwisely the Republican party introduced this statesman and orator, and man of noble character, to the country as the "rail-splitter."

"It took years," says Mr. Holland, in his admirable "Life of Abraham Lincoln," "for the country to learn that Mr. Lincoln was not a boor. It took them years to unlearn what an unwise and boyish introduction of a great man to the public had taught them. It took years for them to comprehend the fact, that, in Mr. Lincoln, the country had the wisest, truest, gentlest, noblest, most sagacious President who had occupied the chair of state since Washington retired from it."

He visited Kansas, where he was received with boundless enthusiasm. He visited Ohio, and crowds thronged to hear him. His renown was now such, that he was invited to address the citizens of New York at the Cooper Institute. The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity by the most distinguished men of that city of great names. Mr. Lincoln's address was a signal success. All were delighted. Round after round of applause greeted his telling periods. Mr. Bryant, in giving a report in "The Evening Post," said, "For the publication of such words of weight and wisdom as those of Mr. Lincoln, the pages of this journal are indefinitely elastic." The speech was published as a campaign document, and widely circulated. It might be called a scholarly performance. Its logic was faultless. In diction, it presented one of the finest specimens of pure Saxon English. Its illustrations and historic references indicated wide reading.

In New York everybody was charmed with the artlessness, frankness, intelligence, and lovely character of the man. Invitations to speak were crowded upon him. He addressed immense audiences at Hartford, New Haven, Meriden, and Norwich. It was unquestionably greatly through his influence that the State of Connecticut that year gave a Republican majority. The ability which he displayed was very remarkable. A distinguished clergyman said, "I learned more of the art of public speaking in listening to Mr. Lincoln's address last evening, than I could have learned from a whole course of lectures on rhetoric." A professor of rhetoric in Yale College took notes of his speech, and made them the subject of a lecture to his class the next day. He also followed Mr. Lincoln to his next appointment, that he might hear him again. "What was
it?" inquired Mr. Lincoln of the Rev. Mr. Gulliver, who was com-
plimenting him upon his speech, "which interested you so much?"
The reply was, "It was the clearness of your reasoning, and espe-
cially your illustrations, which were romance and pathos, and fun
and logic, all welded together."

Alluding to the threats of the proslavery men that they would
break up the Union should slavery be excluded from the Territo-
ries, he said,—

"In that supposed event, you say you will destroy the Union;
and then you say the great crime of having destroyed it will be
upon us. That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear,
and mutters through his teeth, 'Stand and deliver, or I shall kill
you, and then you will be a murderer! ' To be sure, what the robber
demands of me — my money — was my own, and I had a clear right
to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own.
And threat of death to me to extort my money, and threat of
destruction to the Union to extort my vote, can scarcely be distin-
guished in principle."

In conversation with Rev. Mr. Gulliver at this time, Mr. Lincoln
said, in reply to the question, "What has your education been?"
"Well, as to education, the newspapers are correct. I never went
to school more than six months in my life. I can say this, — that,
among my earliest recollections, I remember how, when a mere child,
I used to get irritated when anybody talked to me in a way I could
not understand. I don't think I ever got angry at anything else in
my life; but that always disturbed my temper, and has ever since.
I can remember going to my little bedroom, after hearing the neigh-
bors talk of an evening with my father, and spending no small part
of the night walking up and down, and trying to make out what
was the exact meaning of some of their, to me, dark sayings.

"I could not sleep, although I often tried to, when I got on such
a hunt after an idea, until I had caught it: and, when I thought I
had got it, I was not satisfied until I had repeated it over and over;
until I had put it in language plain enough, as I thought, for any
boy I knew to comprehend. This was a kind of passion with me,
and it has stuck by me; for I am never easy now, when I am han-
dling a thought, till I have bounded it north, and bounded it south,
and bounded it east, and bounded it west.

"But your question reminds me of a bit of education which I am
bound in honesty to mention. In the course of my law reading I constantly came upon the word demonstrate. I thought, at first, that I understood its meaning, but soon became satisfied that I did not. I said to myself, 'What do I mean when I demonstrate, more than when I reason or prove? How does demonstration differ from any other proof?' I consulted Webster's Dictionary. That told of 'certain proof,' 'proof beyond the possibility of doubt;' but I could form no sort of idea what sort of proof that was. I thought that a great many things were proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, without recourse to any such extraordinary process of reasoning as I understood demonstration to be.

"I consulted all the dictionaries and books of reference I could find, but with no better results. You might as well have defined blue to a blind man. At last, I said, 'Lincoln, you can never make a lawyer if you do not understand what demonstrate means;' and I left my situation in Springfield, went home to my father's house, and stayed there until I could give any proposition in the six books of Euclid at sight. I then found out what demonstrate means, and went back to my law studies."

The superintendent of the Five Points' Sabbath-school relates the following incident in reference to Mr. Lincoln during his visit to that city: "One Sunday morning I saw a tall, remarkable looking man enter the room, and take a seat among us. He listened with fixed attention to our exercises; and his countenance expressed such a genuine interest that I approached him, and suggested that he might be willing to say something to the children. He accepted the invitation with evident pleasure, and, coming forward, began a simple address, which at once fascinated every little hearer, and hushed the room into silence. His language was exceedingly beautiful, and his tones musical with intense feeling. The little faces would droop into sad conviction as he uttered sentences of warning, and would brighten into sunshine as he spoke cheerful words of promise. Once or twice he attempted to close his remarks; but the imperative shout of 'Go on! oh, do go on!' would compel him to resume. As I looked upon the gaunt and sinewy frame of the stranger, and marked his powerful head and determined features, now touched into softness by the impressions of the moment, I felt an irrepressible curiosity to learn something more about him; and, while he was quietly leaving the room, I begged to know his name. 'It is Abraham Lincoln, from Illinois.'"
The secessionists had now resolved, at all hazards, to break up the Union. The great object was to find a plausible excuse. The real reason was, that the free States were increasing so rapidly, both in number and population, that the slave States could no longer retain the direction of the government. They at that time had possession of the government, of the army, the navy, the treasury. They scattered the navy, dispersed the army, dismantled the forts and arsenals in the free States, accumulated arms and munitions of war in the slave States, and squandered the money in the treasury. They hoped thus to render the national government impotent.

They declared, that, should the Republican party nominate, and elect to the presidency, a man who was opposed to slavery, they would break up the Union. They then did everything in their power, in a treacherous and underhand way, to secure the election of a Republican President, that they might have this fancied excuse for their revolt. Future ages will scarcely credit these assertions; but no intelligent man at the present time will deny them.

In the spring of 1860 the Democratic party held its National Convention in Charleston, S. C., to nominate its candidate for the presidency. The proslavery men bolted, that they might break up the party, and thus secure the election of a Republican candidate. They succeeded. The regular Democratic Convention nominated Stephen A. Douglas. The secession party organized what they called a Constitutional Convention, and nominated John C. Breckenridge, one of the most radical of the proslavery men. A National Union Convention met, and nominated John Bell. This division rendered it almost certain that the Republican nominee, whoever he might be, would be elected. The secessionists were jovial, and pressed on in the preparation for decisive action.

The great Republican Convention met at Chicago on the 16th of June, 1860. The delegates and strangers who crowded the city amounted to twenty-five thousand. An immense building, called "The Wigwam," was reared to accommodate the Convention. There were eleven candidates for whom votes were thrown. William H. Seward, a man whose fame as a statesman had long filled the land, was the most prominent. It was generally supposed that he would be the nominee. On the first ballot Mr. Seward received one hundred and seventy-three and a half votes, and Abraham Lincoln one hundred and two. Nearly all the votes were now concentrated upon
these two candidates. Upon the second ballot Mr. Seward received one hundred and eighty-four and a half votes, and Mr. Lincoln one hundred and eighty-one. And now came the third ballot, which, it was very evident, would be decisive. Abraham Lincoln received two hundred and thirty-one and a half votes, lacking but one vote and a half of an election. Immediately one of the delegates from Ohio rose, and transferred the four votes of Ohio to Mr. Lincoln. This gave him the nomination. We cannot better describe the scene which ensued than in the language of Mr. Holland:

"The excitement had culminated. After a moment's pause, like the sudden and breathless stillness that precedes the hurricane, the storm of wild, uncontrollable, and almost insane enthusiasm, descended. The scene surpassed description. During all the ballotings, a man had been standing upon the roof, communicating the results to the outsiders, who, in surging masses, far outnumbered those who were packed into the Wigwam. To this man one of the secretaries shouted, 'Fire the salute! Abe Lincoln is nominated!' Then, as the cheering inside died away, the roar began on the outside, and swelled up from the excited masses, like the voice of many waters. This the insiders heard, and to it they replied. Thus deep called to deep with such a frenzy of sympathetic enthusiasm, that even the thundering salute of cannon was unheard by many on the platform."

When this burst of enthusiasm had expended itself, it was moved that the nomination should be unanimous; and it was made so. Mr. Lincoln was at this time at Springfield, two hundred miles distant, anxiously awaiting the result of the ballotings. He was in the office of "The Springfield Journal," receiving the telegraphic dispatches. At last a messenger came in with a dispatch in his hand and announced,

"The Convention has made a nomination, and Mr. Seward is—the second man on the list."

The joyful scene which ensued with Mr. Lincoln's friends must be imagined. When the excitement had a little subsided, he said, "There is a little woman on Eighth Street who has some interest in this matter;" and, putting the telegram into his pocket, he walked home. Little did he then dream of the weary years of toil and care, and the bloody death, to which that telegram doomed him: and as little did he dream that he was to render services to his
country which would fix upon him the eyes of the whole civilized world, and which would give him a place in the affections and reverence of his countrymen, second only, if second, to that of Washington.

The following day a committee of the Convention waited upon him with the announcement of his nomination. As it was known that they were to come, some of Mr. Lincoln's friends sent in several hampers of wine for their entertainment. But he was not only a temperance man, but a "total-abstinence" man. Resolved not to allow that new temptation to induce him to swerve from his principles, he returned the gift with kindest words of gratitude for the favor intended.

Mr. Lincoln received the delegation at the door of his house, and conducted them into his parlor. Governor Morgan of New York, in appropriate phrase, informed him that he had been unanimously nominated by the Convention to the office of President of the United States, and asked permission to report his acceptance. At the close of the ceremony, Mr. Lincoln said, in substance,—

"As a suitable conclusion of an interview so important, courtesy requires that I should treat the committee with something to drink." Then, stepping to the door, he called "Mary, Mary!" A young girl responded to the call. He said a few words to her in a low tone of voice, and closed the door. In a few moments the girl entered, bringing a large waiter containing a pitcher and several tumblers, which she placed upon a centre-table. Mr. Lincoln then rose, and said,—

"Gentlemen, we must pledge our mutual healths in the most healthy beverage which God has given to man. It is the only beverage I have ever used or allowed in my family; and I cannot conscientiously depart from it on this occasion. It is pure Adam's ale, from the spring."

Taking a tumbler he touched it to his lips; and all his guests followed his example. The President subsequently related the following singular incident as having taken place at that time:—

"A very singular occurrence took place the day I was nominated at Chicago, of which I am reminded to-night. In the afternoon of the day, returning home from downtown, I went upstairs to Mrs. Lincoln's sitting-room. Feeling somewhat tired, I lay down upon a couch in the room, directly opposite a bureau, upon which was a
looking-glass. As I reclined, my eye fell upon the glass, and I saw distinctly two images of myself, exactly alike, except that one was a little paler than the other. I arose, and lay down again with the same result. It made me quite uncomfortable for a few moments; but, some friends coming in, the matter passed out of my mind.

"The next day, while walking in the street, I was suddenly reminded of the circumstance; and the disagreeable sensation produced by it returned. I determined to go home, and place myself in the same position; and, if the same effect was produced, I would make up my mind that it was the natural result of some principle of refraction or optics which I did not understand, and dismiss it. I tried the experiment with a like result; and, as I said to myself, accounting for it on some principle unknown to me, it ceased to trouble me.

"But, some time ago, I tried to produce the same effect here by arranging a glass and couch in the same position, without effect. My wife was somewhat worried about it. She thought it was a sign that I was to be elected to a second term of office, and that the paleness of one of the faces was an omen that I should not see life through the second term."

At the time of his nomination Mr. Lincoln was fifty-two years of age. There was then but little doubt that he would be elected. Crowds flocked to pay their homage to one, who, as President, would soon have so immense a patronage at his disposal. It became necessary that a room should be set apart in the State House for his receptions. From morning till night he was busy. In looking over a book which his friends had prepared, and which contained the result of a careful canvass of the city of Springfield, showing how each man would vote, he was surprised and greatly grieved to find that most of the ministers were against him. As he closed the book, he said sadly,—

"Here are twenty-three ministers of different denominations, and all of them are against me but three. Mr. Bateman, I am not a Christian; God knows, I would be one; but I have carefully read the Bible, and I do not so understand this book. These men well know that I am for freedom in the Territories, freedom everywhere as far as the Constitution and laws will permit; and that my opponents are for slavery. They know this; and yet with this book in their hands, in the light of which human bondage cannot live
a moment, they are going to vote against me. I do not understand this."

Then, after a moment's pause, he added, "Does n't it appear strange that men can ignore the moral aspects of this contest? A revelation could not make it plainer to me that slavery or the government must be destroyed. It seems as if God had borne with this slavery until the very teachers of religion have come to defend it from the Bible, and to claim for it a divine character and sanction; and now the cup of iniquity is full, and the vials of wrath will be poured out."

The election day came. Mr. Lincoln received a hundred and eighty electoral votes; Mr. Douglas, twelve; Mr. Breckenridge, seventy-two; Mr. Bell, thirty-nine. The result of the election was known early in November. Nearly four months would transpire before the 4th of March, 1861, when he was to enter upon his term of office.

The spirit manifested by the slaveholders on this occasion is fairly developed in the following article contained in "The Richmond Examiner" of April 23, 1861:

"The capture of Washington City is perfectly within the power of Virginia and Maryland, if Virginia will only make the effort by her constituted authorities; nor is there a single moment to lose. The entire population pant for the onset. There never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject, that is now manifested to take Washington, and drive from it every black Republican who is a dweller there.

"From the mountain-tops and valleys to the shores of the sea, there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington City at all and every human hazard. That filthy cage of unclean birds must and will assuredly be purified by fire. The people are determined upon it, and are clamorous for a leader to conduct them to the onslaught. The leader will assuredly arise; ay, and that right speedily.

"It is not to be endured that this flight of abolition harpies shall come down from the black North for their roosts in the heart of the South, to defile and brutalize the land. They come as our enemies. They act as our most deadly foes. They promise us bloodshed and fire; and that is the only promise they have ever redeemed. The fanatical yell for the immediate subjugation of the whole South is
going up hourly from the united voices of all the North; and, for the purpose of making their work sure, they have determined to hold Washington City as the point whence to carry on their brutal warfare.

"Our people can take it; they will take it; and Scott the arch-traitor, and Lincoln the beast, combined, cannot prevent it. The just indignation of an outraged and deeply-injured people will teach the Illinois ape to repeat his race, and retrace his journey across the border of the free negro States still more rapidly than he came; and Scott the traitor will be given the opportunity at the same time to try the difference between 'Scott's Tactics' and the 'Shanghae Drill' for quick movements.

"Great cleansing and purification are needed, and will be given to that festering sink of iniquity, that wallow of Lincoln and Scott, —the desecrated city of Washington; and many indeed will be the carcasses of dogs and caitiffs that will blacken the air upon the gallows before the great work is accomplished. So let it be!"

One naturally pauses to inquire the cause of all this wrath; and no one can refrain from being amused to find that it was simply that a majority of the nation were opposed to the extension of slavery into the Territories, and that that majority had constitutionally elected as President one of the best and most eminent men in the nation, who was pledged to oppose, so far as he constitutionally could, slavery extension. Again and again Mr. Lincoln had declared, and so had the party which elected him, that he had no right to interfere with slavery in the States; that the compromises of the Constitution left that question with each State; and that he had no power to touch the domestic institutions of the States, except as a war-measure, in the case of war, to save the nation from ruin.

On Mr. Lincoln's journey to Washington he made numerous addresses to the multitudes who thronged to greet him. At Cincinnati a large number of Kentuckians were present. He said to them in a playful way,—

"You perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak. We mean to treat you, as near as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institutions; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution; in a word, coming back to the original propo-
sition, to treat you, as far as degenerate men (if we have degener-
ated) may, according to the examples of those noble fathers, Wash-
ington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you
are as good as we; that there is no difference between us other than
the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in
mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other
people, or as good as we claim to have; and treat you accordingly."

At Buffalo he said, "Your worthy mayor has thought fit to ex-
press the hope that I shall be able to relieve the country from the
present, or, I should say, the threatened difficulties. I am sure that
I bring a heart true to the work. For the ability to perform it, I
trust in that Supreme Being who has never forsaken this favored
land. Without that assistance I shall surely fail; with it, I cannot
fail."

At Philadelphia, where he was received with the greatest enthu-
siasm, he gave utterance to the following noble sentiments: "I have
often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept
this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of
the separation of the colonies from the mother-land, but that senti-
ment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not
alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world for all
future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the
weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This was a
sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my
friends, can this country be saved on this basis? If it can, I shall
consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help
save it; if it cannot be saved on that principle, it will be truly aw-
ful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that
principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated upon
this spot than surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect
of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity
for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I may say in ad-
vance, that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the
government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defense."

At Harrisburg, where there was a large military display, he re-
marked, "While I am exceedingly gratified to see the manifestation
in your streets of the military force here, and exceedingly gratified
at your promise here to use that force upon a proper emergency, I
desire to repeat, to preclude any possible misconception, that I do
most sincerely hope that we shall have no use for them; that it will
never become their duty to shed blood, and most especially never to
shed fraternal blood. I promise, that so far as I may have wisdom
to direct, if so painful a result shall in any wise be brought about, it
shall be through no fault of mine."

In South Carolina, four days after the election, a bill was intro-
duced into the Legislature calling out ten thousand volunteers, her
two senators in Congress resigned their seats, and a convention was
called to pass an act of secession. The rebels had made their
preparations for vigorous action. They had nothing to fear from
Mr. Buchanan, and their object was to get their strength consol-
idated before Mr. Lincoln should come into power.

On the 27th of December, 1860, Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinck-
ney were seized, and the revenue-cutter William Aikin taken pos-
session of at Charleston. Three days after the arsenal was seized.
On the 2d of January, 1861, Fort Macon in North Carolina, and
the arsenal at Fayetteville, fell into the hands of the rebels. On
the 3d an armed mob from Georgia took possession of Forts Pnlsaki
and Jackson, and the arsenal at Savannah. The next day, the 4th,
Fort Morgan and the arsenal at Mobile were seized by a band of
Alabamians. On the 8th Forts Johnson and Caswell, at Smith-
ville, N. C., were captured without a struggle by the rebels. The
next day, the 9th, The Star of the Wrest, an unarmed steamer bear-
ing supplies to the garrison in Fort Sumter, was fired upon by a
rebel battery and driven back. On the 12th Fort M’Rae, Fort Bar-
rancas, and the navy-yard at Pensacola, in Florida, were taken pos-
session of by the rebels. The day before armed gangs in Louisiana
seized Forts Pike, St. Philip, and Jackson, and the arsenal at Baton
Ronge.

These United States forts had cost the national government
$5,947,000, were pierced for 1,091 guns, and adapted for a war
garrison of 5,430 men. Mr. Buchanan did not lift a finger to arrest
or to resent these outrages.

On the 17th of December the convention in South Carolina de-
clared the Union dissolved, and that South Carolina was a free, sov-
ereign, and independent State. This act was speedily imitated by
several other slave States. The rapidly-recurring scenes of these
days of darkness and gloom we have not space here to describe.
The air was filled with rumors that President Lincoln was to be
assassinated on his journey to Washington. In taking leave of his friends at the depot in Springfield, he said, in a speech full of tenderness and pathos,—

"My friends, no one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is perhaps greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same divine aid which sustained him. In the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support, and I hope that my friends will all pray that I may receive that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

In every city through which he passed he was greeted with enthusiasm perhaps never before equaled in the United States. It was evident, however, that the secessionists were seeking his life. At one time an attempt was made to throw the train off the track. At Cincinnati a hand-grenade was found concealed upon the train. A gang in Baltimore had arranged, upon his arrival, to "get up a row," and, in the confusion, to make sure of his death with revolvers and hand-grenades. A detective unraveled the plot. A secret and special train was provided to take him from Harrisburg, through Baltimore, at an unexpected hour of the night. The train started at half-past ten, and, to prevent any possible communication on the part of the secessionists with their confederate gang in Baltimore, as soon as the train had started the telegraph wires were cut.

Mr. Lincoln took a sleeping-car and passed directly through Baltimore to Washington, where he arrived at half-past six o'clock in the morning. His safe arrival was immediately telegraphed over the country. Great anxiety was felt in reference to the inauguration-day. Washington was full of traitors. Slavery had so debauched the conscience in the slaveholding States, that the assassination of a man who did not believe in slavery was scarce deemed a crime.

The week of the inauguration was one of the greatest peril and anxiety the nation had ever experienced. The air was filled with rumors of conspiracies. It was well known that there were thousands of desperate men resolved by tumult and murder to prevent
the inauguration, and then to seize the capital. Multitudes of strange-looking men thronged the streets of Washington, armed with bowie-knives and revolvers.

The morning of the 4th of March dawned serene and beautiful. Even at an early hour Pennsylvania Avenue presented such a mass of human beings as had never crowded it before. At nine o'clock, the procession moved from the White House. It was very imposing. A triumphal car, magnificently draped, emblematic of the Constitution, bore thirty-four very beautiful young girls, picturesquely dressed, as representatives of the several States; none being recognized as having seceded.

Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Lincoln rode side by side in the same carriage. They ascended the long flight of steps of the Capitol arm-in-arm. It was observed that Mr. Buchanan looked pale and anxious, and that he was nervously excited. Mr. Lincoln's face was slightly flushed, his lips compressed; and his countenance wore an expression of great firmness and seriousness. General Scott, in his Autobiography, says, —

"The inauguration of President Lincoln was perhaps the most critical and hazardous event with which I have ever been connected. In the preceding two months I had received more than fifty letters, many from points distant from each other, some earnestly dissuading me from being present at the event, and others distinctly threatening assassination if I dared to protect the ceremony by military force."

But for the formidable military display, there would unquestionably have been tumult and assassination. General Scott called out the Washington Volunteers; brought from a distance two batteries of horse-artillery, with detachments of cavalry and infantry, all regulars. The volunteers escorted the President, while the regulars flanked the movement, marching in parallel streets. A fine company of sappers and miners led the advance. It was under this imposing array of cannon and bayonets that it was necessary to conduct the legally-chosen President of the United States to his inauguration.

Mr. Lincoln took his stand upon the platform of the eastern portico of the Capitol. Thirty thousand persons stood before him. There were many sharpshooters, who, from the distance of nearly a mile, could throw a bullet into his heart. It is hardly too much to
say, that the nation trembled. Mr. Lincoln unrolled a manuscript, and in a clear voice, which seemed to penetrate with its distinct articulation the remotest ear, read his inaugural. We have not space for the whole of this noble document.

"Apprehension," said he, "seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that, by the accession of a Republican administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and made many similar declarations, and had never recanted them; and, more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

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

"I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration.

"I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

"A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is nowformidably attempted. I hold, that, in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the union of these States is
perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert, that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever; it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

"Again: if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it, — break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition, that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

"The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the articles of association, in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence, in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the articles of the confederation, in 1778; and finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect union. But, if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before; the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

"It follows from these views, that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

"I therefore consider, that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.
"I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union, that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

"The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts; but, beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

"All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them, but no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national, or by state authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

"If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent, which, in turn, will ruin and divide them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority: for instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the states to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent secession? Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

"One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended; while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. And this is the only substantial dispute. Physically speaking, we cannot separate; we cannot remove our respec-
tive sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

"My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

"If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it.

"Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either.

"If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in
LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you.

"You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend' it.

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection.

"The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

At the close of this solemn and imposing scene, Mr. Lincoln was escorted back to the White House, where Mr. Buchanan took leave of him. He was asked if he felt alarmed at any time while reading his address. His reply was, that he had often experienced greater fear in speaking to a dozen Western men on the subject of temperance.

And now commenced his life of care and toil and sorrow, to terminate in a bloody death. Mr. Lincoln's conciliatory words had no softening influence upon the hearts of the secessionists. They knew that it was only by violence and revolution that they could so strengthen the institution of slavery as to make it permanent upon this continent; and they still believed that the North would yield to their demands, rather than appeal to the dreadful arbitrament of the sword. "The Yankees," said one of their speakers, "are a cowardly race, and I will pledge myself to hold in the hollow of my hand and to drink every drop of blood that will be shed."

The demon of rebellion was unappeased. Treason was everywhere. Openly avowed traitors to the Union were in every department of the government. No step could be taken, and there could be no deliberation, which was not immediately reported to the rebels. Seven States were now in revolt. There were seven other slave States, which it was absolutely necessary the secessionists should secure in order to have any chance of success. On the 12th of April the rebels in Charleston opened fire upon Fort Sumter. This introduced the war.

The rebels were so infatuated as to anticipate an easy victory.
They had already inaugurated their government at Montgomery. Elated with the news of the bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter, Mr. Walker, the rebel Secretary of War, addressing the shouting throng, said,—

“No man can tell where this war, commenced this day, will end; but I will prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here will float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the 1st of May. Let them try Southern chivalry, and test the extent of Southern resources, and it may float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself.”

With wonderful unanimity, the North rallied around the imperiled flag of the nation. The rebels crushed out all opposition to secession within their borders, and forced every available man into the ranks. Mr. Lincoln, three days after the capture of Sumter, issued a proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand troops to defend the national capital, which the rebels threatened to seize; and soon after he declared the ports in the rebellious States under blockade.

In an evil hour Virginia joined the rebels. Terrible was her punishment. Mr. Douglas nobly came forward, and gave all of his strong influence to Mr. Lincoln. As he read the President’s proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand men, he said,—

“Mr. President, I cordially concur in every word of that document, except that, in the call for seventy-five thousand men, I would make it two hundred thousand. You do not know the dishonest purposes of those men as well as I do.”

“On the 1st of May Senator Douglas addressed an immense gathering in the city of Chicago. Ten thousand persons thronged the Wigwam. The eloquent senator spoke in strains which thrilled the heart of the nation. “I beg you to believe,” said he, “that I will not do you or myself the injustice to think that this magnificent ovation is personal to myself. I rejoice to know that it expresses your devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag of our country. I will not conceal my gratification at the incontrovertible test this vast audience presents,—that whatever political differences or party questions may have divided us, yet you all had a conviction, that, when the country should be in danger, my loyalty could be relied on. That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come, if the bayonet must be
used to maintain the Constitution, I say before God, my conscience is clean. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those States what was their right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity.

"The return we receive is war, armies marched upon our capital, obstruction and danger to our navigation, letters of marque to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce, and a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. The question is, 'Are we to maintain the country of our fathers, or allow it to be stricken down by those, who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy?'

"What cause, what excuse, do disunionists give us for breaking up the best government on which the sun of heaven ever shed its rays? They are dissatisfied with the result of the presidential election. Did they never get beaten before? Are we to resort to the sword when we get beaten at the ballot-box? I understand it that the voice of the people, expressed in the mode appointed by the Constitution, must command the obedience of every citizen. They assume, on the election of a particular candidate, that their rights are not safe in the Union. What evidence do they present of this? I defy any man to show any act on which it is based. What act has been omitted to be done? I appeal to these assembled thousands, that, so far as the constitutional rights of slaveholders are concerned, nothing has been done, and nothing omitted, of which they can complain.

"There has never been a time, from the day that Washington was inaugurated first President of these United States, when the rights of the Southern States stood firmer under the laws of the land than they do now; there never was a time when they had not as good cause for disunion as they have to-day. What good cause have they now, which has not existed under every administration?

"If they say the territorial question, now, for the first time, there is no act of Congress prohibiting slavery anywhere. If it be the non-enforcement of the laws, the only complaints I have heard have been of the too vigorous and faithful fulfillment of the fugitive-slave law. Then what reason have they? The slavery question is a mere excuse. The election of Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since, formed by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve mouths ago.
"But this is no time for the detail of causes. The conspiracy is now known. Armies have been raised, war is levied, to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots or traitors."

We have no space here to enter into the details of the war which ensued, which cost half a million of lives, and an expenditure of treasure and a destruction of property which cannot be computed. On the 6th of March, 1862, Mr. Lincoln recommended that the United States should cooperate with any State "which may gradually adopt abolition of slavery, by giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used at its discretion to compensate for inconveniences, public and private, produced by such changes of system."

The rebels were continually cheered by the hope that all the border States would join them. Mr. Lincoln invited the representatives of those States to a conference with him, in which he said to them, urging them to accept emancipation with compensation, —

"Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly, that in no event will the States you represent ever join their proposed confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. Can you, for your States, do better than take the course I urge? The incidents of war cannot be avoided. If the war continue long the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and your people to take the step which at once shortens the war, and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event! How much better thus to save the money, which else we sink forever in the war!"

The border-state men were blind and obdurate. Two acts, by Mr. Lincoln's recommendation, were soon passed by Congress. One confiscated the slaves of masters who were in open rebellion; the other abolished slavery in the District of Columbia.

He was urged to issue a proclamation of emancipation before, in his judgment, the country was prepared for it. He replied, "I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet."

At length he judged that the hour for decisive action had come,
and on Monday, September 22, 1862, Mr. Lincoln issued his renowned proclamation, declaring that on the 1st of January, 1863, all the slaves in States then continuing in rebellion should be free.

In cabinet meeting he said to Mr. Chase, "I made a solemn vow before God, that if General Lee should be driven back from Pennsylvania I would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves."

The excitement which this proclamation created was intense, many applauding, many condemning. In a brief address which he soon made he said, "What I did, I did after a very full deliberation, and under a heavy and solemn sense of responsibility. I can only trust in God that I have made no mistake." Two years after he was enabled to say, "As affairs have turned, it is the central act of my administration, and the great event of the nineteenth century."

President Lincoln gives the following account of the drafting of the proclamation, and the discussion in the Cabinet respecting it:—

"It had got to be midsummer, 1862. Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing, that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy, and, without consultation with or the knowledge of the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought, called a cabinet meeting upon the subject. This was the last of July, or the first part of the month of August, 1862.

"This cabinet meeting took place, I think, upon a Saturday. All were present except Mr. Blair, the Postmaster-General, who was absent at the opening of the discussion, but came in subsequently. I said to the Cabinet that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before them, suggestions as to which would be in order after they had heard it read.

"Various suggestions were offered. Secretary Chase wished the language stronger in reference to the arming of the blacks. Mr. Blair, after he came in, deprecated the policy, on the ground that it would cost the administration the fall elections. Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated, and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance, —
“Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation; but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great, that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government,—a cry for help; the government stretching forth her hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.’

“His idea was,” said Mr. Lincoln, “that it would be considered our last shriek on the retreat. ‘Now,’ continued Mr. Seward, ‘while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war.’

“The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with great force. It was an aspect of the case, that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was, that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, waiting for a victory. From time to time, I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously watching the progress of events. Well, the next news we had was of Pope’s disaster at Bull Run. Things looked darker than ever. Finally came the week of the battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer: The news came, I think, on Wednesday, that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the Soldiers’ Home, three miles out of Washington. Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary proclamation; came up on Saturday; called the Cabinet together to hear it; and it was published the following Monday.”

At this final meeting, which took place on the 20th of September, as Mr. Lincoln read the words, “And the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize the freedom of such persons,” Mr. Seward interrupted him, saying,—

“I think, Mr. President, that you should insert after the word recognize, in that sentence, the words and maintain.”

The President replied, that he had already considered the import of that expression in that connection, but that he had refrained from inserting it, as he did not like to promise that which he was not sure that he could perform. “But Mr. Seward,” said the President, “insisted; and the words went in.” It so happened that there
were just one hundred days between the preliminary proclamation which was issued on the 22d of September, 1862, and the final proclamation which consummated the act of emancipation.

On the 1st of January, 1863, the final proclamation was issued. In his preamble, he alluded to his previous proclamation of promise, and then said, “Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me invested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States, and parts of States, wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following; to wit.”

Then follows a list of the States in rebellion. “And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare, that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforth shall be, free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.”

The proclamation is concluded with the following words: “And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.”

Of this proclamation “The London Spectator” says, “We cannot read it without a renewed conviction that it is the noblest political document known to history, and should have for the nation, and the statesmen he left behind him, something of a sacred and almost prophetic character. Surely none was ever written under a stronger sense of the reality of God’s government; and certainly none written in a period of passionate conflict ever so completely excluded the partiality of victorious faction, and breathed so pure a strain of mingled justice and mercy.”

The country abounded with spies and informers; and, as another
measure of military necessity, the writ of 

habeas corpus was sus-
pended. The President issued a circular letter to the army, urging
the observance of the Lord's Day, and reverence for the name of
God. Sunday desecration and profanity are ever two great evils
in an army.

At one time twenty-four deserters were sentenced by court-ma-
trial to be shot. Mr. Lincoln refused to sign the warrants for their
execution. An officer said to him, "Mr. President, unless these
men are made an example of, the army itself is in danger. Mercy
to the few is cruelty to the many." Mr. Lincoln replied, "Mr.
General, there are already too many weeping widows in the United
States. Don't ask me to add to their number, for I will not do it."

A petition was brought to him to pardon a man who had been
convicted of being engaged in the slave-trade. He read it carefully,
and then said to the one who brought the petition, —

"My friend, that is a very touching appeal to our feelings. You
know my weakness is to be, if possible, too easily moved by appeals
to mercy. If this man were guilty of the foulest murder that the
arm of man could perpetrate, I could forgive him on such an ap-
peal; but the man who could go to Africa and rob her of her chil-
dren and sell them into interminable bondage, with no other motive
than that which is furnished by dollars and cents, is so much worse
than the most depraved murderer, that he can never receive pardon
at my hands."

A lady, the wife of a captured rebel officer, came to Mr. Lincoln
and pleaded tearfully for the release of her husband. In her plea,
gushing from a woman’s loving heart, she urged that her husband
was a very religious man. Mr. Lincoln’s feelings were so moved by
the grief of the wife, that he released the rebel. He, however, re-
marked, —

"You say that your husband is a religious man. Tell him that I
say that I am not much of a judge of religion; but that, in my
opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their
government because, as they think, that government does not suffi-
ciently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other
men’s faces, is not the sort of religion upon which men can get to
heaven."

The fearful trials of his office developed very rapidly Mr. Lin-
coln’s religious nature. "I have been driven," he said, "many
times to my knees, by the overwhelming conviction that I had nowhere else to go. My own wisdom and that of all about me seemed insufficient for that day. I should be the most presumptuous blockhead upon this footstool, if I for one day thought that I could discharge the duties which have come upon me since I came into this place, without the aid and enlightenment of One who is wiser and stronger than all others."

Mr. Carpenter, a distinguished artist who spent six months almost constantly in the society of the President, says of him,—

"Absorbed in his papers, he would become unconscious of my presence, while I intently studied every line and shade of expression in that furrowed face. In repose, it was the saddest face I ever knew. There were days when I could scarcely look into it without crying. During the first week of the battles of the Wilderness, he scarcely slept at all. Passing through the main hall of the domestic apartment on one of those days, I met him, clad in a long morning wrapper, pacing back and forth a narrow passage leading to one of the windows, his hands behind him, great black rings under his eyes, his head bent forward upon his breast,—altogether such a picture of the effects of sorrow, care, and anxiety, as would have melted the hearts of the worst of his adversaries. With a sorrow almost divine, he, too, could have said of the rebellious States, 'How often would I have gathered you together even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!'"

The Hon. Mr. Colfax says, "Calling upon the President one morning in the winter of 1863, I found him looking more than usually pale and careworn, and inquired the reason. He replied, that with the bad news he had received at a late hour the previous night, which had not yet been communicated to the press, he had not closed his eyes, or breakfasted; and, with an expression I shall never forget, he exclaimed, 'How willingly would I exchange places to-day with the soldier who sleeps on the ground in the Army of the Potomac!'"

Mr. Frederick Douglas, in the autumn of 1864, visited Washington; and Mr. Lincoln, wishing to converse with him upon some points on which he desired the opinion and advice of that very remarkable man, sent his carriage and an invitation to Mr. Douglas to "come up and take a cup of tea with him." The invitation was accepted. Probably never before was a colored man an honored
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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guest in the White House. Mr. Douglas subsequently remarked, "Mr. Lincoln is one of the few white men I ever passed an hour with, who failed to remind me in some way, before the interview terminated, that I was a negro."

The following is from a correspondent of "The York Independent:"

On New Year's Day, 1865, a memorable incident occurred, of which the like was never before seen at the White House. I had noticed at sundry times, during the summer, the wild fervor and strange enthusiasm which our colored friends always manifested over the name of Abraham Lincoln. His name, with them, seems to be associated with that of his namesake, the father of the faithful. In the great crowds which gather from time to time in front of the White House in honor of the President, none shout so loudly or so wildly, and swing their hats with such utter abandon, while their eyes are beaming with the intenselyst joy, as do these simple minded and grateful people. I have often laughed heartily at these exhibitions.

"But the scene yesterday excited far other emotions. As I entered the door of the President's house, I noticed groups of colored people gathered here and there, who seemed to be watching earnestly the inpouring throng. For nearly two hours they hung around, until the crowd of white visitors began sensibly to diminish. Then they summoned courage, and began timidly to approach the door. Some of them were richly and gayly dressed, some were in tattered garments, and others in the most fanciful and grotesque costumes. All pressed eagerly forward. When they came into the presence of the President, doubting as to their reception, the feelings of the poor creatures overcame them; and here the scene baffles my powers of description.

"For two long hours Mr. Lincoln had been shaking the hands of the 'sovereigns,' and had become excessively weary, and his grasp languid; but his nerves rallied at the unwonted sight, and he welcomed the motley crowd with a heartiness that made them wild with exceeding joy. They laughed and wept, and wept and laughed, exclaiming through their blinding tears, 'God bless you!' 'God bless Abraham Lincoln!' 'God bless Massa Linkum!' Those who witnessed this scene will not soon forget it. For a long distance down the avenue, on my way home, I heard fast young men cursing the President for this act; but all the way the refrain rang in my ears, 'God bless Abraham Lincoln!'"
The telegram one day announced a great battle in progress. Mr. Lincoln paced the floor, pale and haggard, unable to eat, and fearfully apprehensive of a defeat. A lady said to him, "We can at least pray." "Yes," said he; and, taking his Bible, he hastened to his room. The prayer he offered was overheard; and, in the intensity of entreaty and childlike faith, it was such as seldom ascends from human lips. Ere long, a telegram announced a Union victory. He came back to the room he had left, his face beaming with joy, and said, "Good news, good news! The victory is ours, and God is good!" "There is nothing like prayer," the lady responded. "Yes, there is," he replied: "praise, prayer, and praise." It is confidently asserted, that, during the war, Mr. Lincoln found an hour every day for prayer.

There was a peculiarity in the character of this most remarkable man, a peculiarity conspicuous from the cradle to the grave, which no one yet has been successful in satisfactorily explaining. Take the following as an illustration:

A poor old man from Tennessee went to Washington to plead for the life of his son. He had no friends. Almost by chance, and after much delay, he succeeded in working his way to the President through the crowd of senators, governors, and generals who were impatiently waiting for an audience. Mr. Lincoln looked over his papers, and told the man that he would give him his answer the next day. The anguish-stricken father looked up with swimming eyes, and said, "To-morrow may be too late! My son is under sentence of death! The decision ought to be made now!"

"Wait a bit," said the President, "and I will tell you a story. Colonel Fisk of Missouri raised a regiment, and made every man agree that the colonel should do all the swearing of the regiment. One of his teamsters, John Todd, in driving a mule team over a boggy road, completely lost his patience, and burst into a volley of oaths. The colonel called him to account. 'John,' said he, 'did you not promise to let me do all the swearing of the regiment?' 'Yes, I did, colonel,' he replied: 'but the fact was, the swearing had to be done then, or not at all; and you were n't there to do it.'"

The President laughed at this story most heartily, and even the old man joined him in the laugh. He then, in a few words, wrote a pardon for the boy, and handed it to the father.

Perhaps the most sublime and momentous moment of his life was
when he presented to his Cabinet his proclamation, which was to deliver from bondage nearly four millions of human beings then living, and to rescue from that doom uncounted millions yet unborn. He had prepared it without consultation with others, and no one knew the object of the meeting. When all these grave and distinguished men, pressed in body, mind, and heart with the burden of the war, had met in the President's Cabinet, Mr. Lincoln prepared himself to present the proclamation to them by taking down from the shelf "Artemas Ward his Book," and reading an entire chapter of his frivolous drollery, laughing in the mean time with an abandon of mirth, as if he had never cherished a serious thought.

Then, with his whole tone and manner suddenly changed, with an expression of countenance and a modulation of voice which indicated that, in every fibre of his soul, he appreciated the grandeur of the occasion, he read that immortal document which, as he afterwards said, was the greatest event of the nineteenth century.

In one of the darkest hours of the war a member of his Cabinet called upon him to confer respecting some weighty matters. The President commenced relating a ludicrous anecdote. "Please, Mr. President," said the secretary remonstratingly, "I did not come here this morning to hear stories. It is too serious a time." The President paused for a moment, and then said, "Sit down, sir. I respect your feelings. You cannot be more anxious than I am constantly. And I say to you now, that if it were not for this occasional vent I should die!"

Mr. Lincoln's literary taste was of a high order. No man more correctly appreciated poetic beauty. The most delicate shades of thought, and the purest sentiments, were those for which his mind had an intuitive affinity. His memory was stored with beautiful fragments of verse, and these were invariably of the highest literary and moral excellence.

"There are," said he on one occasion, "some quaint, queer verses, written, I think, by Oliver Wendell Holmes, entitled 'The Last Leaf,' one of which is to me inexpressibly touching." He then repeated,—

"The mossy marbles rest
On the lips that he has pressed
In their bloom;"
And the names he loved to hear  
Have been carved for many year  
On the tomb."

He then added, "For pure pathos, in my judgment, there is nothing finer than these six lines in the English language." On another occasion he said, "There is a poem that has been a great favorite with me for years, to which my attention was first called, when a young man, by a friend, and which I afterwards saw and cut from a newspaper, and carried it in my pocket till, by frequent reading, I had it by heart." He then repeated eleven verses of a poem of which we here give the first and last stanzas: —

"Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud?  
Like a swift-fleeting meteor, a fast-flying cloud,  
A flash of the lightning, a break of the wave,  
He passeth from life to the rest of the grave.

'Tis the wink of an eye, 'tis the draught of a breath,  
From the blossom of health to the paleness of death,  
From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud:  
Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud?"

Mr. Lincoln was very remarkable for his fund of anecdote. He always had his little story with which to illustrate any point, and the illustration was often found to contain resistless argument. It has been said that his stories were sometimes coarse. Upon this point Mr. Carpenter says, after six months of the most intimate daily acquaintance, —

"Mr. Lincoln, I am convinced, has been greatly wronged in this respect. Every foul-mouthed man in the country gave currency to the slime and filth of his own imagination by attributing it to the President. It is but simple justice to his memory that I should state that, during the entire period of my stay in Washington, after witnessing his intercourse with nearly all classes of men, embracing governors, senators and members of Congress, officers of the army, and intimate friends, I cannot recollect to have heard him relate a circumstance to any one of them which would have been out of place uttered in a lady's drawing-room.

"And this testimony is not unsupported by that of others well entitled to consideration. Dr. Stone, his family physician, came in one day to see my studies. Sitting in front of that of the President, with whom he did not sympathize politically, he remarked with
much feeling, 'It is the province of a physician to probe deeply the interior lives of men, and I affirm that Mr. Lincoln is the purest-hearted man with whom I ever came in contact.' Secretary Seward, who of the cabinet officers was probably the most intimate with the President, expressed the same sentiment in still stronger language. He once said to the Rev. Dr. Bellows, 'Mr. Lincoln is the best man I ever knew.'"

The tact which the President displayed in all his responses to the various kindnesses he received excited universal admiration. On such occasions his awkwardness seemed graceful, and his plain face beautiful. As the President entered one of the rooms of the White House on an occasion when many visitors were present, a lady stepped forward playfully with a beautiful bunch of flowers, and said, "Allow me, Mr. President, to present you with a bouquet." He took the flowers, for a moment looked admiringly on their beauty, and then, fixing his eyes upon the countenance of the lady, which was also radiant with loveliness, said, "Really, madam, if you give them to me, and they are mine, I think I cannot possibly make so good a use of them as to present them to you in return."

Upon the betrothal of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Alexandrina, Queen Victoria sent a letter to each of the European sovereigns, and also to President Lincoln, announcing the fact. Lord Lyons, the British ambassador at Washington, who was an unmarried man, sought an audience with the President, that he might communicate this important intelligence. With much formality, he presented himself at the White House, accompanied by Secretary Seward.

"May it please your excellency," said the noble lord, "I hold in my hand an autograph-letter from my royal mistress, Queen Victoria, which I have been commanded to present to your excellency. In it she informs your excellency, that her son, his royal highness the Prince of Wales, is about to contract a matrimonial alliance with her royal highness the Princess Alexandrina of Denmark."

After continuing in this style of stately address for some moments, he placed the letter in the hands of the President. Mr. Lincoln took it, and, with a peculiar twinkle of the eye, simply responded, "Lord Lyons, go thou and do likewise."
Mr. Carpenter, in narrating this incident, adds, "It is doubtful if an English ambassador was ever addressed in this manner before; and it would be interesting to learn what success he met with in putting the reply in diplomatic language, when he reported it to her majesty."

In conversation at the White House, a gentleman referred to a body of water in Nebraska, which was called by an Indian name signifying weeping water. Mr. Lincoln instantly replied, "As laughing water, according to Longfellow, is Minnehaha, this, evidently, should be Minneboohoo."

A gentleman who had called upon the President, in the course of conversation inquired of him how many men the rebels had in the field. Promptly and very decidedly he replied, "Twelve hundred thousand." The interrogator, in amazement, exclaimed, "Twelve hundred thousand! is it possible?" "Yes, sir," the President replied; "twelve hundred thousand: there is no doubt of it. You see, all of our generals, when they get whipped, say the enemy outnumber them from three or five to one. I must believe it. We have four hundred thousand men in the field. Three times four make twelve. Don't you see it?"

Some gentlemen from the West called one day, with bitter complaints against the administration. The President, as was his wont, listened to them patiently, and then replied,—

"Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold, and you had put it into the hands of Blondin to carry across the Niagara River on a rope, would you shake the cable, or keep shouting out to him, 'Blondin, stand up a little straighter; Blondin, stoop a little more; go a little faster; lean a little more to the north; lean a little more to the south?' No: you would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The government are carrying an immense weight. Untold treasures are in their hands. They are doing the very best they can. Don't badger them. Keep silence, and we'll get you safe across."

"I hope," said a clergyman to him one day, "that the Lord is on our side." "I am not at all concerned about that," was Mr. Lincoln's reply; "for I know that the Lord is always on the side of the right. But it is my constant anxiety and prayer that I and this nation should be on the Lord's side."
As the rebel confederacy was crumbling into ruins, some gentlemen asked Mr. Lincoln what he intended to do with Jeff Davis. "There was a boy," said he, "in Springfield, who bought a coon, which, after the novelty wore off, became a great nuisance. He was one day leading him through the streets, and had his hands full to keep clear of the little vixen who had torn his clothes half off of him. At length he sat down on the curbstone, completely fagged out. A man, passing, was stopped by the lad's disconsolate appearance, and asked the matter. 'Oh,' was the reply, 'the coon is such a trouble to me!' 'Why don't you get rid of it, then?' said the gentleman. 'Hush!' said the boy. 'Don't you see that he is gnawing his rope off? I am going to let him do it; and then I will go home, and tell the folks that he got away from me.'"

On the Monday before his assassination, the President, on his return from Richmond, stopped at City Point. There were very extensive hospitals there, filled with sick and wounded soldiers. Mr. Lincoln told the head surgeon that he wished to visit all the hospitals, that he might shake hands with every soldier. The surgeon endeavored to dissuade him, saying that there were between five and six thousand patients in the hospitals, and that he would find it a severe tax upon his strength to visit all the wards. But Mr. Lincoln persisted, saying, —

"I think that I am equal to the task. At any rate, I will try, and go as far as I can. I shall probably never see the boys again, and I want them to know that I appreciate what they have done for their country."

The surgeon, finding that he could not dissuade Mr. Lincoln, began his rounds, accompanying the President from bed to bed. To every man he extended his hand, and spoke a few words of sympathy. As he passed along, welcomed by all with heartfelt cordiality, he came to a ward where there was a wounded rebel. The unhappy man raised himself upon his elbow in bed as the President approached, and, with tears running down his cheeks, said, "Mr. Lincoln, I have long wanted to see you to ask your forgiveness for ever raising my hand against the old flag."

Tears filled the President's eyes. Warmly he shook the young man's hand, assuring him of his good will and heartfelt sympathy. Several hours were occupied in the tour, when the President returned with the surgeon to his office. They had, however, but just
taken their seats, when a messenger came, saying that one of the wards had been missed, and that "the boys" were very anxious to see the President. The surgeon, who was quite tired out, and who knew that Mr. Lincoln must be greatly exhausted, endeavored to dissuade him from going back; but Mr. Lincoln persisted, saying, "The boys will be so disappointed!" He therefore went with the messenger, and did not return until he had visited every bed.

Mr. Lincoln retained at the White House, to a very remarkable degree, the simple habits to which he had been accustomed in his home in Illinois. Mr. Holland relates the following characteristic anecdote:—

"He delighted to see his familiar Western friends, and gave them always a cordial welcome. He met them on the old footing, and fell at once into the accustomed habits of talk and story-telling. An old acquaintance, with his wife, visited Washington. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln proposed to these friends to ride in the presidential carriage. It should be stated in advance, that the two men had probably never seen each other with gloves on in their lives, unless when they were used as protection from the cold. The question of each—Mr. Lincoln at the White House, and his friend at the hotel—was whether he should wear gloves. Of course the ladies urged gloves; but Mr. Lincoln only put his in his pocket, to be used or not according to circumstances. When the presidential party arrived at the hotel to take in their friends, they found the gentleman, overcome by his wife's persuasions, very handsomely gloved. The moment he took his seat, he began to draw off the clinging kids, while Mr. Lincoln began to draw his on. 'No, no, no!' protested his friend, tugging at his gloves, 'it is none of my doings. Put up your gloves, Mr. Lincoln.' So the two old friends were on even and easy terms, and had their ride after their old fashion."

The Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, on one occasion, called at the White House with an elderly lady who was in great trouble. Her son had been in the army, but for some offense had been court-martialed, and sentenced either to death or imprisonment for a long term at hard labor. There were some extenuating circumstances. The President gave the woman a long and attentive hearing, and then, turning to the representative, said, "Do you think," Mr. Stevens, "that this is a case which will warrant my interference?" "With my knowledge of the facts and parties," was
the reply, "I should have no hesitation in granting a pardon."
"Then," replied Mr. Lincoln, "I will pardon him." Turning to
the table, he wrote the pardon, and handed it to the mother. Her
gratitude so overcame her, that for a moment she was speechless,
taking the paper in silence; but, as she was descending the stairs
with Mr. Stevens, she turned to him, and said very earnestly, "I
knew it was all a copperhead lie." "To what do you refer,
madam?" Mr. Stevens inquired. "Why, they told me," she re-
plied, "that he was an ugly-looking man; but he is the handsomest
man I ever saw in my life."

And surely there was beauty in that furrowed, care-worn, gentle
face. A lady connected with the Christian Commission had several
interviews with him, consulting him in reference to her humane du-
ties. At the close of one of these interviews, Mr. Lincoln said to
her, with that child-like frankness and simplicity so characteristic
of him,—

"Madam, I have formed a high opinion of your Christian charac-
ter; and now, as we are alone, I have a mind to ask you to give me,
in brief, your idea of what constitutes a true Christian."

She replied at some length, stating in substance that, in her judg-
ment, "it consisted of a conviction of one's own sinfulness and
weakness, and personal need of a Saviour for strength and support;
that views of mere doctrine might and would differ; but when one
was really brought to feel his need of divine help, and to seek the
aid of the Holy Spirit for strength and guidance, it was satisfactory
evidence of his having been born again."

With deep emotion he replied, "If what you have told me is
really a correct view of this great subject, I think that I can say
with sincerity, that I hope that I am a Christian. I had lived, until
my boy Willie died, without realizing fully these things. That
blow overwhelmed me. It showed me my weakness as I had never
felt it before; and, if I can take what you have stated as a test, I
think that I can safely say that I know something of that change
of which you speak: and I will further add, that it has been my in-
tention for some time, at a suitable opportunity, to make a public
religious profession."

"Oh, how hard it is," said he one day, "to die and not leave the
world any better for one's little life in it!"

Four years of civil war passed slowly and sadly away. There
was another presidential election. Those who were opposed to Mr. Lincoln and the war rallied in great strength; but Mr. Lincoln was triumphantly re-elected, receiving two hundred and twelve out of two hundred and thirty-three electoral votes. The evening of his election, he said, in reference to this emphatic approval of his administration by the people,—

"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; but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by a free government and the rights of humanity."

The last hope of the rebels was now gone. It was manifest beyond all controversy that the American people would not submit to have their government broken up by traitors. Again he said, in response to a delegation which waited upon him with congratulations, speaking of the election,—

"It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows also how strong and sound we still are. It shows also that we have more men now than when the war began. Gold is good in its place; but living, brave, and patriotic men are better than gold."

Every month now indicated that the Rebellion was drawing near to its close. The triumphs of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan were striking the hearts of the rebels with dismay, and inspiring all loyal hearts with hope. The national government had, in the field, armies amounting to over seven hundred thousand men; and six hundred and seventy vessels of war were afloat, carrying four thousand six hundred and ten guns. At President Lincoln's suggestion, Congress passed an act recommending to the States an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting slavery. This event was generally hailed by the country with great satisfaction. This settled forever the efficacy of his proclamation of emancipation. Friends and foes now alike admitted the great ability of Abraham Lincoln.

An immense and enthusiastic crowd attended his second inauguration. His address on the occasion, characteristic of the man, was one of the noblest utterances which ever fell from the lips of a ruler.
when entering upon office. In allusion to the parties arrayed against each other in the war, he said,—

"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 man 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. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses! For it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!"

"If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses, 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 offense 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, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondmen'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 with 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.'

"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

On the morning of the 3d of April, 1865, it was announced by telegraph that the Union army had entered Richmond; that Lee was in full retreat, pursued by Grant; and that President Lincoln had gone to the front. No pen can describe the joy with which these tidings were received. The war was over; slavery was dead; and the Union, cemented in freedom, was stronger than ever before. Contrary to his own estimate of himself, Mr. Lincoln was one of the most courageous of men. He went directly
into the rebel capital, which was then swarming with rebels. Without any guard but the sailors who had rowed him a mile up the river in a boat from the man-of-war in which he ascended the stream, he entered the thronged and tumultuous city, which was then enveloped in flames, the torch having been applied by the retreating foe. He was on foot, leading his little boy "Tad" by the hand.

The rumor of his presence soon spread through the city. The blacks crowded around him, shouting, singing, laughing, praying, and with all other demonstrations of the wildest joy. A poor woman stood in the door-way of her hut, quivering with emotion, exclaiming, as a flood of tears ran down her cheeks, "I thank you, dear Jesus, that I behold President Linkum." Others seemed convulsed with joy as they cried out, "Bless de Lord! bless de Lord!" At last the road became so choked with the multitude, that it was necessary to send soldiers to clear the way.

After visiting the headquarters of General Weitzel, and taking a drive round the city, the President returned to City Point, and again soon after revisited Richmond with Mrs. Lincoln and Vice-President Johnson. On this occasion he had an interview with some of the prominent citizens, by whom he afterwards felt that he had been deceived, and his confidence betrayed. From this trip he returned to Washington, to consecrate his energies to the reconstruction of the nation after these fearful shocks of war.

Mr. Lincoln was a very frank man. He did nothing by guile. No one was left in doubt in respect to his views. The great question of reconstruction now engrossed every thinking mind. In a letter to General Wadsworth, he had written,—

"You desire to know, in the event of our complete success in the field, the same being followed by loyal and cheerful submission on the part of the South, if universal amnesty should not be accompanied with universal suffrage. Since you know my private inclination as to what terms should be granted to the South in the contingency mentioned, I will here add, that should our success thus be realized, followed by such desired results, I cannot see, if universal amnesty is granted, how, under the circumstances, I can avoid exacting, in return, universal suffrage, or at least suffrage on the basis of intelligence and military service."

We have spoken of the attempts which were made to assassinate
ABRAHAM LINCOLN ENTERING RICHMOND, APRIL 3, 1865
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

President Lincoln before his inauguration. His life was constantly threatened. His friends urged him to practice caution; but this was so contrary to his nature, that he could not be persuaded to do so. He walked the streets of Washington unattended, and as freely as any other citizen.

On the 14th of April General Grant was in the city; and the manager of Ford’s Theatre invited the President and the general to witness on his boards the representation, that evening, of “Our American Cousin.” To assist in drawing a crowd, it was announced in the play-bills that they would both be present. General Grant left the city. President Lincoln, feeling, with his characteristic kindliness of heart, that it would be a disappointment if he should fail them, very reluctantly consented to go. With his wife and two friends, he reached the theatre a little before nine o’clock; and they took their seats in a private box reserved for them. The house was full in every part; and the whole audience rose as the President entered, and he was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm.

As the President, having taken his seat, was apparently listening with great interest to the play, a play-actor by the name of John Wilkes Booth worked his way through the crowd, in the rear of the dress-circle, and, reaching the door of the box where the President was seated, presented a pistol within a few inches of his head, and fired a bullet into his brain. Mr. Lincoln, reclining in his chair, instantly lost all consciousness, and did not move. The assassin, brandishing a dagger, leaped upon the stage, and shouting theatrically, “Sic semper tyrannis!” rushed across it in the terrible confusion which ensued, mounted a fleet horse at the door, and escaped.

The helpless form of the President, bleeding and unconscious, was borne across the street to a private house. A surgical examination showed that the wound was mortal. It was a sad scene. Upon pillows drenched with blood lay the President, senseless and dying, his brains oozing from his wound. The leading men of the government had speedily gathered, overwhelmed with grief. Staunton and Welles and Sumner and M’Culloch were there; and tears flooded the eyes of these strong men, while audible sobs burst from their lips. Senator Sumner tenderly held the hand of the sufferer, and wept with uncontrollable emotion. At twenty-two minutes past seven o’clock in the morning, President Lincoln, without recovering consciousness, breathed his last.
"'Who's dead, aunty?' I asked her.

'Massa Sam!' she said, not looking at me. 'O Lord, O Lord! Massa Sam's dead!'

'Who's Massa Sam?' I asked.

'Uncle Sam!' she said. 'O Lord, O Lord!'

'I was not quite sure that she meant the President, and I spoke again. 'Who's Massa Sam, aunty?'

'Mr. Linkum,' she said, and resumed wringing her hands, and moaning in utter hopelessness of sorrow. The poor creature was too ignorant to comprehend any difference between the very unreal Uncle Sam and the actual President; but her heart told her that he whom Heaven had sent in answer to her prayers was lying in a bloody grave, and that she and her race were left fatherless.'

The body of the President was removed to the White House, and placed in a coffin almost buried in flowers, which the affection of a bereaved people supplied. It is estimated that fifty thousand persons went to the White House to take a last look of his loved face. The funeral solemnities were conducted by clergymen of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopal, and Baptist churches. Dr. Gurley, in his noble tribute to the deceased, said,—

"Probably no man, since the days of Washington, was ever so deeply and firmly embedded and enshrined in the hearts of the people as Abraham Lincoln. Nor was it a mistaken confidence and love. He deserved it, deserved it well, deserved it all. He merited it by his character, by his acts, and by the tenor and tone and spirit of his life."

It may be truly said that the funeral-train extended fifteen hundred miles,—from Washington to Springfield, Ill. Groups gathered as mourners at every station, bells were tolled, and bands of music breathed forth their plaintive requiems. In some places the railway, for miles, was lined with a continuous group of men, women, and children, standing in silence, with uncovered heads and swimming eyes, as the solemn pageant swept by. It would require a volume to describe the scenes which were witnessed in the various cities and villages through which the funeral procession passed.

The train reached Springfield, Ill., on the morning of the 3d of May. Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Church, a personal friend of the President, in his funeral address quoted the following words from one of the speeches of Mr. Lincoln in 1859. Speaking of the slave-power, Mr. Lincoln said,—
"Broken by it I, too, may be; bow to it I never will. The probability that we may fail in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause which I deem to be just; and it shall not deter me. If ever I feel the soul within me elevate and expand to those dimensions not wholly unworthy of the almighty Architect, it is when I contemplate the cause of my country, deserted by all the world besides, and I standing up boldly and alone, and hurling defiance at her victorious oppressors. Here, without contemplating consequences, before high Heaven, and in the face of the world, I swear eternal fidelity to the just cause, as I deem it, of the land of my life, my liberty, and my love."

England vied with America in expressions of respect and affection for our martyred President. The statement contained in "The London Spectator" will surely be the verdict of posterity, that Abraham Lincoln was "the best if not the ablest man then ruling over any country in the civilized world." The Queen of England, with her own hand, wrote a letter of condolence to Mrs. Lincoln. The sympathy which was manifested for us by the English, in this our great grief, so touched all loyal hearts, that Americans began to think that it was possible that England and America might yet again be united in the bonds of brotherly love, burying all past grievances in oblivion.
CHAPTER XVII.

ANDREW JOHNSON.


The early life of Andrew Johnson contains but the record of poverty, destitution, and friendlessness. He was born the 29th of December, 1808, in Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina. His parents, belonging to the class of the "poor whites" of the South,
were in such circumstances that they could not confer even the slightest advantages of education upon their child. When Andrew was five years of age his father accidentally lost his life while heroically endeavoring to save a friend from drowning. Until ten years of age Andrew was a ragged boy about the streets, supported by the labor of his mother, who obtained her living with her own hands.

He then, having never attended a school one day, and being unable either to read or write, was apprenticed to a tailor in his native town. A benevolent gentleman of Raleigh was in the habit of going to the tailor's shop occasionally, and reading to the boys at work there. He often read from the speeches of distinguished British statesmen. Andrew, who was endowed with a mind of more than ordinary native ability, became much interested in these speeches: his ambition was roused, and he was inspired with a strong desire to learn to read.

He accordingly applied himself to the alphabet, and, with the assistance of some of his fellow-workmen, learned his letters. He then called upon the gentleman to borrow the book of speeches. The owner, pleased with his zeal, not only gave him the book, but assisted him in learning to combine the letters into words. Under such difficulties he pressed onward laboriously, spending usually ten or twelve hours at work in the shop, and then robbing himself of rest and recreation to devote such time as he could to reading.

In 1824, when sixteen years of age, having finished his apprenticeship, he went to Laurens Court House, in South Carolina, and worked as a journeyman tailor for two years. It does not appear, that, during this time, he made much progress in his attempts to learn to read with correctness and fluency. It is said that he became quite interested in a girl of the village, and would have married her but for the objections which her parents made in consequence of his extreme youth.

In 1826 he returned to Raleigh, and, taking his mother with him, removed to Greenville, a small town in East Tennessee, where he resumed his work as a journeyman tailor, and married a young woman of very estimable character, and who was so decidedly in advance of him in point of education, that she became his teacher in reading, writing, and arithmetic. She read to him as he plied the needle on the bench, and in the evenings instructed him in other
branches. Rapidly the young mechanic advanced in intelligence. His mental energy gave him influence among the workmen. Words came easily at his bidding, and he knew well how to use all the information he gained. His popularity with the working-classes was such, that, in 1828, he was chosen one of the aldermen in the little town in which he dwelt; which position he held for two years, when, at the age of twenty-two, he was elected mayor. The position which he then occupied in public esteem may be inferred from the fact that he was also appointed, by the county court, one of the trustees of Rhea Academy.

He now began to take a lively interest in political affairs; identifying himself with the working-classes, to which he belonged. His zeal in their behalf, and the ever-increasing ability with which he espoused their cause, won their esteem, and secured for him, with great unanimity, their votes. In 1835 he was elected a member of the House of Representatives in Tennessee. He was then just twenty-seven years of age. He became a very active member of the Legislature, gave his adhesion to the Democratic party, and in 1840 "stumped the State," advocating Martin Van Buren's claims to the presidency, in opposition to those of General Harrison. In this campaign he acquired much readiness as a speaker, and extended and increased his reputation.

In 1841 he was elected state senator from Hawkins and Greene counties. The duties which devolved upon him he discharged with ability, and was universally esteemed as an earnest, honest man, heartily advocating whatever he thought to be right, and denouncing what he thought to be wrong. In 1843 he was elected a member of Congress, and, by successive elections, held that important post for ten years. In 1853 he was elected Governor of Tennessee, and was re-elected in 1855. In all these responsible positions he discharged his duties with distinguished ability, and proved himself the warm friend of the working-classes.

The following characteristic anecdote is related of him when Governor of Tennessee. With his own hands he cut and made a very handsome suit of clothes, and sent them as a present to Governor M'Goffin, of Kentucky, who had been his friend and companion in earlier days. The Kentucky governor had been a blacksmith by trade. He returned the compliment by forging upon the anvil with his own hands, a very neat pair of shovel and tongs,
which he sent to Governor Johnson, with the wish that they would help to keep alive the flame of their old friendship.

In 1857 Mr. Johnson was elected, by the Legislature of Tennessee, United States senator for the term of six years. In Congress, both in the Senate and in the House, he adopted, in general, the Democratic policy. He opposed a protective tariff, and advocated the Homestead Bill. He belonged to the strict constructionist class of politicians, fearing lest the national government should have too much power; and he opposed any United States bank, and all schemes of internal improvement by the national government. He also went strongly with the South in its views of the incompetency of Congress to prevent the extension of slavery into the Territories.

Years before, in 1845, he had warmly advocated the annexation of Texas, stating, however, as a reason, that he thought this annexation would probably prove "to be the gateway out of which the sable sons of Africa are to pass from bondage to freedom, and become merged in a population congenial to themselves." In 1850 he also earnestly supported the compromise measures, the two essential features of which were, that the white people of the Territories should be permitted to decide for themselves whether they would enslave the colored population or not, and that the free States of the North should return to the South any persons who should attempt to escape from slavery.

Mr. Johnson was never ashamed of his lowly origin; on the contrary, he often took pride in avowing that he owed his distinction to his own exertions. "Sir," said he on the floor of the Senate, "I do not forget that I am a mechanic. Neither do I forget that Adam was a tailor and sewed fig-leaves, and that our Saviour was the son of a carpenter."

In the spring of 1858 Senator Hammond of South Carolina made a speech in Congress containing the following sentences:—

"In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. Such a class you must have. It constitutes the very mudsill of society and of political government, and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air as to build either the one or the other, except on this mudsill. The man who lives by daily labor, and who has to put out his labor in the market, and take the best he can get for it; in short, your
whole class of manual laborers and operatives, as you call them,—are essentially slaves. The difference is, that our slaves are hired for life, yours are hired by the day. Our slaves are black, yours are white; our slaves do not vote, yours vote.”

Senator Johnson, in his characteristic reply, said, “Will it do to assume that the man who labors with his hands is a slave? No, sir. I am a laborer with my hands, and I never considered myself a slave.”

Mr. Hammond, interrupting him, inquired, “Will the senator define a slave?”

Mr. Johnson replied, “What we understand to be a slave in the South is a person who is held to service during his or her natural life, subject to and under the control of a master, who has the right to appropriate the products of his or her labor to his own use. If we were to follow out the idea that every operative and laborer is a slave, we should find a great many distinguished slaves since the world began. Socrates, who first conceived the idea of the immortality of the soul, pagan as he was, labored with his own hands; yes, wielded the chisel and the mallet, giving polish and finish to the stone. He afterwards turned to be a fashioner and constructor of the mind.

“Paul, the great expounder, himself was a tent-maker, and worked with his own hands. Was he a slave? Archimedes, who declared that, if he had a place on which to rest the fulcrum, with the power of his lever he could move the world,—was he a slave? Adam, our great father and head, the lord of the world, was a tailor by trade. I wonder if he were a slave.”

Mr. Johnson was strongly opposed to secession, not however, at first, upon the ground that the slaveholders were not right in their claim that slavery should be nationalized: but, foreseeing the folly of an appeal to arms, he urged them to remain and struggle for the attainment of their ends on the floor of Congress; or, as he expressed it, to “fight for their constitutional rights on the battlements of the Constitution.” He said, “We can more successfully resist black republicanism by remaining within the Union than by going out of it.” As to Mr. Lincoln, he said on the 19th of December, 1861, “I voted against him, I spoke against him, I spent my money to defeat him.”

There was, perhaps, no one in Congress who exposed the ab-
surdity of the doctrine of secession in strains more eloquent and convincing to the popular mind.

"Now let me ask," said he, "can any one believe that, in the creation of this government, its founders intended that it should have the power to acquire territory and form it into States, and then permit them to go out of the Union? Let us take a case. How long has it been since your armies were in Mexico, your brave men exposed to the diseases, the sufferings, incident to a campaign of that kind; many of them falling at the point of the bayonet, consigned to their long, narrow home, with no winding-sheet but their blankets saturated with their blood? What did Mexico cost you? One hundred and twenty million dollars. What did you pay for the country you acquired besides? Fifteen million dollars.

"Peace was made; territory was acquired; and, in a few years, California, from that territory, erected herself into a free and independent State. Under the provisions of the Constitution, we admitted her as a member of this confederacy. And now, after having expended one hundred and twenty million dollars in the war; after having lost many of our bravest and most gallant men; after having paid fifteen million dollars to Mexico for the territory, and admitted it into the Union as a State, according to this modern doctrine, the national government was just made to let them step in, and then to let them step out! Is it not absurd to say that California, on her own volition, without regard to the consideration paid for her, without regard to the policy which dictated her acquisition by the United States, can walk out, and bid you defiance?

"But we need not stop here. Let us go to Texas. Texas was engaged in a revolution with Mexico. She succeeded in the assertion and establishment of her independence. She applied for admission into this family of States. After she was in, she was oppressed by the debts of the war which had resulted in her separation from Mexico. She was harassed by Indians on her border. There was an extent of territory that lies north, if my memory serves me right, embracing what is now called the Territory of New Mexico. Texas had it not in her power to protect the citizens that were there. It was a dead limb, paralyzed, lifeless.

"The federal government came along as a kind physician, saying, 'We will take this limb, vitalize it by giving protection to the people, and incorporating it into a territorial government; and, in
addition to that, we will give you ten million dollars, and you may retain your own public lands." And the other States were taxed in common to pay this ten million dollars. Now, after all this is done, is Texas to say, 'I will walk out of this Union?' Were there no other parties to this compact? Did we take in California, did we take in Texas, just to benefit themselves?

"Again: take the case of Louisiana. What did we pay for her in 1803? and for what was she wanted? Was it just to let Louisiana into the Union? Was it just for the benefit of that particular locality? Was not the mighty West looked to? Was it not to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi River, the mouth of which was then in the possession of France? Yes: the navigation of that river was wanted. Simply for Louisiana? No, but for all the States. The United States paid fifteen million dollars, and France ceded the country to the United States. It remained in a territorial condition for a while, sustained and protected by the strong arm of the federal government. We acquired the territory and the navigation of the river, and the money was paid for the benefit of all the States, and not of Louisiana exclusively.

"And now that this great valley is filled up; now that the navigation of the Mississippi is one hundred times more important than it was then; now, after the United States have paid the money, have acquired the title to Louisiana, and have incorporated her into the confederacy,—it is proposed that she should go out of the Union!

"In 1815, when her shores were invaded; when her city was about to be sacked; when her booty and her beauty were about to fall a prey to British aggression,—the brave men of Tennessee and of Kentucky and of the surrounding States rushed into her borders and upon her shores, and, under the lead of her own gallant Jackson, drove the invading forces away. And now, after all this, after the money has been paid, after the free navigation of the river has been obtained,—not for the benefit of Louisiana alone, but for her in common with all the States,—Louisiana says to the other States,—

"'We will go out of this confederacy. We do not care if you did fight our battles; we do not care if you did acquire the free navigation of this river from France: we will go out, and constitute ourselves an independent power, and bid defiance to the other States.'
"It may be, that, at this moment, there is not a citizen in the State of Louisiana who would think of obstructing the free navigation of the river. But are not nations controlled by their interests in varying circumstances? And hereafter, when a conflict of interest arises, Louisiana might feel disposed to tax our citizens going down there. It is a power that I am not willing to concede to be exercised at the discretion of any authority outside of this government. So sensitive have been the people of my State upon the free navigation of that river, that as far back as 1796,—now sixty-four years ago,—in their Bill of Rights, before they passed under the jurisdiction of the United States, they declared,—

"That an equal participation of the free navigation of the Mississippi is one of the inherent rights of the citizens of this State. It cannot, therefore, be conceded to any prince, potentate, power, person or persons, whatever.'

"This shows the estimate that people fixed on this stream sixty-four years ago; and now we are told that if Louisiana does go out, it is not her intention to tax the people above. Who can tell what may be the intention of Louisiana hereafter? Are we willing to place the rights, the travel, and the commerce of our citizens at the discretion of any power outside of this government? I will not.

"How long is it since Florida lay on our coasts an annoyance to us? And now she has got feverish about being an independent and separate government, while she has not as many qualified voters as there are in one Congressional district of any other State. What condition did Florida occupy in 1811? She was in possession of Spain. What did the United States think about having adjacent territory outside of their jurisdiction? Spain was inimical to the United States; and, in view of the great principles of self-preservation, the Congress of the United States passed a resolution, declaring that, if Spain attempted to transfer Florida into the hands of any other power, the United States would take possession of it. There was the Territory lying upon our border, outside of the jurisdiction of the United States; and we declared, by an act of Congress, that no foreign power should possess it.

"We went still farther, and appropriated one hundred thousand dollars, and authorized the President to enter and take possession of it with the means placed in his hands. Afterwards we negotiated with Spain, and gave six million dollars for the Territory; and we
established a territorial government for it. What next? We undertook to drive out the Seminole Indians; and we had a war in which this government lost more than in all the other wars it was engaged in; and we paid the sum of twenty-five million dollars to get the Seminoles out of the swamps, so that the Territory could be inhabited by white men.

"But now that the Territory is paid for, the Indians are driven out, and twenty-five million dollars have been expended, they want no longer the protection of this government, but will go out without consulting the other States; without reference to the remaining parties to the compact. Where will she go? Will she attach herself to Spain again? Will she pass back under the jurisdiction of the Seminoles? After having been nurtured and protected and fostered by all these States, now, without regard to them, is she to be allowed, at her own volition, to withdraw from the Union? I say that she has no constitutional right to do it. When she does it, it is an act of aggression. If she succeeds, it will only be a successful revolution; if she does not succeed, she must take the penalties and terrors of the law.

"I have referred to the acts of Congress for acquiring Florida as setting forth a principle. What is that principle? It is, that from the geographical relations of this Territory to the United States, we authorized the President to expend a hundred thousand dollars to get a foothold there, and especially to take possession of it if it were likely to pass to any foreign power."

In such strains of eloquence and moral demonstration, Senator Johnson exposed the absurdity of the doctrine of secession.

As the secessionists grew more determined in their measures, Mr. Johnson grew more bold in his opposition. The slaveholders became exceedingly exasperated. He was denounced as a traitor to the South, and was threatened with assassination. But he was the last man to be intimidated by menaces. The North looked with admiration upon the moral courage he displayed in thus contending, as it were single-handed, against almost every senator and representative of the South. In this admiration they forgot that Mr. Johnson was, and ever had been, with the South in their claims.

"I am opposed," he said, "to secession. I believe it no remedy for the evils complained of. Instead of acting with that division of my Southern friends who take ground for secession, I shall take
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other grounds, while I try to accomplish the same end. I think that this battle ought to be fought, not outside, but inside, of the Union."

In consequence of this course, the wrath of the secessionists fell bitterly upon him. He was burned in effigy at Memphis; and on his return to Tennessee in April, 1861, he was insulted repeatedly by mobs, and threatened with lynching. A price even was set upon his head. This did but inspire his zeal, and enable him with more eloquence to plead the Union cause.

Kentucky was now invaded, and the rebels in large armies were ravaging Tennessee, plundering, burning, murdering. Every man who would not espouse their cause was in danger of being hung on the limb of the next tree. Never before was there more ferocity exhibited in a civilized land. A rebel band sacked his home, drove his sick wife and child into the streets, confiscated his slaves (for, with increasing wealth, he had become a slave-owner), and turned his house into a hospital and barracks for the soldiers.

The heroism with which Mr. Johnson opposed the secessionists received a new impulse from these outrages; and the Union party at the North began to regard him as, in all points, in sympathy with them. Indeed, as he witnessed the violence of the proslavery men, and saw clearly that the institution of slavery was at the foundation of all their treason, his speeches indicated a continually increasing sympathy with the views of the great Republican party which had elected Abraham Lincoln. He had already said, —

"We may as well talk of things as they are; for, if anything can be treason, is not levying war upon the government treason? Is not the attempt to take the property of the government, and to expel the soldiers therefrom, treason? Is not attempting to resist the collection of the revenue, attempting to exclude the mails, and driving the federal courts from her borders, treason? What is it? It is treason, and nothing but treason."

This speech, to which reason could make no reply, was met with hisses, reproaches, threats, and a shower of abuse. Growing still bolder, he exclaimed, —

"Does it need any search to find those who are levying war, and giving aid and comfort to enemies against the United States? And this is treason. Treason ought to be punished, North and South; and, if there are traitors, they should be entitled to traitors' reward."
Again he said, speaking of the rebels, "Were I the President of the United States, I would do as Thomas Jefferson did in 1806 with Aaron Burr. I would have them arrested and tried for treason; and, if convicted, by the Eternal God they should suffer the penalty of the law at the hands of the executioner! Sir, treason must be punished. Its enormity, and the extent and depth of the offense, must be made known."

This was said in the Senate Chamber on the 2d of March, 1861.

A few weeks after this, on the 19th of June, in a speech at Cincinnati, he said, speaking in the same impassioned strain, "I repeat, this odious doctrine of secession should be crushed out, destroyed, and totally annihilated. No government can stand, no religious or moral or social organization can stand, where this doctrine is tolerated. It is disintegration, universal dissolution. Therefore I repeat, that this odious and abominable doctrine (you must pardon me for using a strong expression, I do not say it in a profane sense), — but this doctrine I conceive to be hell-born and hell-bound, and one which will carry everything in its train, unless it is arrested, and crushed out from our midst."

Mr. Johnson was a Democrat of the Jacksonian school. Though he had strongly leaned to the doctrine of state sovereignty, and a strict construction of the Constitution, the assumptions of the secessionists were crowding him over into the ranks of those who would increase rather than diminish the power of the central government. Thus upon this point he had abandoned the old Jeffersonian party, and allied himself with the Federalists.

In February, 1862, by the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, the main body of the rebel army was driven out of Western and Middle Tennessee. President Lincoln, with the approval of the Senate, appointed Andrew Johnson Military Governor of the State. The appointment was received with enthusiasm by nearly all the loyal men in the Union. On the 12th of March he reached Nashville, and commenced his administration with energy, which cheered the hearts of the long-suffering Unionists.

The mayor of Nashville and the city council refused to take the oath of allegiance. He sent them to the penitentiary, and appointed others in their place. The editor of "The Nashville Banner," for uttering treasonable sentiments, was imprisoned, and his paper suppressed. All over the State, guerrilla secessionists were
maltreating the Unionists, plundering their homes, and driving their wives and children into the streets, as they had done with Mr. Johnson's family. The difficulty was met in the following proclamation:

"I, Andrew Johnson, do hereby proclaim, that, in every instance in which a Union man is arrested and maltreated by marauding bands, five or more rebels, from the most prominent in the immediate neighborhood, shall be arrested, imprisoned, and otherwise dealt with as the nature of the case may require; and further, in all cases where the property of citizens, loyal to the government of the United States, is taken or destroyed, full and ample remuneration shall be made to them out of the property of such rebels in the vicinity as have sympathized with, and given aid, comfort, information, or encouragement to, the parties committing such depredations."

This order was issued on the 9th of May. Early in June another order appeared, declaring that all persons guilty of uttering disloyal sentiments, who should refuse to take the oath of allegiance and give bonds in a thousand dollars for their future good behavior, should be sent South, and treated as spies, that is, hung, if again found within the federal lines. Six clergymen boldly preached treason from their pulpits. As they persisted, after due warning, five were sent to prison, and the sixth paroled in consequence of sickness.

The rebel armies again entered the State. Nashville became isolated, and was in a state of siege. There were many families in Nashville who were starving, their husbands and fathers having joined the rebels. Governor Johnson assessed a tax upon the wealthy rebels in the vicinity for their support. Timid ones began to talk of the necessity of surrender. "I am no military man," he said; "but any one who talks of surrendering, I will shoot."

There was in the Union army in Tennessee a Methodist clergyman, Colonel Moody, who, in consequence of his patriotic zeal and chivalric bravery, accompanied at the same time with active piety in preaching and in prayer, had acquired the sobriquet of the "Fighting Parson." Colonel Moody chanced to be in Washington, and related to President Lincoln the following anecdote respecting Andrew Johnson. General Buell, whose reputation as a determined patriot did not stand very high, being then in command of
the Union forces in Tennessee, had evacuated his position in the southern portion of that State, and had fallen back upon Nashville, followed by a rebel army. He then proposed abandoning the city. As we have mentioned, Governor Johnson would not listen to this: on the contrary, he declared his determination to defend the city to the last extremity, and then to commit it to the flames, rather than surrender it to the rebels.

He was so dissatisfied with General Buell's course, that he wrote a letter to President Lincoln, urging his removal. General Thomas was in cordial sympathy with Governor Johnson, and was placed in command of troops in the city. Soon, however, he took a more important command; and General Negley took charge of the defense. The rebels made several attacks upon the outworks, but were gallantly repulsed. The city was now in a state of siege, provisions were very scarce, and the troops were on half-rations.

Under these circumstances, Colonel Moody had a chance interview with Governor Johnson in Nashville. The governor was in his office, in a state of great excitement, walking the floor, in conversation with two gentlemen. The gentlemen withdrew as the colonel entered, leaving him alone with the governor. After a moment's pause, the governor came up to him, evidently greatly agitated, and said,—

"Moody, we are sold out. Buell is a traitor. He is going to evacuate the city; and, in forty-eight hours, we shall be in the hands of the rebels."

He then commenced rapidly pacing the floor again, wringing his hands, and chafing like a caged tiger, utterly unmindful of his friend's entreaties that he would become calm. Suddenly he stopped, and, turning to the colonel, said, "Moody, can you pray?"

"That is my business, sir," the colonel replied, "as a minister of the gospel."

"Well, Moody," said Governor Johnson, "I wish you would pray;" and, as the colonel knelted, the governor impetuously threw himself upon his knees by his side. A Western Methodist clergyman does not pray in low tones of voice, or with languid utterance. As with increasing fervor the colonel pleaded with God to interpose in their great peril, and save them, the governor threw one of his arms around his neck, and responded heartily, and with the deepest emotion. Closing the prayer with an emphatic "Amen" from each, they arose.
Governor Johnson drew a long breath, seemed somewhat quieted, and said, "Moody, I feel better. Will you stand by me?"

"Certainly I will," was the reply. The governor paced the floor for a moment silently, and then said, "Well, Moody, I can depend on you. You are one in a hundred thousand." Again he resumed his rapid walk in silent thoughtfulness; when suddenly he wheeled round, and said,—

"O Moody! I don't want you to think that I have become a religious man because I asked you to pray. I am sorry to say it; but I am not, and never pretended to be, religious. No one knows this better than you. But, Moody, there is one thing about it: I do believe in Almighty God; and I believe, also, in the Bible; and I say, D—n me if Nashville shall be surrendered!"

Mr. Lincoln narrated this anecdote to Mr. Carpenter, who, admirably commenting upon it, says, "The incident was given with a thrilling effect, which mentally placed Johnson, for a time, alongside of Luther and Cromwell. Profanity or irreverence was lost sight of in the fervid utterance of a highly-wrought and great-souled determination, united with a rare exhibition of pathos and self-abnegation."

It was not until October, 1862, that Governor Johnson's family succeeded in reaching him, having passed through scenes of great hardship and peril. In September Mr. Lincoln recommended an election for members of Congress in several districts in Tennessee which had proved loyal. In December Governor Johnson issued a proclamation for elections in the ninth and tenth districts. He was, however, emphatically opposed to allowing any rebel sympathizers to vote on any of the acts necessary to the restoration of the State. It was not enough, in his view, that the representative chosen should be loyal, but he must represent a loyal constituency. He closed his proclamation in these decisive words:

"No person will be considered an elector, qualified to vote, who, in addition to the other qualifications required by law, does not give satisfactory evidence, to the judges holding the election, of his loyalty to the government of the United States."

About the same time he imposed a tax of sixty thousand dollars upon the property of the secessionists for the support of the poor, the widows, and the orphans, who had been made such by the war. The current of events had apparently swept him along into entire
sympathy with the Republican party. He was not only opposed to secession, but he was opposed to slavery, its originating cause, and to that senseless and haughty aristocracy which was founded in the oppression of the poor and the helpless. Although in the presidential canvass he had voted for John C. Breckenridge, he now avowed himself the cordial supporter of the measures of President Lincoln's administration.

In the autumn of 1863 he visited Washington to confer with the President in reference to the restoration of Tennessee to the Union. Our military operations had been so successful that all organized bodies of rebels had been driven from the State. The people who had been so long under the tyrannic rule of bands of thieves and murderers were rejoiced at their deliverance. Numerous conventions were held, where Governor Johnson addressed the people with that directness and cogency of utterance which he had so eminently at his command.

"Tennessee," said he, "is not out of the Union, never has been, and never will be. The bonds of the Constitution and the federal powers will always prevent that. This government is perpetual. Provision is made for reforming the government and amending the Constitution, and admitting States into the Union, not for letting them out.

"Where are we now? There is a rebellion. The rebel army is driven back. Here lies your State,—a sick man in his bed, emaciated and exhausted, paralyzed in all his powers, and unable to walk alone. The physician comes. The United States send an agent or a military governor, whichever you please to call him, to aid you in restoring your government. Whenever you desire in good faith to restore civil authority, you can do so; and a proclamation for an election will be issued as speedily as it is practicable to hold one. One by one, all the agencies of your state government will be set in motion. A legislature will be elected. Judges will be appointed temporarily, until you can elect them at the polls. And so of sheriffs, county-court judges, justices, and other officers, until the way is fairly open for the people, and all the parts of civil government resume their ordinary functions. This is no nice, intricate, metaphysical question; it is a plain, common-sense matter; and there is nothing in the way but obstinacy."

Governor Johnson had now so thoroughly identified himself with
the great Republican party, and had so warmly advocated its fundamental principles, that his name began to be spoken of as a candidate for the vice-presidency at the approaching election. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine now filled that office. He was a gentleman of high intellectual and moral worth, and discharged his duties to the full satisfaction of those who elected him. But, for obvious reasons, it was deemed very important, since President Lincoln was from the West, to elect a Vice-President from some one of the Southern States. There was no other name so prominent as that of Andrew Johnson. The North had learned to admire the man. His boldness, his popular eloquence, his avowed hostility to slavery, his all-embracing patriotism, and the sufferings he had endured in consequence of his devotion to his country's flag, all endeared him to the North; and, with enthusiasm, the Republican party rallied round him.

At the National Convention assembled in Baltimore on the 6th of June, 1864, almost by acclamation he was nominated on the same ticket with Abraham Lincoln, who was renominated for the presidency. Most cordially this nomination was responded to by the people. When this intelligence reached Nashville, an immense mass-meeting was assembled to give it their ratification. Governor Johnson was invited to address them. In the speech which he made on this occasion, he said, —

"While society is in this disordered state, and we are seeking security, let us fix the foundations of the government on principles of eternal justice, which will endure for all time. There are those in our midst who are for perpetuating the institution of slavery. Let me say to you, Tennesseans, and men from the Northern States, that slavery is dead. It was not murdered by me. I told you long ago what the result would be if you endeavored to go out of the Union to save slavery, — that the result would be bloodshed, rapine, devastated fields, plundered villages and cities; and therefore I urged you to remain in the Union. In trying to save slavery, you killed it, and lost your own freedom. Your slavery is dead; but I did not murder it. As Macbeth said to Banquo's bloody ghost, —

'Thou canst not say I did it:
Never shake thy gory locks at me.'

Slavery is dead, but you must pardon me if I do not mourn over its dead body. You can bury it out of sight. In restoring the State,
leave out that disturbing and dangerous element, and use only those parts of the machinery which will move in harmony.

"Now, in regard to emancipation, I want to say to the blacks, that liberty means liberty to work, and enjoy the fruits of your labor. Idleness is not freedom. I desire that all men shall have a fair start and an equal chance in the race of life: and let him succeed who has the most merit. This, I think, is a principle of Heaven. I am for emancipation, for two reasons: first, because it is right in itself; and, second, because, in the emancipation of the slaves, we break down an odious and dangerous aristocracy. I think that we are freeing more whites than blacks in Tennessee. I want to see slavery broken up; and, when its barriers are thrown down, I want to see industrious, thrifty emigrants pouring in from all parts of the country."

The utterance of such sentiments endeared Governor Johnson very much to all liberty-loving hearts. In a similar strain he wrote, in his letter to the convention accepting the nomination,—

"Before the Southern people assumed a belligerent attitude, and repeatedly since, I took occasion most frankly to declare the views I then entertained in relation to the wicked purposes of the Southern politicians. They have since undergone but little if any change. Time and subsequent events have rather confirmed than diminished my confidence in their correctness.

"At the beginning of this great struggle, I entertained the same opinion of it that I do now. In my place in the Senate, I denounced it as treason, worthy the punishment of death, and warned the government and the people of the impending danger. But my voice was not heard, or my counsel heeded, until it was too late to avert the storm. It still continued to gather over us, without molestation from the authorities at Washington, until at length it broke with all its fury upon the country; and now, if we would save the government from being overwhelmed by it, we must meet it in the true spirit of patriotism, and bring traitors to the punishment due their crimes, and by force of arms crush out and subdue the last vestige of rebel authority in the State.

"I felt then, as now, that the destruction of the government was deliberately determined upon by wicked and designing conspirators, whose lives and fortunes were pledged to carry it out; and that no compromise short of an unconditional recognition of the independ-
ence of the Southern States could have been, or could now be proposed, which they would accept. The clamor for ‘Southern rights,’ as the rebel journals were pleased to designate their rallying-cry, was not to secure their assumed rights in the Union and under the Constitution, but to disrupt the government, and establish an independent organization, based upon slavery, which they could at all times control.

"The separation of the government has for years past been the cherished purpose of the Southern leaders. Baffled in 1832 by the stern, patriotic heroism of Andrew Jackson, they sullenly acquiesced, only to mature their diabolical schemes, and await the recurrence of a more favorable opportunity to execute them. Then the pretext was the tariff; and Jackson, after foiling their schemes of nullification and disunion, with prophetic perspicacity warned the country against the renewal of their efforts to dismember the government.

"In a letter dated May 1, 1833, to the Rev. A. J. Crawford, after demonstrating the heartless insincerity of the Southern nullifiers, he said, 'Therefore the tariff was only a pretext, and disunion and Southern confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question.' Time has fully verified this prediction, and we have now not only 'the negro or slavery question' as the pretext, but the real cause of the Rebellion, and both must go down together. It is vain to attempt to reconstruct the Union with the distracting element of slavery in it. Experience has demonstrated its incompatibility with free and republican governments, and it would be unwise and unjust longer to continue it as one of the institutions of our country. While it remained subordinate to the Constitution and laws of the United States I yielded to it my support, but when it became rebellious, and attempted to rise above the government and control its action, I threw my humble influence against it.

"The authority of the government is supreme, and will admit of no rivalry. No institution can rise above it, whether it be slavery or any other organized power. In our happy form of government, all must be subordinate to the will of the people, when reflected through the Constitution and laws made pursuant thereto, state or federal. This great principle lies at the foundation of every government, and cannot be disregarded without the destruction of the government itself."
"In accepting the nomination, I might here close, but I cannot forego the opportunity of saying to my old friends of the Democratic party proper, with whom I have so long and pleasantly been associated, that the hour has now come when that great party can vindicate its devotion to true Democratic policy, and measures of expediency. The war is a war of great principles. It involves the supremacy and life of the government itself. If the rebellion triumph, free government, North and South, fails. If, on the other hand, the government is successful,—as I do not doubt that it will be,—its destiny is fixed, its basis is permanent and enduring, and its career of honor and glory is but just begun. In a great contest like this for the existence of free government, the path of duty is patriotism and principle.

"This is not the hour for strife and division among ourselves. Such differences of opinion only encourage the enemy, prolong the war, and waste the country. Unity of action, and concentration of power, should be our watchword and rallying-cry. This accomplished, the time will rapidly approach when the armies in the field—that great power of the Rebellion—will be broken and crushed by our gallant officers and brave soldiers; and ere long they will return to their homes and firesides, to resume the avocations of peace, with the proud consciousness that they have aided in the noble work of re-establishing upon a surer and more permanent basis the great temple of American freedom."

These are surely noble truths, nobly uttered. They met with a cordial response in every loyal heart. Every sentence elevated Andrew Johnson in the estimation of the American people. The names of Lincoln and Johnson were not only placed upon the same ticket, but at the fireside and from the church prayers of gratitude ascended to God that he had raised up a Southern man to cooperate with our own noble son of the West in the protection and redemption of our country.

These feelings were increased to enthusiasm by an event which took place a few months after the date of this letter.

On the 24th of October, 1864, Governor Johnson addressed an immense assemblage of the colored people of Nashville in a speech of extraordinary eloquence and power. We give it here, somewhat abbreviated from the admirable report furnished by a correspondent of "The Cincinnati Gazette." Governor Johnson spoke from the
steps leading from Cedar Street to the State-House yard. The whole street was packed with the densest mass of human beings, the great proportion of them, men, women, and children, being the dusky-hued sons and daughters of bondage. The State-House yard, and also the great stone wall which separated it from the street, were covered with the multitude. It was in the evening, and many torches threw a weird-like light over the scene. The excitement was so intense that there was almost breathless silence. In tones which the sublimity of the occasion rendered deep and tremulous, the governor began:

"Colored men of Nashville, you have all heard the President's proclamation, by which he announced to the world that the slaves in a large portion of the seceded States were thenceforth and forever free. For certain reasons which seemed wise to the President, the benefits of that proclamation did not extend to you or to your native State. Many of you were consequently left in bondage. The taskmaster's scourge was not yet broken, and the fetters still galled your limbs. Gradually the iniquity has been passing away; but the hour has come when the last vestiges of it must be removed.

"Consequently, I too, standing here upon the steps of the Capitol, with the past history of the State to witness, the present condition to guide, and its future to encourage me, - I, Andrew Johnson, do hereby proclaim freedom, full, broad, and unconditional, to every man in Tennessee."

It was one of those moments when the speaker seems inspired, and when his audience, catching the inspiration, rises to his level, and becomes one with him. Strangely as some of the words of this immortal utterance sounded to those uncultivated ears, not one of them was misunderstood. With breathless attention, these sons of bondage hung upon each syllable. Each individual seemed carved in stone until the last word of the grand climax was reached, and then the scene which followed beggars all description. One simultaneous roar of approval and delight burst from three thousand throats. Flags, banners, torches, and transparencies were waved wildly over the throng, or flung aloft in the ecstasy of joy. Drums, fifes, and trumpets added to the uproar; and the mighty tumult of this great mass of human beings, rejoicing for their race, woke up the slumbering echoes of the Capitol, vibrated through the length
and breadth of the city, rolled over the sluggish waters of the Cumberland, and rang out far into the night beyond.

There were in the vicinity of Nashville two slaveholders of immense wealth. Their princely estates spread over thousands of acres, and were tilled by hundreds of unpaid bondmen. The old feudal barons did not wield more despotic power than Cockrill and Harding wielded over their cabined slaves. Both of these men were, of course, intense rebels. Their names were everywhere prominent, and their great wealth gave them vast influence in the State. In allusion to them, Governor Johnson continued: —

"I am no agrarian. I wish to see secured to every man, rich or poor, the fruits of his honest industry, effort, or toil. I want each man to feel that what he has gained by his own skill or talent or exertion is rightfully his, and his alone; but if, through an iniquitous system, a vast amount of wealth has been accumulated in the hands of one man, or a few men, then that result is wrong; and the sooner we can right it, the better for all concerned. It is wrong that Mack Cockrill and W. D. Harding, by means of forced and unpaid labor, should have monopolized so large a share of the lands and wealth of Tennessee; and I say, that if their immense plantations were divided up, and parcelled out amongst a number of free, industrious, and honest farmers, it would give more good citizens to the Commonwealth, increase the wages of our mechanics, enrich the markets of our city, enliven all the arteries of trade, improve society, and conduce to the greatness and glory of the State.

"The representatives of this corrupt, and, if you will permit me almost to swear a little, this damnable aristocracy, taunt us with our desire to see justice done, and charge us with favoring negro equality. Of all living men, they should be the last to mouth that phrase; and, even when uttered in their hearing, it should cause their cheeks to tinge, and burn with shame. Negro equality indeed! Why, pass any day along the sidewalk of High Street, where these aristocrats more particularly dwell, — these aristocrats, whose sons are now in the bands of guerrillas and cut-throats who prowl and rob and murder around our city, — pass by their dwellings, I say, and you will see as many mulatto as negro children, the former bearing an unmistakable resemblance to their aristocratic owners.

"Colored men of Tennessee, this, too, shall cease. Your wives and daughters shall no longer be dragged into a concubinage, com-
pared to which polygamy is a virtue, to satisfy the brutal lusts of slaveholders and overseers. Henceforth the sanctity of God's law of marriage shall be respected in your persons, and the great State of Tennessee shall no more give her sanction to your degradation and your shame."

"Thank God, thank God!" came from the lips of a thousand women, who, in their own persons, had experienced the iniquity of the man-seller's code. "Thank God!" fervently echoed the fathers, husbands, and brothers of these women.

"And if the law protects you," he continued, "in the possession of your wives and children, if the law shields those whom you hold dear from the unlawful grasp of lust, will you endeavor to be true to yourselves, and shun, as it were death itself, the path of lewdness, crime, and vice?"

"We will, we will!" cried the assembled thousands; and, joining in a sublime and tearful enthusiasm, another mighty shout went up to heaven.

"Looking at this vast crowd," the governor continued, "and reflecting through what a storm of persecution and obloquy they are compelled to pass, I am almost induced to wish, that, as in the days of old, a Moses might arise, who should lead them safely to their promised land of freedom and happiness."

"You are our Moses!" shouted several voices; and the exclamation was caught up and cheered until the Capitol rang again.

"God," continued the governor, "no doubt has prepared somewhere an instrument for the great work he designs to perform in behalf of this outraged people; and, in due time, your leader will come forth, your Moses will be revealed to you."

"We want no Moses but you!" again shouted the crowd.

"Well, then," Governor Johnson replied, "humble and unworthy as I am, if no other better shall be found, I will indeed be your Moses, and lead you through the Red Sea of war and bondage to a fairer future of liberty and peace. I speak now as one who feels the world his country, and all who love equal rights his friends. I speak, too, as a citizen of Tennessee. I am here on my own soil; and here I mean to stay, and fight this great battle of truth and justice to a triumphant end. Rebellion and slavery shall, by God's good help, no longer pollute our State. Loyal men, whether white or black, shall alone control her destinies, and, when this strife in
which we are all engaged is past, I trust, I know, we shall have a better state of things, and shall all rejoice that honest labor reaps the fruit of its own industry, and that every man has a fair chance in the race of life.”

It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm which followed these words. Joy beamed in every countenance. Tears and laughter followed each other in swift succession. The great throng moved and swayed back and forth in the intensity of emotion, and shout after shout rent the air. This was one of those scenes of moral sublimity which few on earth have ever been permitted to witness. The speaker seemed inspired with very unusual power to meet the grandeur of the occasion and the theme. As he descended from the steps of the Capitol in this proudest, holiest hour of his life, the dense throng parted, as by magic, to let him through; and, all that night long, his name was mingled with the curses and the execrations of the traitor and oppressor, and with the blessings of the oppressed and the poor. General Sherman was then sweeping through the very heart of the rebellious States, and Grant was thundering at the gates of Petersburg and Richmond. Tennessee had returned to her allegiance, revised her Constitution, and abolished slavery.

Mr. Johnson has always been a little boastful of his lowly origin. Certainly it is to his credit that, from a position so extremely obscure, he should have raised himself to stations of so much eminence. In a speech delivered at Nashville soon after his nomination, he said,—

“In accepting the nomination, I shall stand on the principles I here enunciate, let the consequences for good or for evil be what they may. A distinguished Georgian told me in Washington, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, and just before his inauguration, that the people of Georgia would not consent to be governed by a man who had risen from the ranks. It was one of the principal objections of the people of the South to Mr. Lincoln. What will they do now, when they have to take two rulers who have risen from the ranks? This aristocracy is antagonistic to the principles of free democratic government, and the time has come when it must give up the ghost. The time has come when this rebellious element of aristocracy must be punished.

“The day when they could talk of their three or four thousand
acres of land, tilled by their hundreds of negroes, is past; and the hour for the division of these rich lands among the energetic and laboring masses is at hand. The field is to be thrown open; and I now invite the energetic and industrious of the North to come and occupy it, and apply here the same skill and industry which has made the North so rich. I am for putting down the aristocracy, and dividing out their possessions among the worthier laborers of any and all colors."

The election which took place on the 14th of November, 1864, resulted in the choice of Lincoln and Johnson by one of the largest majorities ever given. On the 4th of March, 1865, Mr. Johnson was inaugurated Vice-President of the United States. The clouds of gloom which had so long overlung the land were beginning to break. Grant and Sherman were dealing the armies of Rebellion annihilating blows. On the 3d of April there was a meeting in Washington to rejoice over the glad tidings of the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond. In the address which Vice-President Johnson made at that meeting, he said,—

"At the time that the traitors in the Senate of the United States plotted against the government and entered into a conspiracy more foul, more execrable, and more odious than that of Catiline against the Romans, I happened to be a member of that body, and, as to loyalty, stood solitary and alone among the senators from the Southern States. I was then and there called upon to know what I would do with such traitors; and I want to repeat my reply here.

"I said, if we had an Andrew Jackson he would hang them as high as Haman. But as he is no more, and sleeps in his grave, in his own beloved State, where traitors and treason have even insulted his tomb and the very earth that covers his remains, humble as I am, when you ask me what I would do, my reply is, I would arrest them; I would try them; I would convict them; and I would hang them.

"Since the world began, there has never been a rebellion of such gigantic proportions, so infamous in character, so diabolical in motive, so entirely disregardful of the laws of civilized war. It has introduced the most savage mode of warfare ever practiced upon earth.

"One word more and I am done. It is this: I am in favor of leniency; but, in my opinion, evil-doers should be punished. Treason is the highest crime known in the catalogue of crimes; and for
him that is guilty of it, for him that is willing to lift his impious hand against the authority of the nation, I would say death is too easy a punishment. My notion is, that treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished and impoverished, their social power broken: they must be made to feel the penalty of their crime. You, my friends, have traitors in your very midst, and treason needs rebuke and punishment here as well as elsewhere. It is not the men in the field who are the greatest traitors: it is the men who have encouraged them to imperil their lives, while they themselves have remained at home, expending their means and exerting all their power to overthrow the government. Hence I say this, 'The halter to intelligent, influential traitors!'

"To the honest boy, to the deluded man, who has been deceived into the rebel ranks, I would extend leniency; but the leaders I would hang. I hold, too, that wealthy traitors should be made to remunerate those men who have suffered as a consequence of their crime."

The great rebel army under General Lee surrendered on the 9th of April, 1865. Five days after this, on the 14th, while the bells of joy were ringing all over the nation at the utter overthrow of the Rebellion, the bullet of the assassin pierced the brain of President Lincoln. On the morning of the 15th the fearful tidings quivered along the wires, creating almost universal consternation and grief, Abraham Lincoln died this morning at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock!

Immediately upon his death, Hon. James Speed, Attorney-General of the United States, waited upon President Johnson with the following official communication: —

WASHINGTON CITY, April 16, 1865.

ANDREW JOHNSON, Vice-President of the United States.

Sir,—Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, was shot by an assassin last evening, at Ford's Theatre, in this city, and died at the hour of twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock this morning. About the same time at which the President was shot, an assassin entered the sick-chamber of Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, and stabbed him in several places in the throat, neck, and face, severely, if not mortally, wounding him. Other members of the secretary's family were dangerously wounded by the assassin while making his escape.
By the death of President Lincoln, the office of President has devolved, under the Constitution, upon you. The emergency of the government demands that you should immediately qualify yourself according to the requirements of the Constitution, and enter upon the duties of President of the United States. If you will please make known your pleasure, such arrangements as you deem proper will be made.

Your obedient servants,
HUGH M'CULLOCH, Secretary of the Treasury.
EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.
GUIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy.
WILLIAM DENNISON, Postmaster-General.
J. P. USHER, Secretary of the Interior.
JAMES SPEED, Attorney-General.

At ten o'clock, but little more than two and a half hours after the death of the President, a small but august assemblage met at the private apartments of Mr. Johnson, and Chief-Justice Chase administered to him the oath of office. The ceremonies were brief, but invested with unusual solemnity, in consequence of the sad event which rendered them necessary.

When Mr. Johnson was inaugurated Vice-President, an untoward event occurred, which excited great pain and anxiety throughout the nation. It was an event which attracted such universal attention and such severity of comment at the time, that historic fidelity requires that it should be alluded to. Mr. Johnson had been very sick with typhoid fever, and was in a state of extreme debility. He could not walk his chamber-floor without tottering. His physician judged it imprudent for him to attempt to make his appearance at the inauguration; but his anxiety was so great to attend ceremonies in which he was to assume such momentous responsibilities, that, by the reluctant consent of the physician, he went, taking a stimulant to strengthen him for the hour. The stimulant was not a strong one; but, in his weak and fevered state, it so overcame him, that in the Senate Chamber, before the assembled dignitaries of our own and other lands, in his inaugural address, he uttered incoherent thoughts which mantled the cheek of the nation with a blush.

A generous people promptly, gladly, accepted the explanation. The affair, for a moment so humiliating to national pride, was forgiven and forgotten. With confiding trust, Andrew Johnson was
received as the worthy successor of Abraham Lincoln, the loved and the lamented. Seldom, if ever, has a President entered upon his office so deeply enshrined in the affections and confidence of the Christian people all over our land as did President Johnson. Two days after he had assumed the duties of his responsible position, a delegation of citizens from Illinois, who were about to accompany the remains of President Lincoln to the burial-ground in Springfield, called upon President Johnson to pay him their respects. Governor Oglesby, in behalf of the delegation, said,—

“I take much pleasure in presenting to you this delegation of the citizens of Illinois, representing almost every portion of the State. We are drawn together by the mournful events of the past few days to give some feeble expression, by appropriate and respectful ceremonies, to the feelings we, in common with the whole nation, realize as pressing us to the earth. We thought it not inappropriate, before we should separate, even in this sad hour, to seek this interview with your excellency, that while the bleeding heart is pouring out its mournful anguish over the death of our beloved late President, the idol of our State and the pride of our whole country, we may earnestly express to you, the living head of this nation, our deliberate, full, and abiding confidence in you, as the one who, in these dark hours, must bear upon yourself the mighty responsibility of maintaining, defending, and directing its affairs.

“The record of your whole past life, familiar to all, the splendor of your recent gigantic efforts to stay the hand of treason and assassination, and restore the flag to the uttermost bounds of the Republic, assure that noble State which we represent, and, we believe, the people of the United States, that we may safely trust our destinies in your hands. And to this end we come in the name of the State of Illinois, and, we confidently believe, fully and faithfully expressing the wishes of our people, to present and pledge to you the cordial, earnest, and unremitting purpose of our State to give your administration the strong support we have heretofore given to the administration of our lamented late President, the policy of whom we have heretofore, do now, and shall continue to indorse.”

President Johnson, in his reply, said, “I have listened with profound emotion to the kind words you have addressed to me. The visit of this large delegation to speak to me, through you, sir, these words of encouragement, I had not anticipated. In the midst of
the saddening circumstances which surround us, and the immense responsibility thrown upon me, an expression of the confidence of individuals, and still more of an influential body like that before me, representing a great commonwealth, cheers and strengthens my heavily-burdened mind. I am at a loss for words to respond. In an hour like this, of deepest sorrow, were it possible to embody in words the feelings of my bosom, I could not command my lips to utter them. Perhaps the best reply I could make, and the one most readily appropriate to your kind assurance of confidence, would be to receive them in silence.

"The throbings of my heart, since the sad catastrophe which has appalled us, cannot be reduced to words; and oppressed as I am with the new and great responsibility which has devolved upon me, and saddened with grief, I can with difficulty respond to you at all. But I cannot permit such expressions of the confidence reposed in me by the people to pass without acknowledgment. Sprung from the people myself, every pulsation in the popular heart finds an immediate answer in my own. Your words of countenance and encouragement sank deep into my heart; and, were I even a coward, I could not but gather from them strength to carry out my convictions of right. Thus feeling, I shall enter upon the discharge of my great duty firmly, steadfastly, if not with the signal ability exhibited by my predecessor, which is still fresh in our sorrowing minds.

"In what I say on this occasion, I shall indulge in no petty spirit of anger, no feeling of revenge. But we have beheld a notable event in the history of mankind. In the midst of the American people, where every citizen is taught to obey law and observe the rules of Christian conduct, our Chief Magistrate, the beloved of all hearts, has been assassinated; and when we trace this crime to its cause, when we remember the source whence the assassin drew his inspiration, and then look at the result, we stand yet more astounded at this most barbarous, most diabolical assassination. Such a crime as the murder of a great and good man, honored and revered, the beloved and the hope of the people, springs not alone from a solitary individual of ever so desperate wickedness. We can trace its cause through successive steps, without my enumerating them here, back to that source which is the spring of all our woes.

"No one can say that, if the perpetrator of this fiendish deed be arrested, he should not undergo the extremest penalty the law knows
for crime. None will say that mercy should interpose. But is he alone guilty? Here, gentlemen, you perhaps expect me to present some indication of my future policy. One thing I will say, Every era teaches its lesson. The times we live in are not without instruction. The American people must be taught, if they do not already feel, that treason is a crime, and must be punished; that the government will not always bear with its enemies; that it is strong, not only to protect, but to punish.

"When we turn to the criminal code, and examine the catalogue of crimes, we find there arson laid down as a crime, with its appropriate penalty; we find there theft and robbery and murder given as crime; and there, too, we find the last and highest of crimes, treason. With other and inferior offenses our people are familiar; but, in our peaceful history, treason has been almost unknown. The people must understand that it is the blackest of crimes, and that it will be severely punished. I make this allusion, not to excite the already exasperated feelings of the public, but to point out the principles of public justice which should guide our action at this particular juncture, and which accord with sound public morals. Let it be engraven on every heart that treason is a crime, and that traitors shall suffer its penalty.

"While we are appalled, overwhelmed, at the fall of one man in our midst by the hand of a traitor, shall we allow men, I care not by what weapons, to attempt the life of a state with impunity? While we strain our minds to comprehend the enormity of this assassination, shall we allow the nation to be assassinated? I speak in no spirit of unkindness. I do not harbor bitter or revengeful feeling towards any. I know that men love to have their actions spoken of in connection with acts of mercy; and how easy it is to yield to this impulse! But we must not forget that what may be mercy to the individual is cruelty to the state. In the exercise of mercy, there should be no doubt left that this high prerogative is not used to relieve a few at the expense of the many. Be assured that I shall never forget that I am not to consult my own feelings alone, but to give an account to the whole people.

"In regard to my future course, I will now make no professions, no pledges. I have long labored for the amelioration and elevation of the great mass of mankind. I believe that government was made for man, not man for government. This struggle of the people
against the most gigantic rebellion the world ever saw has demonstrated that the attachment of the people to their government is the strongest national defense human wisdom can devise. My past life, especially my course during the present unholy rebellion, is before you. I have no principles to retract. I have no professions to offer. I shall not attempt to anticipate the future. As events occur, and it becomes necessary for me to act, I shall dispose of each as it arises."

A nation might well be proud of a ruler with so noble a record, cherishing such sentiments, and capable of expressing them with so much force and eloquence. In conformity with these principles, the very large majority of Congress, both the Senate and the House, began to adopt those measures of reconstruction through which the States which had been in rebellion could be restored to cooperation in the government of the Union. The rebels themselves declared, in the loudest and most defiant tones, that they were conquered only, not subdued; that in heart they were as relentless and determined as ever; and that, having failed upon the bloody field, they would renew the conflict, as of old, upon the floor of Congress. But the patriotic country felt safe in the assurance that we had a President in perfect harmony with the noblest Congress which had ever convened. But, to the surprise and almost the consternation of both Congress and the great mass of the people, it was found that the President, through some inexplicable influence, seemed to have changed his views, and was opposing vehemently, and with mortifying indecorum, those measures which Congress, with the general approval of the loyal population, would adopt, to protect the friends of the government from the vengeance of unrepentant rebels, and to shield our free institutions from renewed assaults.

The change was one of the most sudden and marvelous on record. Almost in an hour, the rebels and their sympathizers, who had been burning President Johnson in effigy, and denouncing him in the strongest language of vituperation which contempt and rage could coin, were shouting his praises, and rushing in from all quarters to greet him with their hosannas. The friends who elected him, who loved him, who leaned upon him for their support, were struck aghast. For a time they were mute in grief. Then came remonstrance and the angry strife. The bitterness of the old days of slavery domination, which we hoped had passed away forever, was
revived. It seemed as though all our blood had been shed and our treasure expended in vain. The President urgently advocated measures of reconstruction which, in the judgment of Congress and of the vast majority of the people of the North, would place the government again in the hands of those rebels and their sympathizers who had deluged our land in blood, and swept it with the flames of war, that they might overthrow our free institutions, and establish human bondage forever as the corner-stone of this republic.

The great question upon which this strife arose was, "Shall the United States government extend its protection to all loyal men, without distinction of race, who, during the Rebellion, proved true to the national flag?" President Johnson is understood to assume that we have no such right; that we must leave the nation's defenders, black and white, in the Southern States, to the tender mercies of the rebels; that the rebel States have never been out of the Union, have never forfeited their political rights; and that if they now meet, and elect delegates to Congress, we are bound to receive those delegates upon their oath of loyalty; each house of Congress, of course, having the right to reject or expel any member who is personally obnoxious.

This principle of reconstruction is revolting to the conscience of the great majority of Congress and of the loyal North. Mr. Peter Cooper, whose virtues have given him a national fame, in an admirable letter of respectful yet earnest remonstrance to President Johnson, says, —

"I, with thousands of others who labored to aid the government in putting down the Rebellion, would have rejoiced if Congress could have found all the reports of the continued persecution of Union men throughout the South to be groundless and false."

"The whole Republican party would have rejoiced if Congress could have found it safe to admit the members offered from Southern States at once to a full share in the government."

"This being my wish does not authorize me to denounce the majority in Congress, and accuse them of being radicals and traitors, 'hanging on the skirts of a government which they are trying to destroy.'"

"It was said of old, the sin of ingratitude is worse than the sin of witchcraft."

"To my mind, our nation must live in everlasting infamy if we
fail to secure a full measure of justice to an unfortunate race of men who were originally hunted down in their own country, and carried off and sold, like beasts, into an abject slavery, with all their posterity.

"This enslaved race has the strongest possible claims for kindness, as well as justice, at the hands of the people and government of the whole country, and more especially from the people of the South. These unfortunate slaves have done a great portion of the labor that has fed and clothed the whites and blacks of the Southern country.

"As true as the laborer is worthy of his hire, so true is it that we, as a nation, cannot withhold justice and equal rights from a race of men that has fought and bled and labored to defend and protect the Union of the States in the hour of our nation's greatest extremity.

"The enemies of our country and government are now trying to persuade the community to believe that a war of races would result from giving the black man the same measure of justice and rights which the white men claim for themselves. This will be found to be a groundless fear. Our national danger will always result from unequal and partial laws. We cannot make laws which will oppress and keep in ignorance the poor without bringing on ourselves and our country the just judgment of a righteous God, who will reward us as a nation according to our works.

"I indulge the hope that you will see, before it is entirely too late, the terrible danger of taking counsel with Northern men in sympathy with the rebels who fought the government with all the energy of desperation to accomplish the destruction of our government, instead of taking counsel with those friends who elected you, —friends who have been and are as desirous as you can possibly be to secure the adoption of every measure calculated to promote the substantial welfare of all parts of our common country."

As to the question whether the national government has the constitutional right to extend its protection to its defenders in the several States, much depends upon the theory which one adopts in reference to the war of the Rebellion. A contest of arms between an established and recognized government and a military force formed by a combination of individual citizens is civil war. The insurgents, when subdued or captured, are responsible individually
for their acts, and are consequently amenable to the courts of law on charges of treason and rebellion.

A contest of arms between any government and a military force organized under the authority of any other government, exercising an independent sovereignty, is international war. The persons engaged in the military operations are not individually responsible for their acts before courts of justice on criminal charges, but, when subdued or captured, can only be treated as prisoners of war. The victorious government is, however, entitled to exercise over the one that is subdued the rights of a conqueror as defined by the laws of war.

The Constitution of the United States is of a twofold character. It establishes a government with sovereign powers in respect to certain specified interests, and, to this extent, is simply a constitution of government framed by a single people. It also at the same time includes a covenant of union made by a number of separate governments, each exercising its own independent sovereignty in respect to certain other interests; and to this extent the act is of the nature of a league or treaty, binding several sovereignties to the fulfillment of certain obligations towards each other.

In case of hostilities arising among the parties of this instrument, the question whether, in a legal point of view, the conflict is to be regarded as a civil war or an international war, in respect to its character and effects, will depend upon the nature of it in relation to these two different aspects of the instruments; that is, whether the insurgents act in an individual or in a corporate capacity.

If it is a contest between the general government and a force organized by individual citizens, it is an insurrection or civil war. The insurgents may be so numerous and so well organized as to force the government, during the contest, to grant them belligerent rights; but, when vanquished or captured, they are amenable to the courts of law on charges of rebellion or treason.

If, on the other hand, it is admitted by the North to be, what the South claims it to be, a contest between the general government and a force organized by and acting in subordination to any one or more of the state governments, under proceedings regularly taken by the state authorities, in the manner prescribed by law, then it is of the nature of international war, in so far as that the governments which inaugurate it assume the responsibility of it, and
those acting under their authority are personally released. They can only be treated, when vanquished or captured, as prisoners of war. The victorious governments are entitled to exercise over the States that are vanquished the rights of conquerors, as regulated by the laws of war.

There can be no question that the latter was the view universally taken by those engaged in the Rebellion. They formed a government with its constitution and all its organized officers. They unfurled their flag, and conscripted their soldiers. They raised large armies, and issued letters of marque. They sent their ambassadors to knock at the doors of other governments for admission. In point of fact, they sundered all their relations with the national government, and seditiously, illegally, unconstitutionally, but yet really, became an independent government, and maintained that independence during a struggle of four years’ duration. They were so strong that they compelled the national government to recognize it as war, to exchange prisoners, and grant other belligerent rights.

At length they were conquered. Their army was crushed; their piratic navy was annihilated. Their constitution and laws vanished. Their flag sank into the dust. Whatever may be their individual responsibility as rebels in organizing this hostile government, there can be no question whatever that they did, in fact, sunder their relations with the national government; that they did, in fact, assume and exercise the functions of sovereignty; and that, having thus been vanquished, the victors are entitled to exercise over them the rights of conquerors, as regulated by the laws of war.

Within the territorial limits of this rebellious nation there were thousands of patriotic white men who remained true to their country and its flag. In consequence, they were exposed to every conceivable outrage. Multitudes of them were scourged, shot, and hanged. There were some millions of colored men who were patriotic to their hearts’ core. The object of the Rebellion was to strengthen the chains which had so long held them in bondage. The result of the Rebellion was to break those chains, and to let the oppressed go free. And now the unrepentant rebels are exceedingly exasperated against those Union white men, and those patriots of African descent whose sympathies were with the national government; and these rebels implore the Northern people to be magnanimous, and to interpose no obstacle to their wreaking their vengeance upon the Union people of the South.
This is the great question of reconstruction which is now agitating the land. President Johnson is understood to advocate the restoration of the conquered States to the Union, without exacting from them any pledges whatever which will protect from violence the friends of the Union within their borders. He is understood to assume that the Rebellion was merely a series of illegal acts of private individuals; that the States in which the Rebellion took place were, during the Rebellion, completely competent States of the United States as they were before the Rebellion, and were bound by all the obligations which the Constitution imposed, and entitled to all its privileges; and that now, whenever representatives appear from such States and demand admission, there is but one question which we have any right to ask; and that is, "Have these States organized governments which are republican in form?" It is said that each house of Congress can decide respecting the individual merits of the representative who claims admission to their body, and can receive or reject as it pleases; but, as to the governments which they represent, "how they were formed, under what auspices they were formed, are inquiries with which Congress has no concern. The right of the people to form a government for themselves has never been questioned."

It seems to be assumed, in the first place, that the States have never rebelled: individuals only have committed that crime. And then, in the second place, it is assumed that these individuals have forfeited nothing by their treason; that they are entitled to all the rights and privileges which they ever enjoyed; and that they can send their representatives to Congress, and demand admission for them, with just as much assurance as if they had ever remained loyal. This unconditional admission of the rebel States, without securing in advance the imperiled rights of the loyalists, both white and black, is regarded by the great mass of the Northern people as a crime which would justly expose the nation to the scorn of the world.

In September, 1866, there was a large convention in Philadelphia of loyal men from all the States which had been in rebellion. In their appeal to their fellow-citizens of the United States, they say, —

"The representatives of eight millions of American citizens appeal for protection and justice to their friends and brothers in
the States that have been spared the cruelties of the Rebellion and the direct horrors of civil war. Here, on the spot where freedom was proffered and pledged by the fathers of the republic, we implore your help against a reorganized oppression, whose sole object is to remit the control of our destinies to the contrivers of the Rebellion after they have been vanquished in honorable battle; thus at once to punish us for our devotion to our country, and intrench themselves in the official fortifications of the government."

In illustration of the manner in which the loyal colored population could be oppressed, and, while nominally free, could have burdens imposed upon them more intolerable than they ever bore before, the following statements are made:—

"The laws passed by some of our legislatures provide that all persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, as laborers, shall be required, during the first ten days of the month of January of each year, to make contracts for the ensuing year; and, in case of failure, such laborer shall be arrested by the civil authorities, and hired out; and, however much the laborer may be dissatisfied, he dare not leave, under the penalty of being apprehended, and forced to labor upon the public works, without compensation, until he will consent to return to his employer. It is punished with fine and imprisonment to entice or persuade away, feed, harbor, or secrete, any such laborer. In this way they are compelled to contract within a limit of ten days, punished by legal enslavement for violating a simple contract, and prevented from obtaining shelter, food, or employment. By severest penalties, he has been made a serf in the name of freedom, and suffers all the evils of the institution of slavery, without receiving that care which the master, from a sense of his own interest, would give to his bondsmen."

Governor Hamilton of Texas stated, before an immense meeting of the citizens of New Haven, Conn., on the evening of September 15, 1866, that he could testify from his own personal knowledge, that in the single State of Texas, during the last six months, more than one thousand colored men had been brutally and wantonly murdered,—unoffending men, murdered simply because they were colored men and loyalists; and that not one of their murderers had been arrested. He stated that no Union white man dared to attempt to protect them; that, should he make the attempt, he would only expose himself to the same fate.
Again: the convention describes the treatment to which the white loyal men are exposed. The massacre in New Orleans was as follows: “On the 30th of July, 1866, in pursuance of a proclamation of Rufus N. Howell, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, the convention of loyal men, which, under the protection of the United States troops, met and framed the organic law under which the civil government of Louisiana was formed, and which adjourned subject to the call of the president, was again convened. The rebel press denounced the convention in the most abusive language, and resorted to every expedient to inflame the minds of the returned rebel soldiers against the convention and its adherents. Public meetings were held, and incendiary speeches made. The mayor of the city declared his intention to disperse the convention if it should attempt to meet within the limits of New Orleans.

“At twelve o’clock of the night before the meeting of the convention, the police were assembled at the station-houses, and each one was armed with a large navy revolver. The convention met at twelve o’clock, at noon, in the Convention Hall, at the corner of Dryades and Canal streets. A large number of Union men were assembled, peaceful, unarmed citizens, in front of the building. At one o’clock, at a signal of the ringing of the bells, the police, joined by hundreds of armed rebel soldiers in citizens’ dress, attacked, without the slightest provocation, the people in front of the building. With unrelenting butchery, these men of bloody hands and hearts shot down the loyalists. The street was soon cleared. There were left but pools of blood, and the mangled bodies of the slain.

They then made a dash into the hall of the convention. Paris, during the Reign of Terror, never witnessed a scene more dreadful. The members of the convention were unarmed, and utterly defenseless. At the suggestion of their chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Horton, they quietly took their seats, and thus awaited the storm. Without any attempt at arrest, without encountering any act or word of provocation, these police-officers, with their Union-hating band of rebel soldiers, opened fire with their revolvers upon their helpless victims. Volley succeeded volley. No mercy was shown. White handkerchiefs were waved, as flags of truce, in vain. A deaf ear was turned to every plea. The work of butchery was continued, until every Union man in the room was either killed or wounded, excepting the very few who almost miraculously escaped.
While this scene was being enacted in the hall, bands of murderers were equally active in the streets, for several squares around the building. Every colored man and every known Union man was shot down. The bodies of the slain were mutilated in the most brutal way. In the report which the Southern Union men make of this almost unparalleled outrage, they say,—

"All the circumstances connected with this tragic event,—the expressed intention of the mayor to disperse the convention, the withdrawal of the police from their beats in the city, the arming of them with revolvers, the signal given at one o'clock, and the prompt arrival of all the police of the city, including six or seven hundred special policemen sworn in for the occasion, the presence of the mayor during the tumult, the deception practised by the lieutenant-governor to keep troops out of the city,—all clearly prove that the bloody tragedy was, as General Sheridan states, a 'premeditated massacre.'

"And from the brutal manner in which over four hundred Union
men were killed or wounded, from the fact that not one single po-
lliceman or participant in the murderous affair has been arrested, from
the fact that the same men whose hands are yet red with the blood
of the patriot soldiers of the Republic, and crimsoned anew in that
of the martyrs of the 30th of July, are still retained in office and
power in that city, it is clear that there is no security for the lives,
the liberty, or the property, of loyal citizens.

"It is a part of the history of this massacre, that indictments were
found by the grand jury of the parish, composed of ex-rebel soldiers
and their sympathizers, against the survivors of the convention, for
having disturbed the peace of the community; and that, to-day,
many of them are under heavy bonds to appear and answer the
charge. Nor did this seem to satisfy the judge of the criminal court:
for the grand jury was brought before him on the following day,
and instructed to find bills of indictment against the members of the
convention and spectators, charging them with murder, giving the
principle in law, and applying it in this case, that whosoever is en-
gaged in an unlawful proceeding, from which death ensues to a hu-
man being, is guilty of murder; and alleging, that as the convention
had no right to meet, and the police had killed many men on the
day of its meeting, the survivors were therefore guilty of murder.

"But why continue," these Southern loyalists add, "the recital of
this horrible record? We have before us evidences from every por-
tion of the South, proving the extent and the increasing violence of
the spirit of intolerance and persecution above set forth. This com-
mmittee is in possession of information that Union men dare not
attend this convention for fear of violence upon their return. Gent-
lemen of this convention have, since their arrival in this city, re-
ceived notices warning them not to return home. We have omitted
the relation of acts of ferocity and barbarism too horrible to relate.
We submit to the impartial judgment of the American people, if
these state governments, thus ruled by a disunion oligarchy, and
based on the political disfranchisement of three millions of colored
citizens, and the social disfranchisement of the entire loyal white
citizens, are republican in form. Of doubtful legal existence, they
are undoubtedly despotic, and despotic in the interests of treason, as
we of the South know but too well.

"We affirm that the loyalists of the South look to Congress, with
affectionate gratitude and confidence, as the only means to save us
from persecution, exile, and death itself. And we also declare that there can be no security for us and our children, there can be no safety for the country, against the fell spirit of slavery, now organized in the form of serfdom, unless the government, by national and appropriate legislation, enforced by national authority, shall confer on every citizen in the States we represent the American birthright of impartial rage, and equality before the law.

“This is the one all-sufficient remedy. This is our great need and pressing necessity. This is the only policy which will destroy sectionalism, by bringing into effective power a preponderating force on the side of loyalty. It will lead to an enduring pacification, because based on the eternal principles of justice. It is a policy which finally will regenerate the South itself, because it will introduce and establish there a divine principle of moral politics, which, under God’s blessing, will, in elevating humanity, absorb and purify the unchristian hate and selfish passions of men.”

According to the Constitution, if two thirds of the members of each house of Congress agree upon any amendments, those amendments shall be submitted to the approval of the several States. If three fourths of these accept them, they become a part of the Constitution. The views of a large majority in both houses of Congress were not in harmony with those of the President. Congress took the ground, that, before the rebellious States should be allowed to assume their former privileges in the councils of the nation, certain guaranties should be exacted of them as a protection for the Thon men of the South, and to protect the nation from the repetition of so terrible a wrong.

With this view, they presented to the States Terms of Reconstruction, to be adopted as constitutional amendments. Whatever may be thought of the policy or the impolicy of these terms, their wonderful leniency no man can deny. The Rebellion was a terrible fact, as terrible as earth has ever known. It cost thousands of millions of money, and hundreds of thousands of lives, and an amount of misery, of life-long destitution and woe, which never can be gauged. A greater crime was never perpetrated. Its responsibility lies somewhere.

If we regard it as merely a combination of individual citizens, then these insurgents merit severe punishment on the charge of treason and rebellion. If we regard it as an international war be-
between the United States government and independent confederate states, then is the victorious government entitled to the rights of a conqueror as defined by the laws of war. Prussia annihilates the governments of the provinces and the kingdoms she has conquered, and compels them to pay the expenses of the war; and not a cabinet in Europe utters a word of remonstrance.

With magnanimity never before in the history of the world manifested towards a vanquished enemy, the national government calls for no punishment in the dungeon or on the scaffold, for no conscription or exile, for no political or personal servitude depriving states or individuals of any of their rights: it simply requires a few easy terms as a slight security against another war.

These terms are as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds of both houses concurring), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; which, when ratified by three fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution; namely:—

Art. 1. Sec. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the States wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or happiness, without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Sec. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons, excluding Indians not taxed. But whenever the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President, representatives in Congress, executive and judicial officers, or members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Sec. 3. That no person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disabilities.

Sec. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Sec. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

This amendment allows each State to decide who of its citizens shall enjoy the right to vote; but it declares that those who are not allowed to vote shall not be counted in the basis of representation. If any State chooses to limit the elective franchise to a favored few, it can do so; but that privileged few are not to have their power
augmented by representing large bodies of citizens who are permitted no voice in the selection of their representation. But for this provision, a rebel voter in South Carolina would represent a power in national affairs equal to any two loyal voters in New York. With slavery re-instituted under the guise of serfdom, and with their representation in Congress greatly increased, by counting in their basis of representation each serf as a man, the rebel States would have gained by the conflict in political power.

President Johnson opposed these terms of reconstruction. Congress advocated them. They were cordially approved by an immense majority of the people of the United States. A conflict arose between the President and Congress, which agitated the nation as it has, perhaps, never been agitated before in time of peace. The President availed himself not only of all his constitutional powers, but, as Congress averred, he usurped unconstitutional powers, in his endeavors to thwart the measures which the nation, through its representatives, was endeavoring to enforce. In the progress of this strife, a law was passed by Congress, on the 2d of March, 1867, entitled "The Tenure of Office Act;" by which it was enacted that all civil officers duly qualified by appointment by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be entitled to hold such office until a successor shall have been in like manner appointed and qualified.

The President, who was anxious to remove Mr. Stanton from the office of Secretary of War, and place some one in his position who would act in harmony with his own views, refused to respect this law, declaring it to be unconstitutional. He assumed that he had a right to judge for himself whether or not the laws enacted by Congress were in accordance with the Constitution; and that if, in his judgment, they were not so, he had a right to refuse to execute them. The distinctly-defined issue which consequently arose was, may the President annul such laws of the United States, as, in his judgment, he may deem to be unconstitutional?

The President had a right to veto a bill, which, for any reason, he disapproved; but a bill thus returned could pass to a law by a two thirds vote, notwithstanding the veto. And again: should the President refuse to return a bill, and retain it for ten days, it then became a law without his signature. It was admitted that the President was not bound to execute an unconstitutional law. But
the question of its constitutionality was to be decided, not by the private judgment of the President, but by the solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The President, in contravention of the Tenure of Office Act, issued an order removing Secretary Stanton from his office, to which he had been appointed by President Lincoln, and substituting in his place General Lorenzo Thomas. Secretary Stanton, acting in harmony with the advice of Congress, refused to surrender the post which it was endeavored thus illegally to wrest from him. The President, by threats, endeavored to force him to yield. This brought matters to such a crisis, that the impeachment of the President was decided upon. When the President urged the plea, that he violated the law that he might thus bring it before the Supreme Court to test its constitutionality, the reply was, that the President had taken an oath to execute the laws; that he could violate this oath only at his peril, and that peril was, to be impeached.

The nation, in general, was in sympathy with Congress. The course which the President had pursued had created intense and widespread exasperation. Those who were in sympathy with the Rebellion applauded him. The loyal community all over the land was incensed. In addition to those articles of impeachment which accused the President of high crimes and misdemeanors in violating the laws, another article was introduced, charging him with attempting to bring into ridicule and contempt the Congress of the United States, and to excite against it the odium of the people. In substantiation of this charge, the following extracts were produced from speeches which he had made on several occasions. To a committee of citizens who called upon him in Washington, on the 18th of August, 1866, he said, in view of the opposition of Congress to his mode of reconstructing the rebel States, —

"We have witnessed in one department of the government every endeavor to prevent the restoration of peace, harmony, and union. We have seen hanging upon the verge of the government, as it were, a body called, or which assumes to be, the Congress of the United States; while, in fact, it is a Congress of only part of the States. We have seen this Congress pretend to be for the Union, when its every step and act tended to perpetuate disunion, and make a disruption of the States inevitable. We have seen Congress gradually encroach, step by step, upon constitutional rights,
and violate, day after day, and month after month, fundamental principles of the government. We have seen a Congress that seemed to forget that there was a limit to the sphere and scope of legislation. We have seen a Congress in a minority assume to exercise power, which, if allowed to be consummated, would result in despotism, in monarchy itself."

Again: at Cleveland, O., on the 3rd of September, 1866, President Johnson, addressing a public assemblage, said,—

"I called upon your Congress, that is trying to break up the government. What has Congress done? Have they done anything to restore the Union of these States? No: on the contrary, they have done everything to prevent it." Again: at St. Louis, Mo., on the 8th of September, the President, addressing a large gathering of the citizens, said, calling several prominent individual members of Congress by name,—

"These are the men that compare themselves with the Saviour; and everybody that differs with them in opinion, and who tries to stay and arrest their diabolical and nefarious policy, is to be denounced as a Judas. Well, let me say to you, if you will stand by me in trying to give the people a fair chance, soldiers and citizens, to participate in these offices, God being willing, I will kick them out: I will kick them out just as fast as I can. Let me say to you, in conclusion, that what I have said I intended to say. I was not provoked into this; and I care not for their menaces, the taunts and the jeers. I care not for threats. I do not intend to be bullied by my enemies, nor overawed by my friends; but, God willing, with your help, I will veto their measures whenever they come to me."

On the 4th of March, at one o'clock P. M., the managers of the impeachment, appointed by the House of Representatives, entered the Senate Chamber, followed by the members of the House. The Chief-Justice of the United States, and the senators, fifty-four in number, formed the court and jury. The people of the United States, through their representatives in the House, entered the prosecution. The President of the United States was the accused at the bar.

The trial was very tedious, continuing for nearly three months. A test-article of the impeachment was at length submitted to the court for its action. It was certain that as the court voted upon that article so it would vote upon all. Thirty-five voices pronounced
the President guilty. Nineteen voices declared him not guilty. As a two thirds vote was necessary to his condemnation, he was pronounced acquitted, notwithstanding the very great majority against him. The change of one vote from the not guilty side would have sustained the impeachment.

The President, for the remainder of his term, was but little regarded. He continued, though impotently, his conflict with Congress. His own party did not think it expedient to renominate him for the Presidency. The nation rallied, with enthusiasm unparalleled since the days of Washington, around the name of General Grant. Andrew Johnson was forgotten. The bullet of an assassin introduced him to the President's chair. Notwithstanding this, never was there presented to a man a better opportunity to immortalize his name, and to win the gratitude of a nation. He failed utterly. He retired to his home in Greenville, Tenn., taking no very active part in politics until 1875. On January 26th, after an exciting struggle, he was chosen by the Legislature of Tennessee United States Senator in the Forty-fourth Congress, and took his seat in that body at the special session convened by President Grant, on the 5th of March. On the 27th of July, 1875, the ex-President made a visit to his daughter's home, near Carter Station, Tenn. When he started on his journey, he was apparently in his usual vigorous health, but on reaching the the residence of his child the following day was stricken with paralysis, rendering him unconscious. He rallied occasionally, but finally passed away at two A. M., July 31st, aged sixty-seven years. His funeral was attended at Greenville, on the 3d of August, with every demonstration of respect.
CHAPTER XVIII.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.


There was nothing in the early life of Ulysses S. Grant indicative of a remarkable character. He was an honest-hearted, energetic, modest, good boy. But for the great Rebellion his name, probably, would never have been known beyond the limits of the small Western town in which he was then engaged in humble commercial life. The war developed in him latent virtues and heroism which have crowned him with renown.

Ulysses was born on the 29th of April, 1822, of Christian parents, in a humble home, at Point Pleasant, on the banks of the Ohio. Soon after his birth his father removed to Georgetown, Brown County, Ohio. In this remote frontier hamlet Ulysses received a
common-school education. At the age of seventeen, in the year 1839, he entered the military academy at West Point. Here he was regarded as a solid, sensible young man of fair abilities, and of sturdy, honest character. He took respectable rank as a scholar. In June, 1843, he graduated, about the middle in his class, and was sent as lieutenant of infantry to one of the distant military posts in the Missouri Territory. Two years he passed in these dreary solitudes, watching the vagabond and exasperated Indians.

The war with Mexico came: Lieutenant Grant was sent with his regiment to Corpus Christi. His first battle was at Palo Alto. There was no chance here for the exhibition of either skill or heroism. The two parties stood upon a vast open prairie, with about half a mile of ground between them. For several hours they fired at each other with cannon. Our guns were the heavier and better managed. As night came the Mexicans retreated. They had lost, in killed and wounded, two hundred and sixty-two. The Americans lost four killed and thirty-two wounded.

The foe made another stand, a few miles in the rear, at Resaca de la Palma. Here, in the midst of thickets of dwarf oaks, the battle was fiercer. The Mexicans, having lost a thousand men, retired. General Taylor, who was in command of the United States forces, lost one hundred and fifty. This was Lieutenant Grant's second battle.

The American troops, about six thousand strong, then crossed the Rio Grande, and marched upon Monterey, which was garrisoned by ten thousand Mexicans. After a bloody struggle of several days, the city capitulated on the 24th of September, 1846. This was Lieutenant Grant's third battle. It is said that he here performed a signal service of daring and of skillful horsemanship. His brigade had exhausted its ammunition. A messenger must be sent for more along a route exposed to the bullets of the foe. Lieutenant Grant, adopting an expedient learned of the Indians, grasped the mane of his horse, and, hanging upon one side of the animal, ran the gauntlet in safety.

From Monterey Lieutenant Grant was sent, with the Fourth Infantry, to aid General Scott in the siege of Vera Cruz. Though in the capture of this important place he proved himself an efficient officer, still his rank was too humble to attract any special attention. In preparation for the march to the city of Mexico, he was
appointed quartermaster of his regiment. At the battle of Molino del Rey he was promoted to a first lieutenancy, and was brevetted captain at Chapultepec.

At the close of the Mexican war Captain Grant returned with his regiment to New York, and was again sent to one of the military posts on the frontier. The discovery of gold in California causing an immense tide of emigration to flow to the Pacific shores, Captain Grant was sent with a battalion to Fort Dallas, in Oregon, for the protection of the interests of the emigrants. Life was wearisome in those wilds. Captain Grant resigned his commission and returned to the States, and, having married, entered upon the cultivation of a small farm near St. Louis, Mo. He had but little skill as a farmer. Finding his toil not remunerative, he turned to mercantile life, entering into the leather business with a younger brother at Galena, Ill. This was in the year 1860. The integrity of the brothers and their devotion to business gave the firm a high reputation.

On the 12th of April, 1861, the rebels in Charleston, S. C., commenced war against the flag of the United States by opening fire upon Fort Sumter. As the tidings reached the ears of Captain Grant in his counting-room, he said,—

"Uncle Sam has educated me for the army; though I have served him through one war, I do not feel that I have yet repaid the debt. I am still ready to discharge my obligations. I shall therefore buckle on my sword and see Uncle Sam through this war too."

He went into the streets, raised a company of volunteers, and led them as their captain to Springfield, the capital of the State, where their services were offered to Governor Yates. The governor, impressed by the zeal and straightforward executive ability of Captain Grant, gave him a desk in his office to assist in the volunteer organization which was then being formed in the State in behalf of the government. It was soon evident that his military qualities were of so high an order as to demand for him active service in the field. This also was his earnest wish. On the 15th of June, 1861, Captain Grant received a commission as colonel of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers. This regiment was soon sent across the Mississippi to guard the Hannibal and Hudson Railroad, which ran across the northern portion of Missouri to the Kansas border. There was here no opportunity for distinction. Still, his merits as a West Point graduate, who had served for fifteen years in the regular army,
were such, that he was soon promoted to the rank of brigadier-general; and was placed in command at Cairo, where the Ohio and Mississippi rivers meet.

The rebels raised their banner at Paducah, near the mouth of the Tennessee River. Scarcely had its folds appeared in the breeze ere General Grant was there. The rebels fled. Their banner fell, and the stars and stripes were unfurled in their stead. Garrisoning the post, he advanced to Smithland, at the mouth of the Cumberland, which point he also occupied. Subsequent events proved the sagacity which induced him to rear his batteries upon the mouths of these two important streams.

The rebels assembled an armed force on the Kentucky side of the Mississippi, at Columbus, a few miles below Cairo. Here, on a bluff, they fortified themselves with ramparts and batteries. Their heavy guns commanded the river. Twenty thousand men garrisoned the works. On the opposite Missouri shore they were organizing a force at Belmont to invade southwestern Missouri. General Grant had not sufficient strength to attack Columbus; he resolved, however, to attempt the destruction of the camp at Belmont. He knew he could not permanently hold the position, as it was covered by the guns of Columbus.

Early in the evening of the 6th of November, General Grant in person, with about three thousand men on transports, convoyed by two gunboats, commenced the descent of the river. A dark and foggy night favored the enterprise. Early in the morning the troops landed, unopposed, on the west bank of the river, three miles above the batteries of the foe; marched rapidly through the forest, and threw themselves with the utmost impetuosity upon the earthworks at Belmont, which were guarded by nearly twice their own number of men. The rebels were taken by surprise. Bewildered by the desperation of the assault, after a short conflict, they broke and fled in utter rout. The torch was applied to everything that would burn, the stars and stripes were raised over the conquered field; and a shout rose from the lips of the victors which reached the ears of the garrison at Columbus. Their guns were immediately brought to bear upon the audacious assailants, and reinforcements were hurriedly pushed across the river to prevent their retreat. As General Grant commenced the withdrawal of his troops, an aide rode up, exclaiming excitedly, "We are surrounded!"
“Very well,” said General Grant, “we must cut our way out as we cut our way in. We have whipped them once, and I think we can do it again.”

They did cut their way out, through thirteen regiments of infantry and three squadrons of cavalry. They regained their boats, and returned rejoicing to Cairo. They had destroyed much rebel materiel of war, had captured one hundred and fifty prisoners and two guns. Four guns which could not be removed were spiked. The rebels lost, in killed and wounded, six hundred and forty-two men. General Grant’s loss in the bold enterprise was also severe; four hundred and eighty-five being numbered among the killed, wounded, and missing.

The rebels constructed two forts; one upon the Tennessee River, and the other upon the Cumberland River, about ninety miles above the mouths of these streams, at a point where these rivers approach within twelve miles of each other. Fort Henry, on the eastern bank of the Tennessee, was garrisoned by twenty-eight hundred men, with seventeen heavy guns. It was a strong fieldwork with bastioned front, supported on the land side by an intrenched camp with an extended line of rifle-pits. An expedition was sent up the river to capture this fort. It consisted of a fleet of seven gunboats, four of which were iron clad, under Commodore Foote; and a land force of seventeen thousand men, under General Grant, which was conveyed in transports. This whole expedition steamed up the river early in February, 1862, and landed the troops about four miles below the fort. Many of the troops disembarked at midnight in a drenching rain. They were to be sent circuitously through the forest to attack the fort in the rear, and to cut off the retreat of the garrison by what was called the Dover Road to Fort Donelson on the Cumberland.

General Grant had a march of eight miles before him, through a wilderness which the rains had converted into a morass, and where he encountered several unbridged streams. The heroic commodore said to General Grant, as he commenced his march, “You must move quickly, or I shall take the fort before you get there.” The gallant little fleet opened fire at a mile and a quarter from the fort, and pressed steadily on till within six hundred feet of the muzzles of the foe. The fire of the gunboats was so terrible that soon every gun but four was silenced, and the rebels raised the white flag of
surrender. Nearly all the garrison fled to Donelson, without its being in the power of General Grant to molest them. General Tilghman, commander of the fort, and sixty-three men, were captured. The fall of Fort Henry opened to our gunboats the great avenue of the Tennessee into the heart of the rebel territory.

Early on the morning of the 12th, General Grant, with his main column, fifteen thousand strong, commenced his march across the country to Fort Donelson. Commodore Foote descended the Tennessee to repair his gunboats, that he might ascend the Cumberland, and attack Donelson on its water side. Donelson was a cluster of forts upon a rugged, rocky eminence, which commanded the river for several miles above and below. A better situation for defense could scarcely be imagined. Numerous batteries, protected by works which no ball could penetrate, threw thirty-two and sixty-four pound shot. Ramparts, bastions, rifle-pits, and abatis of felled trees, protected every approach. Twenty thousand soldiers manned the works, commanded by three prominent rebel generals,—Buckner, Pillow, and Floyd. The struggle was long, desperate, and bloody, marked by heroism, endurance, and suffering seldom surpassed in the annals of war. In every sanguinary conflict of the three-days' battle, General Grant gained some important position. Commodore Foote coöperated gallantly with his fleet. Everything gained was held.

The attack really commenced on the 12th of November, when the rebel pickets were driven in by General Grant's advance. On the 16th, the fort was surrendered. As General Grant was preparing to storm the intrenchments with twenty-seven thousand men, two of the rebel generals, with as many of their troops as could escape by steamers, abandoned the fort and ascended the river. General Buckner sent a bugler to General Grant, with a note asking terms. "No terms can be accepted," was the reply, "but unconditional surrender. I propose to move immediately upon your works." There was no choice left to Buckner. Sixty-five guns, seventeen thousand six hundred small arms, with an immense amount of military stores, fell into the hands of the victors.

The Union loss was about two thousand in killed, wounded, and missing. General Grant had introduced a new era of hard fighting into the conflict. The nation was electrified by the victory. Secretary Stanton recommended the successful general as Major-Gen-
eral of Volunteers. President Lincoln nominated him to the Senate the same day. The Senate at once confirmed the nomination. By the fall of Donelson, which was the first really important success the Union arms had achieved, General Grant was lifted up into national reputation. The new military district of Tennessee was now assigned to him.

Like all able captains, General Grant knew well how to secure the results of victory. Within a week after the fall of Donelson, he sent General C. F. Smith fifty miles farther up the river, with four regiments, to take possession of Clarkesville. He also took military possession of Nashville, a beautiful city of fifteen thousand inhabitants on the same stream, about one hundred and twenty miles from its mouth. Having thus taken command of the Cumberland, he removed his headquarters to Fort Henry, that he might also control the Tennessee River.

The enemy was concentrating a large force at Corinth, just south of the Tennessee line, in the State of Mississippi, preparing to invade Ohio. It was deemed important to break up this rendezvous, and, if possible, to destroy this army. General Grant, with five divisions in fifty-seven transports, convoyed by gunboats, ascended the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing. The troops were disembarked on the west side of the stream, twenty miles from Corinth. Here they waited the arrival of General Buell, who, with forty thousand troops, was marching from Nashville to join them. The rebels had seventy thousand men at Corinth. General Grant had thirty-five thousand on the west bank of the Tennessee. General Johnston, in command of the rebel troops, resolved to advance with his whole force, and crush Grant’s little band before Buell could arrive.

At five o’clock on the morning of the 6th of April, 1862, the whole rebel army, in three columns, by a secret march from their intrenchments, fell upon our slumbering troops. An awful day of carnage ensued,—a day disastrous to the Union arms. Though our troops fought with desperation, they were driven back nearly three miles with fearful slaughter. Several thousand prisoners were taken by the foe. The field was covered with the dying and the dead. Apparently, the gunboats alone prevented our routed army from being captured, or driven into the river. Night terminated the conflict. The triumphant rebels had no doubt of an easy and entire victory on the morrow. This first day’s battle is called
the battle of Shiloh, from a church a few miles back from the land-
ing where the battle commenced.

Never was the energy of General Grant more signally displayed than in these hours of disaster. No thought of ultimate defeat seemed to enter his mind. During the night he reorganized his shattered divisions, and formed a new line of battle. Twenty thou-
sand of General Buell’s troops, who arrived after dark, were ferried across the stream and placed in battle-array. Relying upon General Buell’s remaining troops, fast approaching, for a reserve, every available man was prepared for immediate action. With the earliest dawn the national troops advanced from the right, the centre, and the left, in an impetuous assault upon the astonished foe. Inspired with the confidence of victory, they swept all opposition before them. During the long hours of the day the conflict raged with uninter-
rupted fury. Considering the numbers engaged, it was one of the bloodiest battles ever fought. A dark and stormy night closed the scene. In utter discomfiture, the rebels retreated to their intrench-
ments at Corinth, having lost in the two days’ campaign nearly twenty thousand men. General Grant lost on these fields of blood over twelve thousand men. No imagination can picture the scene which that plain presented after these two storms of war had swept over it. The battle of Shiloh was a signal defeat; the battle of Pittsburg Landing, as the second day’s battle was called, was a still more signal victory.

General Halleck now took command of the troops, and advanced to the siege of Corinth. After the inglorious termination of this siege, by the abandonment of the posts by the rebels, and their escape with all their materiel of war, General Halleck was recalled to Washington, and General Grant again assumed command of the army of the Tennessee. Establishing his headquarters at Corinth, he found all his courage and military ability put to the test in warding off the blows of the outnumbering foe who surrounded him. He, however, proved equal to the task. We have not here space to recount the local conflicts which ensued. In the bloody battles of Iuka and Corinth the foe was so thoroughly discomfited as to re-
lieve West Tennessee from all immediate danger.

In the latter part of October large reinforcements were sent to General Grant. Anxious to assume the offensive, he suggested to General Halleck that an attack should be made upon Vicksburg,
where the enemy, garrisoned in great strength, commanded the Mississippi River. It was decided to attack the works on the land side by fifty thousand troops; while Commodore Porter, with a fleet of sixty vessels, carrying two hundred and eighty guns and eight hundred men, should attack from the river.

The siege which ensued is one of the most memorable in the annals of war. A volume would be required to give the details of its varied and wondrous undertakings. All the energies of engineering and of battle were called into requisition. The siege of Vicksburg, in reality, spread over countless leagues of territory. For days, weeks, months, there were almost incessant battles. The enterprise may be considered as commencing early in February, 1863. In the progress of the siege, a mine was dug under one of the most important batteries of the enemy, and charged with over two thousand pounds of powder. The explosion of this mine was to be the signal for a simultaneous attack by land and water.

It was the 25th of June, 1863, a delightful summer's day. The match was applied at three o'clock in the afternoon. The whole army, drawn up for an immediate assault, seemed to hold its breath in suspense, awaiting the terrible explosion. A white line of smoke ran along the trench through which the fuse was laid, and the fire crept rapidly towards the buried magazine. Then came an awful underground thuddering, as of earthquake throes, a flash, and the upheaving of a mountain into the air. Earth, rocks, timber, guns, and the mangled forms of men, were blended together in that awful volcanic eruption which darkened the skies. Instantly, over a line of twelve miles in length, the tempest of battle immediately burst with the intensest fury. An eye-witness writes,—

"The scene at this time was one of the utmost sublimity. The roar of artillery, the rattle of small arms, the cheers of the men, the flashes of light, the wreaths of pale blue smoke over different parts of the field, the bursting of shells, the fierce whistle of solid shot, the deep boom of the mortars, the broadsides of the ships of war, and, added to all this, the vigorous replies of the enemy, sent up a din which beggars all description."

The defense of Vicksburg was as determined as the assault. When some one asked General Grant if he thought he could take the place, he replied, "Certainly. I cannot tell exactly when I shall take the town; but I mean to stay here till I do, if it takes me thirty years."
On the 1st of July his works were at ten different points, within a few hundred feet of the rebel defenses. The final assault was to take place on the 4th. The rebel general, Pemberton, aware that he could not repel the charge, on the 3d proposed terms of capitulation. General Grant replied, that his only terms were the unconditional surrender of the city and garrison. General Pemberton, hoping to obtain more favorable terms, urged a personal interview. The two generals met, each accompanied by several officers of his staff, upon a gentle eminence, beneath an oak-tree, not two hundred feet from the rebel lines. Both armies gazed with interest upon the spectacle. Courteously these leaders of hostile ranks
shook hands. General Grant adhered to his terms of *unconditional surrender*, the officers and soldiers all to be liberated upon their parole. General Pemberton, conscious that further resistance was hopeless, after conferring with his officers, accepted the terms proposed. At ten o’clock on the 4th of July, 1863, white flags arose all along the rebel lines, announcing the surrender of the place. General Grant, with his staff, rode at the head of his troops, as they entered the city, and took possession of all the works. A more signal conquest has seldom been made. Thirty thousand six hundred prisoners were taken, and one hundred and seventy-two cannon.

The fall of Vicksburg was by far the most terrible blow which the rebels had thus far encountered. It rendered it necessary for them immediately to evacuate Port Hudson; and thus the Mississippi was thrown open to our gunboats from Cairo to the Gulf.

General Grant was anxious to move immediately upon Mobile. With the force at his command, he could then have easily taken the place; but he received orders from Washington to cooperate with General Banks in a movement upon Texas. He, accordingly, on the 30th of August, left Vicksburg for New Orleans. In that city, he was thrown from his horse, receiving injuries which seriously disabled him for several months. For twenty days he could not leave his bed. For many weeks afterwards he could only hobble about upon crutches.

General Rosecrans was in East Tennessee, near Chattanooga. He had fifty-five thousand men under his command. He was in great peril, far from his base of supplies, and menaced by a rebel force eighty thousand strong. One of the most terrible battles of the war was fought—the battle of Chickamauga—on the 19th of September, 1863. The national troops, having lost sixteen thousand in killed, wounded, and missing, were driven back behind their intrenchments at Chattanooga, where they were closely besieged by a rebel force of eighty thousand men. As their lines of communication were cut off, they were threatened with total destruction. General Grant was sent to their relief. Seldom before in the history of the world has there been such an illustration of the power of a single man to control events. On the 19th of October General Grant telegraphed General Thomas, to whose heroism the army was mainly indebted for its salvation in the terrible battle of Chick-
amauga. "Hold Chattanooga at all hazards. I will be there as soon as possible." The characteristic response of General Thomas was, "I will hold the town till we starve." On the 23d of October, a cold, stormy day, General Grant, chilled, drenched, exhausted, entered Chattanooga in the evening. The gloom of nature seemed in sympathy with the gloom of the army. The energy and the military sagacity immediately displayed by General Grant has perhaps never been surpassed.

First, by a wonderful series of strategic and tactical measures, he opened a sure line of communication, by which his army speedily received reinforcements and abundant supplies. Five days accomplished this. The whole army was inspired with such new life as to double its moral strength. General Sherman, with the Fifteenth Army Corps, was hurried along, by forced marches, from the Valley of the Mississippi. The rebels were alarmed. "The enemy," said their leading organ, "The Richmond Enquirer," "were outfought at Chickamauga; but the present position of affairs looks as though we had been out-generalled at Chattanooga."

General Sherman, wading through miry roads, bridging flooded streams, and often fighting his way, was painfully delayed, though he manifested heroism and energy which elicited the praises of his superior officer and the admiration of the nation. General Burnside was in imminent danger of being overwhelmed at Knoxville,—a calamity which would have fearfully imperiled the army at Chattanooga. Every energy of General Grant's soul and body was strained to the utmost. At length General Sherman's troops arrived, and were gathered in a concealed camp about two miles west of Chattanooga. General Grant was now ready to assume the offensive. It would require a volume to give the reader any adequate idea of the multiplied evolutions in the terrible battles which ensued, extending over mountains and through forests and valleys for a distance of thirteen miles. At midnight, on the 23d of November, General Sherman's troops crossed the Tennessee River, a few miles above Chattanooga, and took a commanding position to attack the enemy on his right, north of Missionary Ridge. The next day General Hooker magnificently stormed Lookout Mountain, on the enemy's extreme left, driving the rebels in wild rout before him. The next day, the 25th, the whole army rushed upon the foe, upon the right, upon the left, and at the centre. The battle was terrific.
Human valor never has done, never can do more. The main attack was at the centre, from Orchard Knoll, where General Grant took his position.

The scene cannot be described, cannot be imagined. At this point of the line, which extended for many miles, and which along its whole distance was ablaze with the lightnings of battle's tempest, there were thirteen thousand men rushing headlong in the assault, with shouts which blended sublimely with the rattle of musketry and the roar of cannon. Eight thousand rebels opposed them, fighting desperately behind their intrenchments. There were sixty explosions of cannon each minute. The assailants and the assailed were soon blended upon the ramparts and in the trenches. It was a day of blood, anguish, death, to thousands. The Union loss in killed and wounded was four thousand. The rebel loss has never been known. When night came the national banner waved over all the works which the rebels held in the morning, and the panic-stricken foe was retreating in torrents which no commands, entreaties, or threats of their officers could arrest. In the following modest telegram, General Grant announced to the authorities in Washington his glorious victory: —

“Although the battle lasted from early dawn till dark this evening, I believe I am not premature in announcing a complete victory over Bragg. Lookout Mountain top, all the rifle-pits in Chattanooga Valley and Missionary Ridge entire, have been carried, and are now held by us. I have no idea of finding Bragg here tomorrow.”

This great achievement pierced the heart of the Rebellion, relieved General Burnside, rescued Kentucky and Tennessee from rebel thralldom, and opened the gate for the triumphant sweep of the national army through Georgia to the Atlantic coast. Vigorously General Grant pushed the routed foe, driving his broken battalions towards Atlanta. The roads along which they had fled were strewed with abandoned guns, muskets, broken wagons, and all the nameless débris of a routed, panic-stricken host. The rebels applied the torch to most of the stores which they could not take with them, and destroyed behind them all the bridges, and felled trees into the road to impede the progress of their pursuers. Still their flight had been so precipitate that they had been compelled to leave much behind. Our victorious troops gathered up a pontoon-train
of fifteen boats; forty pieces of artillery, including two sixty-four-pounder rifled cannon; sixty-nine carriages and caissons; seven thousand stand of small arms; sixty thousand rations of corn, fifty thousand of meal, four hundred gallons of molasses, one thousand pounds of bacon, together with a considerable quantity of ordnance stores, artillery and small-arm ammunition, and six thousand one hundred and forty-two prisoners.

In the flight and hot pursuit, the rear guard of the foe occasionally made a stand, and short, fierce conflicts ensued. General Grant gave the fugitive rebels no rest until they were driven fairly out of Tennessee into Georgia. It must be the opinion of all familiar with military affairs, that Grant's campaign of Chattanooga is one of the most memorable in history. He was ably supported by as noble a corps of generals as any commander ever drew around him. Still it was mainly to the skill of the commanding general, in his admirable disposition of his forces, that we were indebted for the result. Without this no human valor could have driven the foe from the almost impregnable post which he occupied. An Indian chieftain, of the Tonawanda tribe, Colonel Parker, in the following terms describes General Grant's conduct in the battle:

"It has been a matter of universal wonder in this army that General Grant was not killed, for the general was always in the front, and perfectly regardless of the storm of hissing bullets and screaming shells flying around him. His apparent want of sensibility does not arise from heedlessness, heartlessness, or vain military affectation, but from a sense of the responsibility resting upon him when in battle.

"At Ringgold we rode for half a mile, in the face of the enemy, under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry; nor did we ride fast, but upon an ordinary trot; and not once, do I believe, did it enter the general's mind that he was in danger. I was by his side, and watched him closely. In riding that distance we were going to the front. I could see that he was studying the positions of the two armies, and, of course, planning how to defeat the enemy, who were making a desperate stand, and slaughtering our men fearfully."

Immediately upon the meeting of Congress after these events, a vote was passed, presenting the thanks of that body to General Grant and the officers and soldiers under his command. A gold
medal was also ordered to be struck off, with suitable emblems, to be presented to General Grant. Several of the States also passed resolutions of thanks to Grant and his army.

The energetic general manifested no disposition to rest after the campaign of Chattanooga. He gathered up his strength to push the war with renewed vigor. It was now winter. An immense army was to be housed, clothed, fed. The rebel forces were to be destroyed wherever they could be found in rendezvous. Three armies were under his command, extending over a line a thousand miles in length. Herculean mental energies must be requisite to bear such a burden. General Grant was responsible for all the movements or neglect of action. In a magnificent campaign General Sherman drove the rebels out of Tennessee, subsisting his army upon the stores which he captured. In midwinter, through storms and drifting snows which incumbered the mountain passes, General Grant, on horseback, visited the outposts of his army. At Knoxville, Louisville, Lexington, St. Louis, he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. But no efforts could either flatter him or provoke him into making a speech. He was emphatically a man of deeds, not of words. There was perhaps one exception. He did make a speech at St. Louis. He was serenaded in the evening at his hotel. An immense throng in front of the hotel, in an incessant clamor, shouted "Speech!" "Speech!" After a long delay the general appeared upon the balcony. There was breathless silence. Leaning over the railing the general said slowly, deliberately, firmly,—

"Gentlemen, making speeches is not my business. I never did it in my life, and I never will. I thank you, however, for your attendance here."

He then bowed and retired amidst immense applause. National honors were now lavished upon him. On the 4th of February, 1864, Congress revived the grade of lieutenant-general, and the rank was conferred on General Grant. On the 3d of March he was summoned to Washington to receive his credentials and to enter upon the immense responsibilities of his new office. His fame filled the land. On his rapid journey, at every dépôt crowds were gathered to catch a glimpse of one whose deeds outrivaled those of any other living general. A singular scene of enthusiasm was witnessed upon his arrival in Washington.
With characteristic modesty, arriving unheralded, he quietly repaired to Willard's Hotel, and took a seat at the table in the dining-room. A gentleman at the table recognized him, and, rising, announced to the numerous company that General Ulysses S. Grant was in the room. Simultaneously the whole company sprang to their feet, and cheer after cheer rang through the hall.

In the evening he attended President Lincoln's levee. The enthusiasm his presence excited absorbed universal attention. Such a scene had never before been witnessed in the presidential mansion. The noble President, into whose magnanimous soul an emotion of jealousy never found its way, stood by the side of his illustrious guest, cheering as heartily as any of the company. But General Grant had no taste for such ovations. They were only painful to him. As he retired that night, he said to a friend,—

"I hope to get away from Washington as soon as possible; for I am tired of the show business already."

On the 9th General Grant received in the executive chamber, with impressive solemnities, his commission as lieutenant-general. All the Cabinet, and other distinguished guests, were present. In response to a few hearty words from President Lincoln, General Grant said,—

"Mr. President, I accept this commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies who have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibility now devolving upon me. I know that, if it is properly met, it will be due to these armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

We were still in the midst of the war. The land was filled with widows and with orphans. Vast armies were still facing each other, gathering their strength for a renewal of the conflict. It was certain that many a bloody battle was yet to be fought, and that many a field was yet to be covered with the mutilated, the dying, and the dead. Some of the ladies in Washington, patriotic and noble women, but without sufficient reflection, proposed a ball in connection with the grand review of the army which was immediately to take place. General Grant replied to them kindly, yet sadly, in terms which endeared him to every soldier and every soldier's friend,—
“Ladies, I am not a cynic. I enjoy rational pleasures as well as any one else. But I would ask you, in all candor and gentleness, if this is a time for music and dancing and feasting among the officers of the army? Is our country in a condition to call for such things at present? Do army balls inspire our troops with courage in the field? Do they soothe our sick and wounded in the hospitals?”

The ladies recognized the propriety of these sentiments, and cheerfully relinquished the plan. All General Grant’s energies were now roused anew to terminate the war by the only possible way, the destruction of the enemy’s forces. He decided to concentrate the widely-dispersed national troops for an attack upon Richmond, the nominal capital of the Rebellion, and to endeavor there to destroy the rebel armies which would be promptly assembled from all quarters for its defense. The whole continent seemed to tremble beneath the tramp of these majestic armies, rushing to the decisive battlefield. Steamers were crowded with troops. Rail-trains were burdened with the closely packed thousands. All the great roads converging towards Richmond were thronged with the multitudinous host.

General Grant’s comprehensive plan involved a series of campaigns. Washington was to be protected from any sudden raid by a force in the valley of the Shenandoah under General Sigel, who, at Pea Ridge, had performed exploits which entitled him to a nation’s gratitude. General Butler, a man of wide renown for energy of character and executive ability, which, perhaps, has never been surpassed, with a large force of white and colored troops, was to ascend James River, and take position as near as possible to Richmond on the southeast. General Sherman, the Marshal Ney of our armies, whose signal merits General Grant fully comprehended, and whom the nation was just beginning to appreciate, was intrusted with the conduct of one of the most adventurous campaigns which has ever been recorded in the annals of war.

From Chattanooga, General Sherman was to crowd closely the retreating army of the rebels, so as to prevent their dispatching any reinforcements to Richmond, and to fight his way through the whole length of Georgia to Savannah; destroying the enemy’s forces wherever he should meet them, their munitions of war, and everything which could contribute to the support of the rebel armies. Having
captured Savannah, to which port ample supplies were to be forwarded to him by water, he was to turn north, sweeping all opposition before him, devastating the country so as to prevent any armies from the extreme South from following him. He was to capture, by the way, Charleston, Columbia, and every other military post of the rebels, and press vigorously on until he should catch sight of the beleaguering banners gathered around the walls of Richmond. The conception of the campaign was bold, magnificent. It was executed by General Sherman with heroism which has elicited the admiration of the world.

General Meade, one of our most reliable officers, was then in command of the Army of the Potomac, so called. This army consisted of about one hundred thousand men, encamped among the hills north of the Rapidan. Here General Grant established his headquarters, rapidly accumulating strength, so as to attack the rebel general, Lee, upon the south side of the river, and drive him back behind the intrenchments of Richmond, when the city would be taken by storm if possible, if not, by siege.

At midnight of the 3d of May, 1864, General Grant broke camp, and, with his whole army in light marching order, crossed the Rapidan unopposed, a few miles below the intrenchments of the rebels. The "sun of Austerlitz" shone upon the rejoicing host, as with rapid footsteps, all the day, they pressed along, by a flank movement, to gain the rear of the foe. In three columns this majestic army of one hundred and fifty thousand men swept through the forest paths of this wild and rugged region, appropriately called the Wilderness. The spectacle presented the ensuing night was one of the most brilliant and picturesque in war's pageants. The encampment was in a region of great beauty. Over a region of eight miles in length, the hill-sides and the ravines were illuminated with the camp-fires of the army, and no sounds were heard but those of joy. But, during these warm and peaceful summer hours, the tempest of war was gathering its bolts.

General Lee, in command of the rebel hosts, was an officer of great ability. He led troops as desperate in valor as ever shouldered a musket. Massing his forces in an immense column, he suddenly emerged from the forest, and fell upon the centre of our extended line, hoping to cut it in two, and then to destroy each part piecemeal. The battle was long, terrible, raging hour after hour through-
out the whole day, assault following assault. When night came, six thousand had been struck down on the two sides by war's death-dealing missiles. The night was dark, but mild. The exhausted combatants slept. The dead were buried by the light of "the lantern dimly burning." The dying, on the crimson sod, groaned their lives away. The ambulances dripped with blood as they bore their mutilated burdens over the rough ground. Through all the long hours the surgeons were busy with the mercifully-cruel knife and saw.

With the rising of the next morning's sun the roar of battle was resumed. Both parties had gathered all their strength during the night, again to grapple each other in death's throes. It was a day of terror and of blood. Before the sun went down, ten thousand Union troops were either killed or wounded. Probably an equal number of the rebel host had fallen. But notwithstanding their renewed assaults, striking the line here and there, they had utterly failed to accomplish their purpose.

In the night, General Lee, with his army, retreated to seize upon another important post, previously intrenched near Spottsylvania Court House. The Union army pressed along towards the same point in nearly parallel lines. There were many fierce battles during the day, as portions of the antagonistic hosts, each about one hundred and fifty thousand strong, were brought into contact. This third day's battle of the Wilderness was one of the most singular which ever occurred. The parallel lines were eight or ten miles in length; and there were many sanguinary battles fought where the combatants, concealed by the forest and the underbrush, could scarce catch sight of each other.

The rebels gained the intrenchments during the night of Saturday. Sunday morning General Grant fell upon their works. There was another long day of battle and of blood. The rebels were driven from their first line of intrenchments, with the loss of twenty-five hundred prisoners. The light of Monday morning had scarcely dawned ere General Grant, with all his batteries, again opened fire upon the foe behind his earthworks. All the day the roar of battle was uninterrupted. Monday night came and went in silence. Heavy eyelids dropped in sleep, and exhausted arms were nerveless.

Tuesday morning, the 10th of May, roused both armies, invigo-
rated by a few hours of sleep and rest. The rebels were strongly intrenched. The national troops bent around them in a circuit about six miles in extent. With the morning the battle was recommenced, and continued until night. The mightiest billows of war swept incessantly to and fro over the fields. At the close of the day, a simultaneous assault was made upon the entire rebel line. The charge was resistless. They were swept from their outer series of intrenchments, having lost two thousand prisoners. Darkness terminated the awful struggle. Twenty thousand men, ten thousand on either side, were the victims of this day of carnage.

These incessant battles had so exhausted both armies, that for one day there was a partial lull in the conflict. The rebels kept behind their intrenchments, while burial-parties were busy covering the dead. Still General Grant kept up a continual shelling of their lines, and made preparation to attack the sleeping foe by surprise when darkness should come. At midnight, in the midst of a tempest of thunder, lightning, and drenching rain, General Hancock plunged with a strong column upon one division of the foe, and drove them pell-mell before him, capturing seven thousand prisoners and thirty-two guns. This impetuous charge was the signal for another general battle which continued during the remainder of the night, and continued with unintermitted fury, as the sun rose, as noon came and went, until the evening twilight again darkened the scene. A struggle of fourteen hours struck down twenty thousand in dead and wounded. By such carnage both armies would soon have been consumed, were it not that they were both continually receiving reinforcements.

Still General Grant was steadily pressing forward, never relinquishing a foot of ground which he had gained. In the day's conflict he pushed his line forward a full mile, lapping over the left centre of the foe. The night was dark and tempestuous. The rain fell fast, and the dismal storm wailed through the tree-tops as if in sympathy with human woe. Twenty thousand sons, husbands, fathers, wounded and dying! Who can gauge the dimensions of such woe? Who can imagine the anguish the tidings conveyed to thousands of once happy homes? And who is to be held responsible for all this misery,—those who were defending our free institutions, that equal rights for all men might be transmitted to our pos-
terity; or those who had wantonly, with arms in their hands, made war upon the national banner, that they might destroy the government which our fathers have transmitted to us, and erect upon the ruins a new government whose corner-stone should be slavery? There can be no question upon which side the sympathies of Heaven were enlisted.

During this dreadful night of dying groans, of darkness, rain, and wind, the national army marched rapidly and secretly along by another flank movement, and before the dawn had gained the new vantage-ground which they sought. This was a series of ridges two miles beyond Spottsylvania Court House. But the watchful rebels had already manned intrenchments before them, which had previously been prepared to arrest any such march upon Richmond. Sunday morning came, the twelfth day of the campaign. The roads, inundated with rain, had become almost impassable. Both parties were in a state of extreme exhaustion. New supplies of ammunition were needed, and reinforcements to fill up the broken ranks. Intrenchments were thrown up on each side, and positions taken for the renewal of the conflict. Thus passed Monday and Tuesday. At midnight of Tuesday, General Grant put several strong columns in motion to attack the enemy by surprise upon his left: reconnoitring parties had detected some weakness there.

With the early light of Wednesday morning the assault commenced. The roar of another pitched battle, extending for miles, in which several hundred cannon blended their voices, echoed over the hills. The defense was as spirited as the assault. At eleven o'clock in the morning our columns, unable to break a line frowned with rifle-pits, abatis, and ramparts, withdrew, having lost twelve hundred in killed and wounded. As soon, however, as night again came, General Grant sent a cavalry force ten miles forward in a southeast direction to seize Guinea Station, on the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad. They seized the position, and in the morning the whole army followed. To meet the wants of the army in this rapid advance, General Grant was continually so changing his base of supplies as to prevent the foe from falling back upon his rear and cutting off his supply-trains.

Many of the intelligent community felt great anxiety lest the foe should turn back, in all his strength, and capture Washington.

The following conversation is reported as having taken place
in the tent of the reticent general. A stranger who was present said,—

"General, if you flank Lee, and get between him and Richmond, will you not uncover Washington, and leave it exposed to the enemy?"

"Yes, I reckon so," was the general’s quiet reply.

"Do you not think, general," the stranger continued, "that Lee can detach sufficient force to reinforce Beauregard at Richmond, and overwhelm Butler?"

"I have not a doubt of it," Grant replied.

"And is there not danger," the stranger added, "that Johnston may come up and reinforce Lee, so that the latter will swing round, and cut off your communications, and seize your supplies?"

"Very likely," was the unconcerned response.

General Grant had carefully weighed all these possibilities. His military sagacity had taught him that General Lee, pressed as Grant was, pressing him, would not attempt any one of them. He had also decided just what to do in case either of these movements should be undertaken. By General Grant’s last advance to Guinea Station the rebels were left nearly ten miles in his rear. They made a desperate attack upon the supply-wagons, which were then defiling in a long line from Fredericksburg. The wagons were so well guarded that the attack of the foe was futile. The fierceness of the assault, and the resolution of the defense, may be inferred from the fact that twenty-four hundred men, on the two sides, were killed or wounded in the conflict.

General Lee was thoroughly alarmed. He was not only in danger that his line of communication would be cut off, but also that General Grant might seize the intrenchments around Richmond, and render the capture of the city and the destruction of his army inevitable. Thus, in the greatest haste, he abandoned the strong works he was then occupying, and took another line of defense on the banks of the North Anna River. While on their march, General Grant sent a division to fall upon their rear. Four hundred prisoners were cut off. The rebels were driven across the Ny, leaving the path behind them strewed with their wounded and dying.

Both armies were immersed in the intricacies of hills and ravines densely covered with forests. It was Friday, the 20th of May. The troops on each side were pushing rapidly for Richmond, in
nearly parallel lines, but a few miles separated from each other. On Saturday the Union troops reached Bowling Green, having marched thirty-two miles that day.

"The march of the army on Saturday was picturesque and beautiful. It was one of the loveliest days of spring, with a cloudless sky, a bright sun, and an invigorating breeze. The roads were dry and in perfect condition. The scenery was enchanting, with its clear streams, its green meadows, its hills, its groves, its luxuriance, and its bloom. An army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, with their banners, their gleaming weapons, their plumed horsemen, their artillery, their wagons, crowded the roads winding over the hills and through the valleys. Few persons are aware of the magnitude of such an army. General Grant’s vast host — artillery, infantry, and baggage-train — would fill, in a continuous line of march, any one road to its utmost capacity, for a distance of nearly one hundred miles. In this march, the immense army crowded the whole region over a breadth of from ten to fifteen miles. All the public roads and wood-paths were traversed. One mind presided supreme over these operations, as day after day, and night after night, through darkness, through forest, through morasses, over streams and rivers, storming intrenchments, and fighting their way against a determined foe of a hundred thousand desperate soldiers, the Union troops pressed resistlessly on."  

All day Sunday both armies marched rapidly along. General Lee watched anxiously, but in vain, for an opportunity to break General Grant’s line by a flank attack. Several assaults were made, which were promptly repulsed. Monday morning General Grant was within forty miles of Richmond. The rebels attempted to make a stand on the banks of the North Anna. They were driven from their intrenchments, and the Union troops encamped upon both sides of the stream. On Tuesday the whole army, with all its matériel, crossed the rapid stream. General Grant was within a day’s march of Richmond. His line had a front about four miles in extent, facing west. General Lee, at the distance of a few miles, on a parallel line, was facing east.

A reconnaissance showed that Lee was too strongly intrenched to be attacked. General Grant, concealing his movement by a strong demonstration, re-crossed the river. Marching rapidly down

1 Life of General Grant, by John S. C. Abbott.
its northern bank, he seized Hanover Ferry, on the Pamunkey River, which stream is formed by the union of the North and South Anna. By a new change in his line of communication, all his supplies were brought in transports up the Pamunkey. He was now within fifteen miles of Richmond. The military ability displayed in this march from the Rapidan to the Pamunkey has rarely been surpassed. Apparently, there was perfect harmony between him and his officers. There were no misunderstandings. His words were few. His orders were so distinctly given that they could not be misapprehended.

It is difficult to conceive how the army could have endured such fatigue. It seemed to be General Grant's plan to march all day and fight all night. Waiting at Hanover Ferry for a few hours, to concentrate his troops, the whole army, with its baggage-train, crossed the Pamunkey on Sunday, the 29th. During the day there were many severe skirmishes with the foe. But nothing could retard the advance of the national troops.

On Wednesday morning, June 1st, General Grant's army was at Cold Harbor, within a few miles of Richmond. His troops were posted in a line about eight miles in length, extending northeast and southwest. General Lee vigorously assailed several positions of the line, hoping to break it. He was invariably repulsed. On each side a thousand in killed and wounded were the victims of this day. Lee's army now took position behind the ramparts, bastions, and forts, which had been reared, with the highest attainments of military skill, for the defense of Richmond. These works were manned with the heaviest guns. The garrison in Richmond and Lee's army united crowded them with desperate defenders.

Wednesday night was dark and rainy. Through the dismal hours of the night, and through all the day of Thursday, General Grant was arraying his forces for an attack upon the intrenched foe. The strength of the works could only be ascertained by attacking them. Success would open to him an unobstructed path into Richmond. Should he fail, he had another plan carefully matured. On Thursday, there were several sanguinary conflicts, as the troops were massed for the decisive struggle. At four o'clock, Friday morning, the battle commenced. All the energies of both armies were roused to the utmost. A dreadful day of blood ensued. In charge after charge, the Union troops advanced to the muzzles of the intrenched
guns of the foe, which were belching forth storms of canister and grape. Three hundred thousand men were struggling along a line several miles in length, plying, with frantic energy, the most murderous instruments of modern warfare. Clouds of cavalry swept to and fro. Batteries were lost, and batteries were won. There were successful charges and bloody repulses. The battle ceased only with the night. Seven thousand of the national troops had been killed or wounded. Though we had made a decided advance, and gained several important positions, it was manifest that the rebels were so firmly intrenched that they could not be driven from their works.

Mercy would throw a veil over the horrors of a night succeeding a bloody battle. The burial of the dead, the dying groans, the blood-dripping ambulances, the saw and the knife of the surgeon cutting through quivering nerves,—all this the army must disregard so far as possible, that the troops, in a few hours of sleep, may get strength to renew the struggle on the morrow.

Saturday morning dawned. The hostile forces at many points were within a few yards of each other, rampart frowning upon rampart. Tens of thousands were busy with the spade, while sharpshooters on either side kept up an incessant fire. After dark, the rebels concentrated a heavy force, and threw it upon our extreme left. General Hancock received them without recoil, and threw them back, routed and bleeding. All day Sunday both parties continued at work in the trenches, while shells were vigorously thrown from both sides, and not a head or hand could be exposed but it became the target for many bullets.

The ensuing night was very dark. A chill, dense fog settled down over the whole region. At midnight the rebels made another desperate plunge with a strong column upon a portion in our line, opening at the same time a terrible fire from all the batteries which could be brought to bear upon the point of attack. The veteran national troops, now familiar with all conceivable vicissitudes and horrors of war, stood as firm as the granite cliff against which the surge is dashed and broken. Volley after volley of grape and canister was poured into the advancing ranks. Leaving the ground covered with more than a thousand of the wounded and the slain, they turned and fled. The war-tempest disappeared as suddenly as it had risen.

Tuesday was like Monday. Spades were everywhere busy. The
air was filled with shells. The roar of artillery incessantly shook the hills, and the crackle of rifles from thousands of sharpshooters, ever on the alert, was uninterrupted. Again, at midnight, the rebels made an assault upon General Burnside's corps. That gallant officer, who had won renown at Knoxville, repulsed them bloodily. Wednesday came and went. Through all its hours the roar of the bombardment continued, gun answering gun, while ramparts and bastions rose as by magic, facing each other, and often so near that the soldiers interchanged jokes and banter. There was not a strong antagonism between the rank and file of the armies. The leaders of the Rebellion, with power over the unenlightened poor white population of the South scarcely exceeded by that of the feudal despots of the Middle Ages over their serfs, had brought on the war.

Thoughtful men were wondering what object General Grant had in view in the tremendous labors of this week of battle. It was manifest that he could not take by storm the works of the foe frowning before him. The mystery was soon revealed. On Saturday orders were given for the immediate and vigorous change of the base of supplies from the Chickahominy to the James River. Sunday morning, blinding the eyes of the foe with a cloud of skirmishers, General Grant, with the mass of his immense army, commenced another flank movement. Descending the left bank of the Chickahominy, he crossed it unseen, several miles below the enemy's lines, and by a rapid march reached the James River, crossed it on pontoon-bridges, and took a strong position in the rear of Lee's army, south of Richmond. Three days were occupied in this marvelous feat. A more brilliant achievement the war had not witnessed.

In the presence of a foe equal in numbers, whose valor could scarcely be exceeded, led by generals as able as the nineteenth century could furnish, General Grant conducted an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men a distance of fifty-five miles by a flank march, and across two wide rivers, without the loss of a wagon or a gun. It was on Wednesday morning, the 15th of June, that the advance corps crossed James River, and effected a junction with General Butler's encampment at Bermuda Hundred. They then crossed the Appomattox, and, rapidly traversing its southern bank, commenced an attack upon Petersburg.

General Lee was appalled, as he suddenly heard the thunders of
General Grant's artillery fifty miles south of him. With a rush he abandoned his now useless ramparts, and by railroad and turnpike hurried his army, with the utmost possible speed, to man the works which thousands of negro hands had been compelled to rear for the defense of Petersburg. A bird's-eye view of this scene would have presented one of the most picturesque spectacles earth has witnessed. Its beauty, however, would have been lost in contemplation of its horrors, as frenzied men mutilated and destroyed each other, extorting wails of anguish from thousands of distant homes, which, could they have been heard, would almost have drowned the clanger of the battle. Over a space forty miles long and fifteen broad, three hundred thousand men, in martial bands of horse and foot, with all the enginery of war, were sweeping to and fro in apparently inextricable confusion. Wherever the heads of the columns met, a desperate battle ensued. Thundering cannon and mortars hurled shot and shell through the air. The smoke, the flame, the roar, the turmoil, was as if the region were in volcanic eruption.

Though there were many repulses, and blood flowed freely, the Union troops were steadily gaining. Our soldiers encountered a triple line of intrenchments well manned. The outer line was captured with sixteen guns and three hundred prisoners. Two thousand Union soldiers were struck down in killed and wounded that day. The rebel loss is not known. But little reliance could ever be placed in their statements. The Rebellion commenced in deceit, and was carried on in deceit until its close. The next day, Friday, the battle was renewed, and raged all day long with as much ferocity as human desperation could inspire. Though the enemy contested every foot of ground, step by step General Grant gained upon them, until at night he had obtained a position from which several shells were thrown into the streets of Petersburg.

On Saturday the antagonistic armies again grappled each other in death's throes. Battery answered battery. Charge succeeded charge. The onset of the national troops was so terrible that General Lee was compelled to abandon his second line, and concentrate all his strength for the defense of the inner series of works. This movement he accomplished mainly during Friday night and Saturday. In this three days' battle around the ramparts of Petersburg, we lost over ten thousand men in killed and wounded and missing. As the rebels fought under cover, their loss must have been much less.
Petersburg, with a population of fifteen thousand, is about twenty-five miles south of Richmond. Its defenses were found unexpectedly strong. The city could only be taken by siege. We have not space here to enter into the details of the struggle which ensued. There were never more fearless soldiers, never more able generals, never before such destructive enginery of war. Every day was a battle. The rebels fought with courage which would have elicited admiration had their cause been a good one. But their openly-avowed object was to overthrow the Constitution of the United States, and to erect upon the ruins of our free institutions a government whose corner-stone should be slavery.

General Grant gradually extended his lines, fighting for every point he gained, until he had completely invested the city on the south and west, cutting those railroads by which alone supplies could be received directly from the south. His circuitous line soon extended thirty miles in length. It is obvious that General Lee, from his central position, could at his leisure mass an immense force and strike this line upon any point. The skill with which General Grant guarded against this danger, while at the same time he was incessantly attacking the foe and gaining new positions, has placed him, in the estimation of all capable judges, among the most able commanders.

"It is wonderful," writes the army correspondent of "Harper's Weekly," "how entirely the army confides in General Grant. Every soldier's tongue is full of his praises. They will tell you stories of his watchfulness and care; the fearlessness and intrepidity of this man whose plume they delight to follow; how he is everywhere, night and day, looking after the comfort of his men, and quietly prosecuting the strategic work of the campaign; how he rides unexpectedly to the remote outposts, speaking a pleasant word to the pickets if faithfully on duty, and administering reprimands if not vigilant and watchful; how he avoids fuss and show, going often about with only an orderly; how his staff, plain earnest men like himself, get down from their horses that sick and wounded men, struggling hospital-ward, may rest their weariness by riding to their destination; how, in a word, he is a thoughtful, resolute, kind man, sympathizing with the humblest soldier in his ranks, penetrated with a solemn appreciation of the work given him to do, and determined by Heaven's help to do it right on the line he has occupied."
Days, weeks, months ensued, of herculean labors and struggles between the beleaguered and beleaguering hosts. Every day terrific blows were struck by the assailants. Every day these blows were returned by the assailed. Shells of fearful explosive power were thrown by day and by night into the doomed city. Streets were torn up, mutilation and death were scattered widely around, houses were demolished, conflagrations enkindled. The scene at midnight, as viewed from some eminence, was awful in its sublimity. The camp-fires of the slumbering hosts illumining the region for leagues around, the thunders of the heavy siege-guns, the shriek of the shells, the smothered roar of their distant explosion in the streets of Petersburg, the dense volumes of smoke and flame bursting from the city, and the ringing of the alarm-bells borne mournfully to the ear upon the night air, all presented a spectacle as saddening as it was sublime. Terrible as were these woes, they were nothing in comparison with those which would have resulted from the destruction of our free institutions, the breaking up of the Union, and the anarchy and endless wars which would inevitably have ensued. Our nation was born through the throes of the Revolution. In this its second birth, in the purification and regeneration of its institutions, it was the decree of God that the work should be accomplished through the ministration of suffering.

As the weeks of battle and of blood rolled on, General Grant, step by step, was continually approaching nearer the attainment of his one great end. July and August passed rapidly away. Early in September the army was cheered by the news that General Sherman had taken Atlanta, and was preparing for a rapid march through Georgia and the Carolinas to coöperate with the army before the ramparts of Richmond. About this time General Grant said, in one of his official reports to the government, —

"From an early period in the Rebellion, I had been impressed with the idea that active and continuous operations of all the troops that could be brought into the field, regardless of season and weather, were necessary to a speedy termination of the war. From the first, I was firm in the conviction that no peace could be had that would be stable, and conducive to the happiness of the people, both North and South, until the military power of the Rebellion was entirely broken. I therefore determined, first, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy, prevent-
ing him from using the same force at different seasons, against first one and then another of our armies, and from the possibility of re-
pose for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance; second, to hammer continually against the armed force of the enemy, and his resources, until, by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal sub-
mission, with the loyal section of our common country, to the Con-
stitution and laws of the land.”

Still the months rolled on, with bombardments, and exploding mines, and raids, and charges, and fierce battles, each day number-
ing its multitude of victims. General Grant, in this great struggle, was continually advancing, and seldom losing any position he once
had gained. The latter part of December, the cheering tidings reached the army that General Sherman had achieved his sublime
march to Savannah. With sixty thousand men, three thousand five hundred baggage-wagons, and thirty-five thousand draft-horses, in addition to his cavalry, he had swept across the State in a path sixty miles wide and three hundred miles long, destroying every-
thing which could assist the rebels in carrying on the war.

In a march of twenty-four days, with a loss of but five hundred and sixty-seven men, General Sherman had routed the foe wherever met, had captured thirteen hundred and thirty-eight rebel soldiers, had taken thirteen thousand head of beef cattle, over nine million pounds of corn, and ten millions of fodder. Foragers in great numbers had been sent out daily to gather from the plantations every variety of supplies for the hungry army,—sheep, swine, turkeys, geese, chickens, and rice. Five thousand horses and four thousand mules were impressed into the service of the troops. Three hundred and twenty miles of railway were destroyed. The ties were burned, the rails twisted, the dépôts laid in ashes. Thus the rebel armies in the southwest were effectually cut off by a barrier of desolation from communication with the troops of Lee in Richmond.

Thus closed the year 1864. The cause of the Rebellion was hopeless. And now General Sherman turned his triumphant col-
umns towards the north. In resistless march he swept through the States of South and North Carolina, driving the rebels before him, and capturing every important place till he met the banners of General Sheridan’s cavalry and General Schofield’s divisions, sent
to Goldsborough to greet him. The two armies were thus united. General Sherman immediately repaired to the headquarters of General Grant. It was the 20th of March, 1865.

General Grant's lines of investment extended forty miles, from the north side of the James to Hatchie's Run. The great fear now was that Lee, with his army, might attempt to escape, and effect a junction with General Johnston, who had an army of infantry and cavalry at Raleigh, N. C., numbering about fifty thousand. These united armies, falling suddenly on Sherman's troops, might crush them. General Grant watched the foe with a sleepless eye, prepared to assail him with his whole force as soon as he should see any indications that he was about to abandon his works.

On Friday, the last day of March, there were decisive indications of a movement. The whole national army was at once hurled upon the rebel lines. For three days the battle raged with determination, on each side, never exceeded during any period of the war. In the night of the 8th of April, Lee, conscious that he could not resist the assault of another day, fled with the bleeding, shattered remnants of his army. As the national troops, in the early dawn of the next morning, rushed into the unoccupied trenches, the joyful tidings ran along the wires through the whole length and breadth of the land, —

"Richmond and Petersburg are ours. A third part of Lee's army is destroyed. For the remainder there is no escape."

The rebels were hotly pursued. The roads along which they fled were strewed with the débris of a demoralized and fugitive host. Many prisoners were taken. In anticipation of this flight, General Grant had placed the Fifth Corps in such a position that, by a rapid march, it was thrown in front of the foe, and thus effectually cut off his retreat. The rebel army was now at our mercy. Throughout the whole conflict there had been great sympathy felt in the North for the common soldiers of the rebel army, composed of very ignorant men, who had been deluded or forced into the ranks. Sympathy for them led General Grant magnanimously to make the first advances, and to urge General Lee to spare him the pain of destroying these misguided men. The rebel troops were so surrounded, and so exposed to the fire of many batteries, that a battle-storm of bullets, shot, and shell, would, in a few hours, cover the plain with their corpses. It was the 9th of April, General Grant sent the following dispatch to Lee: —
“The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate Army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.”

To General Lee’s inquiry, respecting the terms of surrender which would be accepted, General Grant replied,—

“Peace being my first desire, there is but one condition I insist upon, namely, that the men surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged.”

General Lee, assuming that he was not placed in an emergence which required surrender, but that he was still able to carry on the war, proposed an interview, that he and General Grant might talk over the matter of the “restoration of peace.” General Grant’s prompt reply indicates the clearness of his views respecting the only responsibilities which devolved upon him:

“As I have no authority,” he said, “to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed could lead to no good. I will state, however, general, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself; and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms upon which peace may be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms, they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself,

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“U. S. Grant.”

Having dispatched this letter, General Grant lost not a moment in waiting for a reply, but pressed forward his preparations to destroy the army if surrender were refused. General Lee saw clearly that with such a man it was in vain to attempt to parley. He consented to an interview to arrange for a surrender. The terms of General Grant were very simple and decisive. All the rebel officers and men were to give their parole not to serve against the United States until exchanged. All the materiel of war was to be given
up. The officers could retain their side-arms, horses, and baggage. These terms were signed at half past three in the afternoon of April 9th. The rebel troops were then upon a plain, surrounded by the batteries of the national army. The tidings of the capitulation first reached the ears of the rebels. It was to them deliverance from slaughter. Cheer upon cheer burst from their exhausted ranks. Their shouts conveyed the tidings to our army, and were echoed back in heartfelt hurrahs, till over all the embattled hills and plain the voices of friend and foe blended in the joyful cry. Large bands of the Union army, pressing forward from the rear, one after another caught the shout, and learning its significance, sent it along to those behind in reverberating peals.

It was now certain that the spirit of rebellion was effectually trampled down. Johnston's condition was hopeless. He could be instantly crushed between the armies of Grant and Sherman. He surrendered. All the scattered rebel bands soon did the same, or dispersed. Thousands threw down their arms, and fled to their homes. The number surrendered amounted to 174,223. We had also then on hand rebel prisoners to the amount of 98,802. Jefferson Davis endeavored, with a small cavalry escort, to escape to some southern seaport, whence he hoped to take ship for foreign lands. On the 10th of May he was captured at Irwinsville, in Georgia. The war was ended. The Union was saved. The almost unanimous voice of the nation declared General Grant to be the most prominent instrument in its salvation. The eminent services he had thus rendered the country brought him conspicuously forward as the Republican candidate for the presidential chair.

On the 21st of May, 1868, the Republican Convention, assembled at Chicago, adopted a series of resolutions, a platform, so called, of the principles of the party. The essential points were, that equal civil and political rights should be secured to all; that Congress should guaranty equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South; and that all forms of repudiation were to be denounced as a national crime. The following very important article was also added to their platform:

"We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him, and to the cause which he was pledged to support; who has
usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators.”

This platform having been accepted, ULYSSES S. GRANT was nominated to the Convention as the candidate of the Republican party for the chief magistracy. The vote was taken. In the following terms it was announced:—

“Gentlemen of the Convention, you have six hundred and fifty votes; and you have given six hundred and fifty votes for General ULYSSES S. GRANT.”

The enthusiasm inspired by this announcement, in the vast Opera House where the Convention was held, cannot be described. As soon as it had in some degree subsided, the Hon. Schuyler Colfax of Indiana was nominated for the vice-presidency. After a few ballottings, he was unanimously elected.

With this platform, General Grant and Mr. Colfax were submitted to the suffrages of the people of the United States. In accepting the nomination, General Grant, after expressing his cordial approval of the platform, said, —

“If elected to the office of President of the United States, it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet, and protection everywhere. In times like the present it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing; and a purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will, and always shall. Peace and universal prosperity, its sequence, with economy of administration,
ULYSSES S. GRANT.

will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace."

Governor Horatio Seymour of New York was the candidate of the Democratic party. The election was hotly contested. In the popular vote, there were 5,922,984 votes cast. Of these, Grant received 3,016,853. Seymour received 2,906,631. Grant's majority was 109,722. Thirty-four States cast their votes for electors. Three, unreconstructed, did not vote. Twenty-six of the States gave their electoral votes, numbering 214, for Grant. Eight cast their votes, counting 80, for Seymour. Thus, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, it was announced that Ulysses S. Grant was elected President of the United States by a majority of 134 electoral votes.

On the 4th of March, 1869, General Grant entered upon the duties of his office under the most flattering circumstances. The opposing party cordially concurred in the election. All the billows which the tempest of war had raised were rapidly subsiding. The country was in a state of extraordinary prosperity. Nearly all the serious questions which had hitherto divided the parties were settled. No one can occupy a post of influence and power without exciting obloquy. It is the inevitable penalty of office. None of our presidents have been more fiercely assailed than were George Washington and Thomas Jefferson; and yet there is no candid man now living who will not admit that they were both pure patriots, honestly and earnestly seeking the best good of the country. President Grant took his seat in the presidential chair just after the close of one of the most terrible civil wars which ever, with its earthquake throes, agitated any nation. The difficulties which pressed upon him were greater than any of his predecessors had ever encountered. No mortal wisdom could have marked out any measures which would have met with universal approval.

The Southern States were thrown into a chaotic condition. Their peculiar institutions, which had separated them from the North, had perished forever. To make us a homogeneous republic, where equal rights for all men should be universally respected, it was needful that several million illiterate slaves, entirely unacquainted with self-government, should be elevated to the dignity of citizens. This could not be accomplished without great difficulty. It was one of the most perplexing of political problems. When the passions of
the present hour shall have passed away, no candid mind will doubt that President Grant, embracing in his patriotism all sections of the country alike, acted in accordance with his most deliberate judgment for the good of all.

The National Convention of the Republican party, which met at Philadelphia on the 5th of June, 1872, placed General Grant in nomination for a second term by a unanimous vote. The selection was emphatically indorsed by the people five months later, two hundred and ninety-two electoral votes being cast for his re-election, — the largest number ever given for a presidential candidate.

Soon after the close of his second term General Grant decided to visit the countries of the old world, and started from America, expecting to travel quietly and privately for a year or two. But from the time when he landed at Liverpool until he reached his home at Galena, Ill., his trip was an unceasing ovation. England, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Turkey, India, and China endeavored each to outdo the other in the heartiness and display of their receptions. In his course, making the complete circuit of the globe, his appearance was the signal for almost unheard-of enthusiasm.

After his return he was again pressed by his ardent admirers to be a candidate for the Presidency of the United States; but party divisions and short-sighted movements on the part of his friends prevented his nomination in the party convention at Chicago. He has since been engaged in various business enterprises, and is at present an active participant in the efforts being made to open an inter-oceanic canal between the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, across the Isthmus of Panama. He is also engaged in the promotion of various railroad enterprises intended for the development of Mexico and the Southwestern Territories of the United States.
CHAPTER XIX.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.


RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES was born in Delaware, O., October 4, 1822, less than three months after the death of his father, Rutherford Hayes. His ancestry, both on the paternal and maternal side, was of the most honorable character. It can be traced, it is said, as far back as 1280, when Hayes and Rutherford were two Scottish chieftains, fighting side by side with Baliol, William Wallace, and Robert Bruce. Both families belonged to
the nobility, owned extensive estates, and had a large following. The Hayes family had for a coat-of-arms, a shield, barred, and sur-
mounted by a flying eagle. There was a circle of stars about the
eagle and above the shield, while on a scroll underneath the shield
was inscribed the motto, “Recte.” Misfortune overtaking the fam-
ily, George Hayes left Scotland in 1680, and settled in Windsor,
Conn. He was an industrious worker in wood and iron, having a
mechanical genius and a cultivated mind. His son George was born
in Windsor, and remained there during his life. Daniel Hayes, son
of the latter, married Sarah Lee, and lived from the time of his
marriage until his death in Simsbury, Conn. Ezekiel, son of Daniel,
was born in 1724, and was a manufacturer of scythes at Bradford,
Conn. Rutherford Hayes, son of Ezekiel and grandfather of Presi-
dent Hayes, was born in New Haven in August, 1756. He was a
farmer, blacksmith, and tavern-keeper. He emigrated to Vermont
at an unknown date, settling in Brattleborough, where he estab-
lished a hotel. Here his son Rutherford Hayes, the father of Presi-
dent Hayes, was born. He was married in September, 1813, to
Sophia Birchard of Wilmington, Vt., whose ancestors emigrated
thither from Connecticut, they having been among the wealthiest
and best families of Norwich. Her ancestry on the male side is
traced back to 1635, to John Birchard, one of the principal founders
of Norwich. Both of her grandfathers were soldiers in the Revolu-
tionary war.

The father of President Hayes was an industrious, frugal, and
open-hearted man. He was of a mechanical turn, and could mend
a plow, knit a stocking, or do almost anything else that he chose
to undertake. As he was a feeble boy, his father procured for him
a situation as clerk in a store, and afterwards assisted him to open
a store of his own in Brattleborough. He was prosperous in his
business, having the confidence and the good-will of all who knew
him. He was a member of the church, active in all the benevolent
enterprises of the town, and conducted his business on Christian
principles. After the close of the war of 1812, for reasons inex-
plicable to his neighbors, he resolved to emigrate to Ohio. It
seemed strange that a man so prosperous should be willing to leave
a place where he was enjoying all the social, moral, and religious
influences of a well-ordered community, to make his home in a
wilderness; but the fever of Western emigration was as potent in
that day as it is now, and he yielded to an impulse keenly felt but little understood. The journey from Vermont to Ohio in that day, when there were neither canals, steamers, nor railways, was a very serious affair. A tour of inspection was first made, occupying four months. Mr. Hayes purchased a farm near the present town of Delaware, and, on his return to Brattleborough, announced his intention of removing thither with his family, which consisted then of his wife and two children, and an orphan girl whom he had adopted. Having disposed of his property in Brattleborough, Mr. Hayes and his family, accompanied by Sardis Birchard, a younger brother of Mrs. Hayes, set out upon their Western journey in a covered wagon, in which were stored all the household goods reserved from sale, and nearly all the food they expected to need on the way. They traveled by day, and slept at night in that tented conveyance, passing now through dense forests, now over deep streams, and encountering fierce storms. The orphan girl is the only survivor of the party, and her story of that forty days and nights of travel and peril would furnish materials for a stirring romance.

It was in 1817 that the family arrived at Delaware. Mr. Hayes, instead of settling upon his farm on the Olentangy River, concluded to enter into business in the village. He purchased an interest in a distillery, a business then as respectable as it was profitable. His capital and recognized ability and character insured him the highest social position in the community. His advice was sought in all public affairs; he was one of the first and largest contributors to the fund for the erection of a Presbyterian church, a generous supporter of schools, and active in every movement for the intellectual and moral improvement of society. He died July 22, 1822, a victim of malarial pestilence, less than three months before the birth of the son who filled the office of President of the United States. Mrs. Hayes, in her sore bereavement, found the support she so much needed in her brother Sardis, who had been a member of the household from the day of its departure from Vermont, and in the orphan girl whom she had adopted so long before as an act of charity. Her brother was a noble young man. For five years he had been to her as a son, and had received from her much of that enthusiasm and social education which served him so well in his subsequent remarkable career. And now, in her great sorrow, she was rewarded for
her care and devotion. The young man made it the great object of his life to care for his sister and her children; and his aid at this crisis in their history was of the greatest value to them all.

Mrs. Hayes at this period was very weak, and the subject of this sketch was so feeble at birth that he was not expected to live beyond a month or two at most. As the months went by he grew weaker and weaker, so that the neighbors were in the habit of inquiring from time to time “if Mrs. Hayes’s baby died last night.” On one occasion a neighbor, who was on familiar terms with the family, after alluding to the boy’s big head, and the mother’s assiduous care of him, said in a bantering way to her, “That’s right! Stick to him. You have got him along so far, and I should n’t wonder if he would really come to something yet.”

“You need not laugh,” said Mrs. Hayes. “You wait and see. You can’t tell but I shall make him President of the United States yet.”

The boy lived in spite of the universal predictions of his speedy death; and when, in 1825, his older brother was drowned, he became, if possible, still dearer to his mother. When the body of her oldest son was borne from the river to the house, and she felt that she had lost the main prop of her widowed life, her heart went out in prayer to God that the feeble little boy, now three years old, and her young daughter, might be spared to her. Her care of these jewels of her heart was anxious and incessant. In her watchfulness she gave herself no rest, and was hardly willing for years that little Rutherford should go beyond her sight.

The boy was seven years old before he went to school. His education, however, was not neglected. He probably learned as much from his mother and sister as he would have done at school. His sports were almost wholly within doors, his playmates being his sister and her associates. These circumstances tended, no doubt, to foster that gentleness of disposition, and that delicate consideration for the feelings of others, which are marked traits of his character. The boys of that period, especially those upon the frontiers of civilization, were too often rude and coarse, though not necessarily lacking in more manly qualities. If young Hayes, on account of his sheltered life, lacked something of the robustness and fiery energy of other boys, he was saved from the little vices and almost brutal habits which too often exhibit themselves at that period of life. At
school he was ardently devoted to his studies, obedient to the teacher, and careful to avoid the quarrels in which many of his schoolmates were involved. He was always waiting at the schoolhouse door when it opened in the morning, and never late in returning to his seat at recess. As a playmate he was unselfish and generous, and in all his intercourse with others frank, and without deceit or guile; and, if teachers praised him as a model boy, his modesty and bashfulness saved him from any false pride on that account. His sister Fannie was his constant companion, and their affection for each other excited the admiration of their friends.

His uncle, Sardis Birchard, took the deepest interest in his education; and as the boy's health had much improved, and he was making good progress in his studies, he proposed to send him to college. His preparations began with a tutor at home; but he was afterwards sent for one year to a professor in the Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Conn. He entered Kenyon College in 1838, at the age of sixteen, and was graduated at the head of his class in 1842. His college life was quiet and studious. He was involved in no college "scrapes," but was a favorite with his fellow-students and with the faculty. On one occasion his timely and sensible advice saved a classmate from foolishly provoking expulsion. This classmate had played a practical joke, which gave great offense to the faculty. He was able and brilliant and had much influence with his fellow-students. He was required to make confession of his fault, and ask forgiveness therefor, before the students assembled at prayers. An indignation meeting of his class was held, and resolutions were introduced, and speeches made, extolling the "martyr" who would sacrifice himself to "vindicate his honor." They told him not to yield. Death before such dishonor! The tide was all running one way, when young Hayes had the good sense and the courage to attempt to stem the flood. These, as nearly as his classmates can now recall them, are the words he spoke:—

"Fellows, this is all a mistake. It cannot be that you have stopped to think. Now, I know well what I would do if I had been caught in such a scrape, and had received such a proposition from the faculty: I should not wait a single hour before I went and asked their forgiveness. I tell you, fellows, we have friends at home who care nothing about our codes of honor, but to whom our disgrace would bring great sorrow. I would not put them to shame by refusing to do such a little thing as confessing publicly to the truth. If he did wrong, he ought to confess it. If it was not wrong in itself, but is so held by the faculty, it can do
no harm to tell the truth about it, and say he is sorry that he did it. I tell you, boys, it would be foolish to accept a lasting disgrace rather than acknowledge such a little shortcoming as that. If he does not do what the professors ask of him, he is a very foolish young man, and will regret it, and his family will regret it, down to his dying day."

This sensible and courageous speech changed the whole current of opinion in the class; the inculpated student accepted the advice thus given, and the threatened rebellion was over. That student is now one of the most honored and distinguished men in Ohio, and a warm friend of President Hayes.

Immediately after his graduation, Hayes began the study of the law in the office of Thomas Sparrow, Esq., in Columbus. His health was now well established; his figure robust, his muscular and nervous forces strong, his mind vigorous and alert. Destitute of the showy qualities which so often force young men into a prominence entirely beyond their merits, he was thorough in all his work. He never was satisfied with a superficial knowledge of anything, but went to the bottom of every question that arose in studying for his chosen profession. Finding his opportunities for study in Columbus somewhat limited, he determined to enter the Law School at Cambridge, Mass., where he remained two years, pursuing his studies so diligently and quietly that he hardly attracted the notice of his more ambitious fellow-students.

In 1845, after graduating at the Law School, he was admitted to the bar at Marietta, O., and shortly afterward went into practice as an attorney at law with Ralph P. Buckland of Fremont. Here he remained three years, acquiring but a limited practice, and apparently unambitious of distinction in his profession. His bachelor uncle, Sardis Birchard, was now a wealthy banker, and it was understood that the young man would be his heir. It is possible that this expectation may have made Mr. Hayes more indifferent to the attainment of wealth by his own efforts than he would otherwise have been. But, if his ambition was checked by this means, he was led into no extravagance, still less into any of the vices that so often work the ruin of young men prospectively rich.

In 1849 he removed to Cincinnati, where his ambition found a new stimulus. For several years, however, his progress was slow. His diligence, promptness, and accuracy in all matters intrusted to his care, won the confidence of those who employed him, and finally
brought him into prominence. Two events, occurring at this period, had a powerful influence upon his subsequent life. One of these was his marriage to Miss Lucy Ware Webb, daughter of Dr. James Webb of Chillicothe; the other was his introduction to the Cincinnati Literary Club, a body embracing among its members such men as Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase, General John Pope, Governor Edward F. Noyes, and many others hardly less distinguished in after-life. There is no more powerful stimulus to a young man's ambition than the love of a noble and pure-hearted woman; and Mr. Hayes, from the moment of his engagement, began to show the sterling stuff of which he was made. The marriage was a fortunate one in every respect, as everybody knows. Not one of all the wives of our Presidents was more universally admired, reverenced, and beloved, than is Mrs. Hayes, and no one has done more than she to reflect honor upon American womanhood. The Literary Club brought Mr. Hayes into constant association with young men of high character and noble aims, and lured him to display the qualities so long hidden by his bashfulness and modesty. His acquaintance was rapidly extended, and he began to take a high position at the bar. Important cases were confided to his care, and his professional business became absorbing and profitable. One of the most noted murder cases ever tried in Ohio was carried through by him in a masterly manner, drawing to him wide attention, and winning for him the applause of some of the most eminent men in the State. He was always ready to undertake the defense of the fugitive slave, or of any other oppressed and friendless person.

In 1856 he was nominated to the office of judge of the Court of Common Pleas; but he declined to accept the nomination. Two years later, the office of city solicitor becoming vacant, the City Council elected him for the unexpired term. It was only after much urging that he consented to serve. He performed the duties of the office so acceptably that he was chosen for a full term at the next election, running over five hundred votes ahead of his ticket. At the next election he was defeated under circumstances which implied no censure or loss of personal popularity.

In 1861, when the Rebellion broke out, he was at the zenith of a professional life. His rank at the bar was among the first. But the news of the attack on Fort Sumter found him eager to take up arms for the defense of his country. The Cincinnati Literary Club,
of which he was now a leading member, organized a military company from its own ranks, giving it the name of the "Burnett Rifles." Thirty-five of the members of this company were lawyers, of whom twenty-three became officers in the Union army, and several of the number generals. Not less than seventy-five commissioned officers were furnished by the club. In all the meetings Mr. Hayes took an active and zealous part. On the 4th of January, 1861, he wrote a letter in which he said,—

"South Carolina has passed a secession ordinance, and federal laws are set at naught in the State. Overt acts enough have been committed, forts and arsenals having been taken, a revenue cutter seized, and Major Anderson besieged at Fort Sumter. Other cotton States are about to follow. Disunion and civil war are at hand; and yet I fear disunion and war less than compromise. We can recover from them. The free States alone, if we must go on alone, will make a glorious nation. I do not feel gloomy when I look forward. The reality is less frightful than the apprehension which we have all had these many years. Let us be temperate, calm, and just, but firm and resolute. Crittenden's compromise! Windham, speaking of the rumor that Bonaparte was about to invade England, said, 'The danger of invasion is by no means equal to that of peace. A man may escape a pistol, no matter how near his head, but not a dose of poison.'"

When the three months troops were called for, Mr. Hayes thought it a mistake to organize a military force for so short a period, for he foresaw a long and bloody struggle. Soon after the massacre of Massachusetts troops in Baltimore, he enlisted for the whole war, declaring that he should prefer to go into it if he knew he was to die or be killed before the end, rather than to live through and after it without taking any part in it. He and his friend the Hon. Stanley Matthews together tendered their services to Governor Dennison, and were accepted. The governor wished to place each of them in command of a regiment; but they objected to this, insisting that the colonel should be an experienced officer, who would teach his subordinates their duties. As they did not wish to be separated, Matthews was commissioned as lieutenant-colonel, and Hayes as major, of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers, W. S. Rosecrans being appointed colonel. Before the regiment was called into the field, however, Colonel Rosecrans was promoted to a brigadier-general, and another graduate of West Point, Colonel Scammon, was commissioned in his place. The regiment was placed on garrison duty at Clarksburg, W. Va., to protect the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad,
and defend the border from raids. General Rosecrans was in command of the post. The Twenty-third was not allowed much ease, being often sent upon expeditions against the raiders and bushwhackers that infested the region. Major Hayes was often connected with these expeditions; but in the more inactive months of the summer (1861), he served on General Rosecrans' staff as judge-advocate,—a thankless office, the duties of which he fulfilled with such impartiality as to earn the praise of all with whom he had to deal. He rejoined his regiment before the battle of Carnifex Ferry. The regiment, however, did not participate in that battle, though a portion thereof was employed, under the lead of Major Hayes, in making a flank movement to threaten the enemy's rear. In the latter part of September the regiment went into camp with the army at Mount Sewall, in front of Lee; but the bad weather and worse roads compelled both armies to fall back; and the Twenty-third took up its quarters at Camp Ewing, near Point Lookout, Va. In October, Lieutenant-Colonel Matthews having been assigned to the post of colonel of the Fifty-first Ohio Regiment, Major Hayes was promoted to the vacancy thus created, and, in consequence of the absence of Colonel Scammon, took command of the Twenty-third. The regiment passed the winter of 1861-62 in scouting over the mountains and raiding into the interior of Virginia. There was more marching than fighting in these expeditions, but Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes had several narrow escapes from death. At one time he fell into an ambuscade, from which he escaped without injury, exhibiting a coolness and bravery under fire that greatly increased his popularity with the regiment. On the 1st of May he led an assault upon the enemy's garrison at Princeton, a point of considerable strategic importance. So unexpected and impetuous was the charge, that the rebels fled at the first fire, leaving their arms and ammunition behind them.

Ten days later Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes had his first experience of manœuvring troops under fire. He was stationed at Giles Court House, and had under his command nine companies of the Twenty-third, five hundred cavalry, and a section of light artillery, when a force of the enemy, numbering nearly four thousand, and commanded by General Heath, made an attack upon the place. It would have been a foolhardy undertaking to defend the unfortified place against so large a force; to escape capture was the utmost that
could be done. Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes comprehended the situation at a glance, and went about his task coolly and deliberately. He was so prompt and unconcerned in his movements that his forces were inspired with courage. The men cheered, and tossed their hats, in their enthusiasm, whenever he passed by. For more than five miles they retreated, keeping the foe at a safe distance by their skirmishers, until at last, with but slight loss, they entered the fortifications of the main army. The men suffered much from hunger and fatigue. Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes was slightly wounded by a piece of shell, and his competency as a commander was thoroughly proved.

On the 13th of July, the Twenty-third, being encamped on Flat Top Mountain, was ordered to report at Green Meadows, on New River; from which place they were hurried, August 15th, to Camp Piatt, on the Kanawha. From this point they were taken in transports to the Ohio, and up that river to Parkersburg, where they took the cars for Washington, arriving there on the 24th. Early in August, Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes was promoted to be colonel of the Seventy-ninth Ohio Regiment, but he could not bear to leave his comrades of the Twenty-third to go among strangers. It was at this time that Lee crossed into Maryland, and Hayes resolved that he would remain with his regiment until after the impending struggle. The regiment was incorporated in General J. D. Cox's division of Burnside's command, in the Army of the Potomac, and ordered into Maryland.

We cannot tell at length the story of Lee's invasion and of his repulse by the Union forces. The first battle in that great struggle was at South Mountain, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes and his brave little regiment, reduced now to three hundred and ten men, took a courageous and honorable part; and of this we must speak at some length. On the 13th of September, Lee with sixty thousand men crossed the South Mountain range, at Turner's Gap, leaving his rear guard of five brigades, under General Hill, to defend that pass, and hold the top of the mountain until General McLaw could have time to capture Harper's Ferry and join the main army at Hagerstown. The Twenty-third Ohio formed a part of the advance of the Union forces, encamped at Middletown, on whom devolved the duty of making the first movement upon the enemy's stronghold. It was seven o'clock in the morning when the order came to move
up the mountain toward Turner's Gap, keeping well out to the right and left of the Boonsborough road, the only highway leading to the Gap. A detachment of Pleasanton's cavalry moved up the road, closely followed by a light battery, and the Twenty-third Ohio, together with several other regiments of Cox's command. It was not long before the clambering troops began to see little whiffs of white smoke in the edge of the woodland above them; then came the hum of bullets high over their heads, closely followed by the reports of muskets, indicating that they were approaching the enemy's skirmish lines. As they drew still nearer, and began to advance in line of battle, over stumps, bowlders, fences, trees, through ravines, and over knolls, the mountain-side became steeper; the cracking of musketry more incessant; while the bursting of shells and hissing of solid shot made the air overhead vocal with hideous, blood-curlling sounds.

The effort of General Cox's division to turn the enemy's flank was resisted by General Garland, with his brigade of veterans; and when that brave Confederate officer was killed, and his troops almost annihilated by the impetuous charges and steady firing of the Union forces, General Longstreet confronted the victors with fresh troops, three lines deep, intrenched behind logs, stone walls, trees, and bowlders. As Colonel Scammon's brigade, in which was the Twenty-third, advanced upon the enemy, the latter opened fire from their artillery, posted on the knolls in the rear of their line of battle; and so close was the range, and so accurate their aim, that the rebel grape, canister, and musket-balls literally stripped the trees of every leaf, and turned up the ground of the advancing soldiers as if it had been systematically plowed. Men could not endure such a torrent. As the Twenty-third clambered over a rising stretch of ground in front of the enemy, a blinding discharge of grape-shot met them full in the face; and, in an instant, more than a hundred of them lay upon the ground, dead or wounded. Five officers were struck by the storm of missiles, and among them Colonel Hayes went down with a broken arm. The brave regiment did not retreat, however, but, obeying the orders of Major Coverly, who now assumed command, advanced upon the enemy. The report that their colonel was killed did not abate their courage. While they paused for reinforcements, a dangerous flank movement of the enemy was discovered; when suddenly Colonel Hayes, with a handkerchief tied
around his broken arm, appeared to his men, and, against the protests of friends, again took the lead. His return filled the little remnant of the regiment with great enthusiasm, and they fought like heroes all day. Their flag was torn to tatters, and wounds and death reduced their number to a hundred. Colonel Hayes fought, until, fainting with loss of blood, he was carried from the field. The surgeon, Dr. Webb, his brother-in-law, scarcely hoped to save his life, and the colonel himself had no hope of saving his arm from amputation. There he lay through the eventful days of Antietam, while his decimated regiment was crowning itself with fresh honors.

Mrs. Hayes, on hearing that her husband was wounded, hastened to find him. The task was a difficult one, for the wounded had been carried back from the field, and left indiscriminately in the houses, barns, and sheds for more than twenty miles to the rear. After searching for him in all the hospitals from Washington to Middletown, she found him in the latter place, in an old, dilapidated, two-story brick building. The joy of that meeting may be imagined, not described. Fortunately, it was found unnecessary to amputate the wounded arm; and Colonel Hayes, as he lay there suffering from his wound, said to some Ohio gentlemen who came to see him, "Tell Governor Tod that I'll be on hand again shortly." He suffered, however, severely, and was unable to enter upon active duty for several weeks. Meanwhile, Colonel Scammon having been promoted to a brigadier-general, Governor Dennison revoked the commission of Colonel Hayes, to command the Seventy-ninth, and issued a new commission to him as commander of his own brave Twenty-third. He did not, however, personally command the regiment in any subsequent battles, as he was detached from it soon after his recovery, to act as brigadier-general, and (December 25, 1862) placed in command of the celebrated Kanawha division, to which the Twenty-third was attached. From that time to the next March, Colonel Hayes had a season of quiet, and the soldiers found at Kanawha Falls an opportunity to recuperate their wasted strength.

On the 15th of March the division was ordered to Charleston, W. Va., from which point it made many raids into the Confederacy, destroying stores of salt, ammunition, clothing, and crops, and capturing many prisoners. In June an expedition comprising three brigades, one of them that of Colonel Hayes, was dispatched to Southwestern Virginia, with the view of capturing Saltville, and
breaking up the Virginia and Tennessee Railway. After a frightfully hard march the expedition accomplished its object, and, returning by a tedious and difficult route, arrived within fifteen miles of Fayetteville July 23d. The expedition from the first had been cut off from all mail facilities, and therefore knew nothing of the stirring events that had happened in other departments, including the surrender of Vicksburg, the defeat of Lee at Gettysburg, and Morgan's raid in Ohio. Hayes rode forward to Fayetteville to obtain the news. Here he learned that Morgan was on that very day crossing the Scioto at Piketon, and making for Gallipolis, where there was no adequate force to dispute his passage of the Ohio, and protect the supplies that had been gathered there. Colonel Hayes comprehended the situation in a moment, and telegraphed to the quartermaster at Charleston for a couple of steamers to be sent immediately to Fayetteville. Then, jumping into his saddle, he hastened back to camp,—a distance of fifteen miles,—arriving at nightfall. By consent of General Scammon he took two regiments and a section of artillery, and marched to Fayetteville in the darkness of the night. Arriving at early dawn, the steamers sent up from Charleston were found ready; and the men embarked at once for the voyage to Gallipolis, where they arrived at daylight the next morning, and took positions to defend the town. But Morgan had been informed by spies of their approach, and turned his column northward toward Pomeroy. Hayes promptly reembarked his force and steamed up the river to overtake him. He arrived in time to dispute the passage of the rebels, who therupon moved still farther up to Buffington's Island. Here Morgan seized a steamboat, and had ferried over about three hundred of his men, when Colonel Hayes arrived, seized the boat, and put a stop to any further proceedings in that line. Morgan himself had crossed the river, but, seeing that his main body was to be cut off, he recrossed, and remained to share the fortunes of his soldiers. After some fighting, he drew off again, and made for other points up the river, but was at length forced to surrender.

Colonel Hayes returned to Virginia immediately after the capture of Morgan, remaining there until April 29, 1864, when the Kanawha division was ordered to join the forces gathering near Brownston, on the upper Kanawha River, from which point a raid was to be made on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, in accord-
ance with General Grant's order for a general advance of all our armies. Then began a series of forced marches and hard-fought battles, in which Colonel Hayes appeared in his conspicuous position as brigadier-general. The Union troops in Virginia, under General Crook, of which Colonel Hayes's brigade formed a part, did not exceed sixty-five hundred men. The expedition on which he was sent must have seemed to him of the most desperate character; but of course he did not know that Sigel was moving up the Shenandoah Valley, Sherman forcing his way to Atlanta, Grant moving on Richmond, and almost numberless expeditions starting out to annoy and confuse the rebels, and induce them to scatter their forces. After a hard march over cragged mountains, in snow and ice, wading deep streams, and encountering many other difficulties, General Crook arrived at the last range of hills between himself and the railroad, finding them formidable with fortifications. But there was no other course to pursue than that marked out for him, and consequently that rocky and wooded eminence must be stormed and taken. It fell to Hayes's brigade to lead the desperate assault. The enemy had fortified three crests or spurs of the mountain, one above the other, so that if he should be driven from one he could fall back to the next. Under the mountain was a broad meadow, a deep stream of water, and a rugged ascent, made difficult by fallen trees and hidden pits. Colonel Hayes's brigade formed on the side of the meadow, and, at the word of command, sprang forward at a double-quick pace, while the enemy opened all his batteries and musketry upon them. Colonel Hayes led the brigade, moving about from place to place with such coolness and alacrity that he kept his line steady, and infused into the soldiers the utmost confidence in his ability to lead them to victory. When the meadow was passed, a short halt was made by the stream to dress the line and give such necessary orders as the task before them seemed to demand, and then, with a yell, they rushed into the brush, climbing like squirrels, and as fearless of the shot that riddled the trees as those animals would be of falling acorns. Upward they clambered in such hot haste, and with such an even line, that, before the enemy could ram home the second charge, they were swarming about the rude breastwork, and clubbing their empty muskets to strike down the gunners. Astonished and dismayed the rebels made a hasty retreat, leaving behind them two handsome.
guns, into one of which a boy in the Twenty-third thrust his cap, to denote that it was his prize, and then rushed on with his comrades to charge and capture the second crest. The movement upon the second position was equally successful, and the enemy fled like sheep to their last stronghold. Here, being reinforced, and knowing that this offered the last means of defense, they met the Union forces in a desperate and heroic contest,—one of the sharpest of the whole war. It continued but a few minutes, when the rebels, discouraged by the death of their leader, fled down the mountain toward the railroad, which had been intrusted to their defense. General Crook, fearing the enemy might attempt to erect new fortifications, hurried his command, and reached the railroad that night, destroying it for eight miles toward Lynchburg, from Dublin Station, and, after a short artillery battle, burned the long bridge over New River, thus completely and specifically obeying his instructions. The men were now foot-sore, bruised, and weak, but it was not safe for so small a force to remain long in the enemy's country, and so the return march was at once begun. The road lay through the most rugged and dangerous regions of the Alleghany Mountains, being a rocky and wild succession of cliffs and chasms, through which meagre roadways had been cut, only to be washed away by the spring freshets, which were then at their height. It rained continually. The mountain torrents raged across their paths; men were drowned at the fords; teams were carried away in the streams; the shoes of the soldiers fell into pieces; their soaked clothing was rent by the least strain; their guns were rusty and unserviceable, and their supply of food exceedingly limited. Sometimes they met the enemy, and had to fight as well as climb. At last they reached their old camping-ground at Meadow Bluff, from which point, after a short rest and obtaining fresh supplies, they marched to Staunton, Va., joining Hunter's army June 8th.

In the attack on Lynchburg, June 18th, and in the retreat that followed, Hayes's brigade bore an honorable part. When the retreat was ordered by General Hunter, Hayes's men had been two days without sleep, and one day without food. The duty of covering the retreat fell upon them, and well was it discharged. On the 19th they marched and fought all day, and at night they had a sharp conflict with a large body of the enemy sent to surprise them, so that another night was passed without sleep; and, as if to test their
powers of endurance to the utmost, they had scarcely reached Buford's Gap on the morning of the 20th, before the enemy in great numbers appeared with the evident purpose of securing the heights, and from them shelling the retreating Federals. Hayes drew up his brigade so as to cover the approaches to the gap, and held his position all day. At night, when he knew the army was far beyond the reach of rebel cannon, he collected his men, and hastily retreated. As his column drew near to Salem, a body of rebels managed to out-march his almost fainting men, and intercept him, while another vigorously pressed him in the rear. It was a situation from which but few leaders could have extricated such a worn, starving, bleeding company of men. But such was Hayes's influence over them, that they enthusiastically obeyed his summons to one more fight, and by a determined charge cleared the way to the camp, where at ten o'clock at night they found their first sleep for nearly four days. They were only half supplied with food until, six days later, they arrived at Big Sewall Mountain. After a short rest at this point, they returned to Charleston, where they arrived July 1st.

We next follow Hayes's brigade into the campaign of the Shenandoah, in which it rendered most valuable service. On the 22d of July, being sent, with two sections of artillery, to reconnoitre the enemy, they were surrounded by two divisions of Confederate cavalry, but fought their way out under their gallant leader, and returned safely to General Crook's division at Winchester on the 23d. On the next day, when Crook was compelled to fall back before Early's whole army, the retreat was covered by Hayes's brigade in a masterly manner.

General Sheridan, not being ready for a general advance, employed his forces in various movements intended to prevent Early from detaching any portion of his force for the assistance of Lee at Richmond. In these movements Hayes's brigade took a conspicuous and valiant part. Often did Colonel Hayes force his way not only through Early's formidable picket lines, but through his main line, compelling him to develop his full strength, and even to seek new positions. So bold and hazardous were these raids, that it was often a matter of grave doubt with officers and men, in setting out, whether the brigade would ever return again to the main body. But it always managed to get back in good fighting trim; and its habitual success greatly increased the confidence of the men in themselves and their leader.
On the 23d of August, at daylight, Early made a sudden attack on Sheridan's outposts at Halltown, when Hayes's brigade sallied out, drove in the enemy's skirmish-line, and captured a lot of prisoners from Kershaw's division. The captured rebels exclaimed in astonishment, "Who the h—— are you-uns?" The next day the brigade made another sortie, capturing sixty officers and one hundred men, all from Kershaw's division. September 3d, Duval's division, including Hayes's brigade, became involved in a serious engagement at Berryville. The fighting was desperate, resulting in victory to neither side.

Sheridan made his grand advance against Early on the 16th of September. The battle of Winchester took place on the 19th. Colonel Hayes's brigade, as a part of General Crook's division, bore a leading part in the conflict. In the course of Crook's advance, it occupied the extreme right of the line, and crossing a swampy stream, reached a position covered by an almost impenetrable growth of cedar. The command pushed on, with Hayes's brigade in front. The brigade advanced rapidly, covered by a light line of skirmishers, driving in the enemy's cavalry. Crossing two or three open fields, exposed to a scattering fire, the brigade reached a slight elevation, where it came into full view of the enemy, who opened upon it a heavy fire of musketry and artillery. Colonel Hayes now started his command forward on the double-quick, and, dashing through a thick fringe of underbrush, came upon a deep slough about fifty yards wide, and stretching nearly the whole front of his brigade. The bottom was treacherous ooze; and the dark water, now churned with flying bullets, was, on the nearer side, about ten feet deep. Just beyond it was a rebel battery, thinly supported, the slough being itself deemed a sufficient protection. Colonel Hayes hesitated not an instant. Catching the situation at a glance, he shouted, "Forward!" and spurred his horse into the horrible ditch. Horse and rider sank nearly out of sight; but the horse swam until he struck the spongy bottom, then gave a plunge or two, and sank helplessly in the mire. Dismounting, Colonel Hayes waded to the farther bank, beckoning with his cap to his soldiers, some of whom succeeded in joining him. Many others, in attempting to follow, were killed or drowned; but enough of them passed to form a nucleus for the brigade; and then, at Colonel Hayes's command, he leading, they climbed the bank, and made for the guns; but the
enemy succeeded in withdrawing the battery in time to prevent its capture. Colonel Hayes then reformed his brigade on the farther side of the slough, and resumed the advance. Soon after this General Duval was wounded and carried from the field, and the command of the division devolved upon Colonel Hayes. The battle soon ended in the defeat of Early, who narrowly escaped capture. He fell back to Fisher's Hill, eight miles south of Winchester, where he took up a strong position. But Sheridan followed him up sharply, and, after another hard fight, drove him from the field, his army a disordered mob. In this battle, also, Hayes's division took a conspicuous part, leading successfully one of the most important movements, capturing many guns and hundreds of rebel soldiers.

Nearly a month later, Early had reorganized and reinforced his army, and, taking advantage of Sheridan's brief absence, he attacked the Union forces, flank and rear. Hayes's division was prompt to enter into the conflict, but was soon compelled to choose between retreat and capture. In the face of imminent peril, the division withdrew with steady lines, maintaining its organization perfectly, and losing not so much as a tin plate. Colonel Hayes's superb coolness and courage, in the midst of frightful rout and confusion, acted like magic upon his men; and the example of his division, checking each rebel onset with its firm and steady lines, reanimated the broken regiments, and fired them with its own spirit of resistance. Hayes's division, after its retreat, rallied again, and saved Sheridan's headquarters train from capture. In this onset Hayes's horse fell dead beneath him, and, by the suddenness of its fall while at full speed, threw its rider violently out of the saddle, bruising him and badly wrenching his foot and ankle. For a moment he was thought to be killed; but he soon sprang to his feet, and in the midst of a shower of bullets from the rebels, who were almost upon him, he ran back to his division, which he regained without further injury. The fighting grew more stubborn on the Union side, and soon the rebel advance was checked. It was now that Sheridan appeared upon the scene, riding furiously a magnificent black horse literally flecked with foam. The battle that ensued need not be described here; for everybody knows the story by heart. It is enough to say that the enemy was utterly routed, and that the war in the valley was over from that hour. Colonel Hayes was at once promoted to brigadier-general, "for gallant and meritorious service in the battles of Win-
chester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek," to take rank from October 19, 1864. He was also breveted major-general, "for gallant and distinguished services during the campaigns of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly in the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek." In the course of his arduous services, four horses had been shot under him, and he had been wounded four times. His advancement was never sought by himself, but was a spontaneous tribute to his worth and valor. One of his associates pays him this tribute:

"He proved himself not only a gallant soldier, but a model officer. We had opportunities of close observation of him in Virginia, and found him cool, self-possessed, and as thorough in the discharge of his duties as he was gallant in action. There is probably no position that so thoroughly tries the gentleman as that of the officer in time of war. The despotic power suddenly placed in his hands calls for the higher attributes of manhood to preserve its possession from abuse. To his inferiors in rank General Hayes was ever kind, patient, and considerate. He was, in the first sense of the term, the soldiers' friend. As an officer he was noted not only for his strict loyalty to his superiors, but for gallantry in battle, and activity in the discharge of every duty, however perilous or arduous."

We turn now from the military to the civil and political career of General Hayes. He was first a Whig, and a warm admirer of Daniel Webster, whose speeches and writings he carefully studied. He could not, however, reconcile it to his conscience to follow that great statesman in his course upon the slavery question. He was among the first to unite successively with the Free-Soil and Republican parties, giving to them his earnest support, and laboring with all his might to get before the people the questions which the encroachments of slavery made vital. In the discussion of these questions he evinced a clear comprehension of principles, as well as a mastery of facts. His modesty made him oftener a listener than a speaker; but when he did speak, his tone was judicial, his temper kind, his argument never overstrained, but so manifestly just and candid as to win the confidence even of his opponents. In the campaign of 1860 he was very active, regarding the success of the Republican party as essential to the preservation of the Union; and, when the exciting events which immediately followed the election were agitating the country, he was identified with every movement.
which favored the overthrow of the slave-power. He had defended too many fugitive slaves, and become too familiar with the barbarities of slavery, to remain neutral in such a crisis. At the grand Union demonstration in Cincinnati, April 16, 1861, he was selected to offer the resolutions which proclaimed the opinion of the citizens, "assembled without distinction of party," that "the authority of the United States, as against the rebellious citizens of the seceding and disloyal States, ought to be asserted and maintained; and that whatever men or means may be necessary to accomplish that object, the patriotic people of the loyal States will promptly and cheerfully produce." From that time until the day of his enlistment in the army, Hayes was unceasingly at work in securing volunteers. His devotion was such as to excite universal admiration; and, when he went to the front, the people of Ohio felt sure that his career as a soldier would do them honor. His movements from the first were closely watched, and as the struggle went on the people became enthusiastic over his achievements in the field.

In 1864 the Republicans of the Second Ohio District besought him to accept a nomination for Congress. He was assured that he was the only man who could carry the district, which had been Democratic by a large majority. He was induced to say that, should the war be closed before the meeting of the Congress to which he was to be chosen, he might take the seat. He was thereupon nominated, and the enthusiasm which followed confirmed the wisdom of his friends. The Democrats nominated a very popular candidate, and the discontent created by the draft made the contest a hard one for the Republicans. General Hayes could not be persuaded to take any part in the canvass. To one of his friends who urged him in strong terms to come home, and personally canvass the district in his own behalf, he wrote this characteristic reply: —

"Yours of — is received. Thanks: I have other business just now. Any man who would leave the army at this time, to electioneer for Congress, ought to be scalped. Truly yours,

R. B. HAYES."

But there was no need of his personal presence in the canvass. His presence in the army was enough. The popular heart was stirred by such mottoes as these on banners and decorations: "Our candidate is stumping the Shenandoah Valley;" "Hayes loves his country, and fights for it;" "Tell Governor Tod I'll be on hand." He was elected by a majority of three thousand and ninety-eight.
After his election, he was importuned to resign his commission in the army; but he firmly declared, "I shall never come to Washington until I can come by the way of Richmond." When, after the close of the war, he took his seat in the house, he displayed the same characteristics which had marked his whole previous course. He was ready for any kind of work, but not in the least inclined to push his way into conspicuous positions. As a new member, the places assigned to him upon committees were not those coveted by ambitious men. But the duties intrusted to him were diligently and faithfully performed, and it was not long before his merits began to be appreciated. As chairman of the House Committee on the Library, he rendered valuable service in superintending the enlargements of the library which at that period were going forward. He also carried through the house an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of the curious collection of books on America made by Colonel Peter Force, the value of which to future historians will be invaluable. Some attempts to palm off upon the Library Committee some worthless works of art were by him defeated. He also took an active part in securing the passage of the bill prohibiting persons who had been guilty of treason or rebellion from practicing in the United States courts. A gentleman of large influence, who had watched his career, wrote concerning him at this time as follows:

"Mr. Hayes is a good-sized, well-formed man. He is in every way well made; has a handsome head on a rather handsome body, and a face which would introduce him favorably anywhere. His complexion is light, skin florid, temperament composed of the vital, motive, and mental in almost equal proportions. He is neither too fast nor too slow, excitable nor sluggish; but he is at once energetic, original, comprehensive, dignified, and resolute. He is more profound than showy, and has more application than versatility. He will finish what he begins, and make thorough work. He has a hopeful, happy nature; is eminently social, fond of home and all that belongs thereto, and as hospitable to all as he is thoughtful and considerate. But, to be more specific, this gentleman is comparatively young in years, and younger in spirit. Though he has already accomplished much, he has by no means reached the climax of his fame. He is a rising young man, and, if spared, will in the course of a few years be found in the front rank of the best minds of the nation. We base our predictions on the following points: first, he has a capital constitution, both inherited and acquired, with a cultivated mind, with strong integrity, honor, generosity, hopefulness, sociability, and ambition, and all well guided by practical good sense. At present he may be thought to lack fire and enthusiasm; but age and experience will give him point and emphasis. Mark us, this gentleman will not disappoint the expectations of the most hopeful."
This, if it does not deserve to be called prophecy, was at least pretty good guessing, as General Hayes's subsequent career has fully proved.

In 1866 General Hayes was renominated for Congress, and, for the first time in his life, entered actively into a political canvass. His speeches were marked by careful research, good sense, and sound judgment. If they were not brilliant, they were at least forcible and convincing, and grew constantly better from first to last. There was in them no taint of the coarseness so often exhibited in political discussion, no abuse of his opponents, and no misrepresentation of their acts or opinions. The bold exaggerations so often resorted to by political speakers for present effect were carefully avoided. He appealed always to the reason and good sense, never to the prejudices and passions, of his hearers. If any one supposed that, on this account, his speeches were pointless and dull, a study of them would correct the mistake.

General Hayes was elected the second time by a majority of twenty-five hundred and fifty-six; and he had made his preparations to spend two years more in Washington, when, to his surprise, the State Republican Convention, on June 10, 1867, selected him with great unanimity as its candidate for governor. An amendment to the state Constitution, abolishing the word "white," as a term of discrimination between citizens, was pending; and the Republicans feared that the unpopularity of the measure would doom them to defeat. Hayes was nominated as the only man whose popularity warranted a hope that he could lead them to victory. Hon. Allen G. Thurman, a very strong man, was the Democratic candidate; and General Hayes was expected to answer him on the stump. The contest was very close, General Hayes being elected by a majority of only three thousand; while the Democrats secured a majority in both branches of the Legislature, thus defeating, for the time, the constitutional amendment.

In 1869 General Hayes was again nominated for governor, the Hon. George H. Pendleton being the Democratic candidate. He entered the canvass confident of victory. As chief executive he had won the praises of men of all parties, and incurred the enmity of none; while the Democrats, by their course in the Legislature, had made themselves obnoxious to severe criticism. It was a very heated and exciting contest; but General Hayes, by his courtesy
RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.

and fairness toward his opponents, passed through it unscathed. His speeches upon the internal affairs of the State were generally admired for their lucidity and force. He was elected this time by a majority of seven thousand five hundred and eighteen votes, while a Republican majority in the Legislature was secured. The Democrats proposed, by a combination with some of the Republicans, to elect him to the United States Senate; but he spurned the bribe, and gave his hearty support to Senator Sherman, who was re-elected.

In 1872 General Hayes was again a candidate for Congress, probably against his own wish, and was defeated by the Liberals and Democrats combined. He now resolved to seek in a retired life the rest and quiet which he and his wife had so much desired. His purpose was to withdraw entirely from the turmoil and strife of politics, as well as from professional labor, and to spend the remainder of his days in the sweet peace of a rural home. His uncle Sardis, now the wealthiest banker in Central Ohio, feeling the infirmities of age, was anxious that he and his family should make their home with him in Fremont; and they went there in compliance with his earnest solicitation.

In January, 1874, Sardis Birchard died, leaving all his large estates and investments to General Hayes. In 1875 the Republicans of Ohio once more besought General Hayes to be their candidate for governor, feeling sure that with him for their leader they could overcome the defeat of the previous year. It was with the greatest reluctance that he accepted the nomination. He had just previously refused to accept the office of Assistant United States Treasurer at Cincinnati, preferring to remain in private life; but when told by his friends that his refusal to run again for governor would probably doom his party to defeat, he was induced to put on the harness once more. During the canvass that ensued, he made the most powerful and eloquent speeches of his whole life. Close study had made him familiar with the questions at issue, while long practice had made him an accomplished platform speaker. His personal popularity drew crowds to hear him, and his powers of persuasion drew a multitude of voters to the Republican standard; and he was elected for the third time.

In 1876 the Republican party was divided upon the question of a candidate for President. Hon. James G. Blaine was most influentially supported; Hon. Roscoe Conkling was the favorite with
many; and Hon. Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky was warmly supported by those Republicans who were not altogether satisfied with the administration of General Grant. The national convention was held in Cincinnati in June. Governor Hayes had been spoken of in some quarters as a suitable candidate, and as the man likely to be nominated in case of Blaine's and Conkling's defeat. The Ohio delegation was for him from the start, believing him the strongest candidate that could be named. After many ballotings he was nominated. Other candidates had done what they could to secure the prize for themselves, but Governor Hayes had neither spoken a word nor lifted a finger in his own behalf. He treated the nomination with due respect; but it did not fill him with excitement, nor so preoccupy his mind that he could not continue the private business he had in hand when the news came to him. Having written his letter of acceptance,—a document which excited the admiration of the country,—he resigned the office of governor of Ohio, and retired to his home in Fremont, to await the result of the canvass. His fellow-citizens of Fremont, without distinction of party, received him with enthusiasm; and his speech on the occasion was one of the most eloquent and felicitous he ever made.

The result of the election in the States of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida, owing to circumstances that need not be recited here, was for a long time in doubt, and complications arose which threatened the peace of the country. The controversy was thrown into Congress, the Senate being Republican, the House Democratic; and the two parties taking opposite views as to the course to be pursued in counting the electoral votes. It was finally agreed that the questions at issue should be referred to a Commission composed of five senators, five representatives, and five judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. Three of the senators were to be Republicans, and two of them Democrats; three of the representatives Democrats, and two of them Republicans. Four judges of the Supreme Court, two of each party, were named by mutual consent; and these four were to name the fifth, who proved to be a Republican, making the Commission stand eight Republicans to seven Democrats. Unfortunately all the questions at issue were decided by party votes,—eight to seven. General Hayes was declared to be elected by one vote over Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate; and he was inaugurated on Monday, March 5, 1877, as nineteenth President of the United States, for four years.
His administration of the affairs of the government was at first much embarrassed by the fact that many of his political opponents felt that he was not entitled to the office. But in a firm and quiet manner he insisted on the equal rights of all, on the economical management of public affairs, and on the honest and prompt payment of all the obligations of the government, thus winning the respect of all classes, and giving to the nation some of the most peaceable and prosperous years of its political life. The government was carried on so unostentatiously that the people seemed unconscious of the presence of executive power, and felt as if the vast machinery of government had found some means of propelling itself without help. Such is always the feeling under the highest form of political institutions; unconsciousness of its presence, like the absence of pain in a strong human body, indicating the highest degree of health and happiness. With his usual modesty and quietness he laid down the office he had held with such success, and, March 8, 1881, quietly retired to his country home in Ohio, receiving from his old neighbors, of all parties, a most complimentary reception.
JAMES A. GARFIELD was born November 19, 1831, in the town of Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. His father, Abram Garfield, was a native of Worcester, Otsego County, New York, and was a descendant of the Garfield family of Massachusetts, well known in the days of the American Revolution, and which traces its ancestry to Welsh and English lords in the time of Queen Elizabeth. His mother, Eliza Ballou, was a native of New Hampshire, and a relative of Hosea Ballou, the celebrated preacher and author.

The child's surroundings at the time of his birth and early childhood were as humble and rude as backwoods life could make them. His father and mother lived in a little log cabin, in a small clearing made by cutting away the primitive forest. The front yard was crowded with fresh stumps of giant trees, and the little patch of ground they called "the farm" did not include over two acres open to the sunlight. With scarcely utensils sufficient to cook the most simple food, with rough tables, rude chairs, and an open fire-place, with a floor of rough slabs over one half the small space inclosed by the cabin, with peepholes for windows, logs for doors, and a little brook in the woods for a well, with wild game and wheat or corn cracked in a hand mortar for their meals, his parents struggled day by day in the close battle for bare life.

James was the youngest of four children, of which the oldest was a boy and two were girls. To care for these children and at the same time clear a farm in that unbroken wilderness required great courage, perseverance, and self-sacrifice on the part of his parents, and necessitated that the baby also should suffer great privation. Thus the opening of his life was most unpromising, and adds another
example to the thousands in the lives of American great men showing that poverty, seclusion, and want in childhood need not prevent growth in goodness or achievements in greatness.

When James was less than two years old his father died, and the extreme lowest point of human need seemed to have been reached by his family. But displaying a vigor and endurance of which they themselves had been ignorant with all their industry and toil, his mother worked on the farm and at the spinning-wheel, while Thomas, the eldest son, although but a youth, entered at once upon the responsibilities and hard labor of manhood.

Amos Boynton, a half-brother of Abram Garfield, lived near by and cheerfully aided them as much as his limited means admitted, while the hardy settlers in the county were generous and sympathetic toward the unfortunate family.

From the outset the life of James was one of work. Compelled by the force of circumstances to run on errands, to do the chores for his mother and for "uncle Amos," he developed that habit of industry and that physical strength which made his after-success possible. Whoever the king of toil has crowned, possesses a patent of nobility no king or parliament can take away.

All his early years until he was twelve years old were spent in cutting brush for fences, watching the cows, digging at the roots of stumps, preparing fire-wood, sowing or harvesting crops, driving cattle and teams with wood to Cleveland, bringing water from the spring, and sometimes for a few weeks attending school in the log school-house erected near his home. His food was cheap, his books few, his clothing coarse and scanty, and his face, hands, and bare feet were brown and rough with exposure and toil in "the boiling of salts," or the burning of charcoal. Yet, like every other boy, he had his desires for sport, his dreams of a grand future, his quarrels with other boys, his mischievous days, and his poetical tendency to make up for human companionship in giving to rocks, apple-trees, dogs, cows, and horses a personality, as boon companions with whom he could converse and for whom he conceived an abiding love.

He was not especially distinguished above other boys during his youthful days, either for his genius as a farmer, woodsman, or herdsman, or for his accomplishments as a debater in the country lyceum, or as a scholar in the schools. Not precocious nor dull as a child, he was regarded as a boy having good common sense and
doing his work well. Such a childhood is, as a rule, more prophetic of greatness than astonishing brilliancy or eccentricity.

His youthful years were spent in that unsettled yet industrious manner which has been the lot of many fatherless, poor boys in the early days of pioneer life. If he was distinguished for anything above other boys of his age and neighborhood, it was in the fact that he loved to read, and that as he could not always find employment, he had considerable time to spend in that manner. Like a vast number of other lads, he entertained the wild dreams of exploration, adventure, Indian warfare, voyages of discovery, and hair-breadth escapes, and believed that some day he should be the hero of exploits such as the books of history and of fiction presented to his excitable imagination.

He was often compelled by circumstances to work alone in the woods chopping fuel, and in those lonely hours improved that opportunity to think, plan, and resolve, which a city-bred child can never find or understand. Many a boy, like young James, has likened trees to giants, saplings to armies, and brush to social opposition, and with firm hand and strong determination has attacked them with his axe so successfully as to make his manhood's victories possible and great.

He had, as a youth, an intense longing for a sailor's life, until he met with a rather harsh rebuff one day at the wharf in Cleveland. James had so far determined on a sailor's life as to make a secret visit to Cleveland, where he found a grain vessel lying at the wharf discharging its cargo, and upon which he boldly ventured in search of the captain. But when the besotted, dirty, profane commander of the vessel appeared on deck and with drunken insanity and vile epithets drove him unceremoniously off the vessel as a thieving vagabond, James abandoned his romantic pictures and ambitions concerning a sea-faring life.

There, however, lingered with him a trace of his old purpose to be a sailor, as exhibited in a desire he showed at one time to be a captain of a canal boat. His uncle, Thomas Garfield, was the owner of a boat on the Ohio canal, and employed many workmen in connection with the canal business. So through the kindness of his uncle and cousins young James obtained an opportunity to drive a mule attached to one of the boats used by the owners to transport coal from the mines to Cleveland. He did not remain long in that occu-
pation, for one day when his ambition and kindness had led him to attempt to do the captain's work as steersman of the boat, the rudder struck a snag and the tiller in its sudden sweep knocked James overboard into water too deep in which to stand, and in which he had never been trained to swim. The fright unnerved him, the wetting dangerously chilled him, the laughter of his mates disgusted him, and during the severe fever which followed the accident he gave up all idea of being either a driver, deck-hand, or captain of a canal boat.

His attention appears to have been turned toward literary attainments and the higher ambitions of life, by the kind and earnest advice of a school-teacher and preacher who taught in the town of Orange, and who sometimes officiated as a minister or preacher in the Church of the Disciples, which is a form of the Protestant Baptist Faith, and to which nearly all the Garfield family adhered. This teacher showed young James the possibility and desirability of becoming a learned and good man. His representations of the satisfaction there was in the possession of a liberal education and in the increased opportunities of doing good, had great weight with James, and before he had recovered from the fever which brought his kind adviser to his bedside he had firmly and irrevocably resolved that, at whatever sacrifice, he would obtain a college education.

Beginning in the most economical and saving manner, studying evenings and working by day at farm or carpenter work, he obtained sufficient information to venture as a student into the lowest class at the academy or seminary in the adjoining town of Chester. With the earnings of his vacations and the heroic self-sacrifices of his mother and elder brother, he was able to secure the advantages of several terms at that academy; and it was there in one of the classes that he met Lucretia Rudolph, whom he afterwards married.

From Chester, James went to Hiram College, where he continued his studies until sufficiently advanced in the classics and mathematics to be qualified for admission at Williams College two years in advance. During his stay at Hiram, Ohio, he was the janitor of the college buildings, and a sort of jack-at-all-trades for the inhabitants who could favor him with employment out of college hours. To provide himself with the necessary funds to carry him through his college course at Williamstown, Mass., he borrowed five hundred dollars of his uncle Thomas, and worked for the citizens such extra
hours as he could safely get from his studies. His life at Williams was that of an unostentatious, careful, industrious student seeking no honors but those attached to thoroughness in the prescribed studies, and he seems to have passed through the course creditably but without attracting especial attention by his genius or brilliant acquirements. He was admitted to the college in September, 1854, and graduated in 1856.

On his return to Ohio he was at once engaged as a teacher at Hiram, and was also pressed into the additional work of preaching the gospel. He took a position at once as a leading preacher and most popular teacher, so that he was called to officiate in the largest churches, and within a year was promoted to the presidency of the college at Hiram, where he was the loved and honored friend of rich and poor, great and small. There, in 1858, at her father's house in Hiram, he was married to Miss Rudolph and began a home life of his own.

After his marriage he began the study of law, and giving to it his extra hours he was able in 1860 to pass the necessary examination and was admitted to the bar as an attorney at law. He was attracted to legal studies by his active and patriotic interest in public affairs. He was an Abolitionist, Freesoiler, and Republican, and was always open and bold in the declaration of his political principles, whether in college, church, or caucus. But it appears that he never had any ambition for public office until it was thrust upon him to his surprise. He did hope to be a lawyer and a successful public debater on those public measures which he wished to see successful.

In the autumn of 1859 he was elected to the Ohio State Senate by a sweeping majority, and when he took his seat he was the youngest member of that body, being but twenty-eight years of age.

In the State Senate, during those trying years of 1860 and 1861, he was a very useful and eloquent member of the Legislature. At the opening of the Rebellion in April, 1861, Mr. Garfield was appointed as a member of Governor Dennison's staff to assist in organizing troops for the war. In September, 1861, he was appointed colonel of the Forty-second Ohio Regiment, composed in a great part of his classmates and his students at Hiram College. September, 14, 1861, Colonel Garfield's regiment left Columbus, and on the 18th arrived at Catlettsburgh, Kentucky, where it went into
camp during Colonel Garfield’s absence at Louisville, to which place he was ordered for the purpose of consulting with General Buell concerning the plans of the campaign in Kentucky.

General Buell was not ignorant of Colonel Garfield’s ability, nor of his popularity in Ohio, and hoped to find in the new colonel a vigorous supporter. The campaign in West Virginia had succeeded passably well, and General Buell was in hopes that he might be equally successful in clearing Kentucky of the rebels, and in capturing Nashville. The general was a rather harsh disciplinarian, and did many foolish things with his raw troops. His ideas of military discipline were better adapted to a military empire, or an established and unlimited monarchy, than to the assemblies of free men, who were fighting for themselves and not for a king. However, he was earnest, patriotic, and brave, and recognizing those qualities in Colonel Garfield, he at once confided to him the plan of the Kentucky campaign. Colonel Garfield did not pretend to be a military strategist, but when he looked over the map with General Buell, and heard how many rebel forces were in Eastern Kentucky, and how many in Western Kentucky, he thought it was folly to attempt to march through the centre of the State to Nashville, with such forces on both flanks. The general thought that some movement ought to be made at once, and if the colonel had any doubts about the proposed plan it would be well to think the matter over and consult again about it the next day.

The following morning Colonel Garfield brought in a draft of his plan, which was to move into the State in three columns, leaving no forces behind them, and if either column defeated its opponent, it could readily unite with the centre and move on to Nashville. After some discussion, and after the general had asked the colonel if he would undertake the direction of the eastern column, the plan submitted was adopted so far as it could be without the cooperation of General Halleck’s command in Missouri. The general plan was, however, somewhat modified by Zollicoffer’s entrance into Kentucky at Cumberland Gap with a rebel army to cooperate with General Humphrey Marshall, who was already in Kentucky near Pound Gap. But General George H. Thomas was sent to drive back Zollicoffer, and Colonel Garfield’s orders to attack Humphrey Marshall were not changed.

Thus we find him with a most important campaign on his hands.
before he had any experience even in drilling a regiment in the manual of arms. The purposed movement was one of such importance, in view of the necessity of keeping Marshall from moving to Zollicoffer’s aid and striking General Thomas’s forces on the flank, that it is a little surprising that General Buell, with his ideas of military manoeuvres, should have intrusted it to a commander so fresh from civil life. Colonel Garfield had never seen a skirmish, nor heard the crack of a single hostile rifle. It therefore seemed somewhat inconsistent with Garfield’s well-known character to assume the direction of so important a military movement. It seems probable that he did not know just how important it was, nor appreciate how eagerly the whole field was being watched by President Lincoln and the authorities at Washington for some signs of ultimate victory. It was one of the gloomiest periods of the war; and when the news of the selection of Colonel Garfield for the expedition up the Big Sandy River to meet Marshall was announced to Mr. Lincoln, he sought Secretary Stanton, who was also a native of Ohio, and asked who the man was they were sending “into such dangerously close quarters.” The President anxiously awaited General Buell’s forward movement toward Bowling Green and Nash-ville; and seeing how important the defeat of the rebels’ flank move-ments under Marshall and Zollicoffer had become, he followed the movements of Colonel Garfield and General Thomas with the deep-est interest.

Colonel Garfield’s orders to proceed up the Sandy Valley were delivered to him December 13th or 14th. A few days later he collected the forces intrusted to him at the mouth of the Big Sandy River, and began his march up the valley. His command, which was called a brigade, did not number over twenty-three hundred available men, and consisted of the Fortieth and Forty-second Ohio infantry, the Fourteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky infantry, and eight companies of cavalry. To these he hoped to add a small force then stationed at Paris, and to which he sent orders directing its commander to join him near Paintville.

General Marshall had a force of five thousand men, and was in a country with which he was familiar, while Colonel Garfield was in a strange region, with about one half that number of troops. If there had been any hesitation or delay on the part of the Union forces it would have encouraged Marshall to attack them on their
march, for the rebel general was among his friends, and all the people acted as spies and couriers in communicating the advance and condition of the invading forces. But so determinedly and steadily did the troops march on, that it seems to have created a fear of them in advance, which went far toward giving them the victory when the battle came.

All the information which Garfield could gain seemed to locate Marshall near Paintville, and hence he expected a contest at that point. But Marshall retreated to Prestonburg before Garfield arrived, leaving a company of cavalry to hold the place and delay the Union troops. Garfield, finding the enemy, and supposing that the rebel army was immediately in front, notwithstanding the fatigue of his troops, moved immediately forward to attack them.

Directing his cavalry to engage the enemy in front, Garfield made a circuit with his infantry, hoping to reach Marshall's rear.

It is said that when he had given his orders to the cavalry, and had started forward on foot with the infantry, he took off his coat and threw it into a tree, and shouted back to the horsemen so soon to charge, "Give 'em Hail Columbia, boys!"

But before his troops reached the road in the rear, the vigorous charge of the Union cavalry had sent the enemy flying toward Prestonburg in such haste as to leave their canteens, haversacks, blankets, and dead bodies strewn the highway.

This retreat was quite unexpected to Colonel Garfield, and he had so confidently counted upon a battle at that point, that his brigade was not supplied with provisions for a march farther into the interior. To supply the necessary provisions caused a day's delay, and compelled him to leave a portion of his troops at Paintville, while he pressed on after Marshall. At Paintville, however, he was joined by troops from Paris, numbering about one thousand or twelve hundred.

On the following day, which was the 9th of January, Garfield followed Marshall to Prestonburg, and found that the rebels were posted on a hill in a most advantageous position, with their artillery within a most effective range. Garfield had been misinformed about Marshall's movements, and was compelled to ascertain the enemy's position by skirmishing and feints. While awaiting the troops which he decided to order up from Paintville, his troops were constantly engaged in skirmishing, and the whole command was under fire, many of the men for the first time.
It must have given a much more serious appearance to the art of war to see the line of gray, and hear the shot and shell shriek over their heads. To the colonel, on whose word and judgment hung the lives of so many and, perhaps, the fate of a mighty nation, the feeling of responsibility must have been great, while the peculiar sense of danger and dread of the unforeseen which fills the heart at the opening of the first battle, must have been a trial in his inexperience.

It was nearly dark when the reinforcements arrived, and without delay, and amid the enthusiastic cheering of the men, he ordered an advance, to be followed by a charge upon the enemy's guns. There was a sharp musketry fire for a short time, as the enemy fell slowly back toward their guns, and the artillery of the rebels was handled most skillfully.

When, however, the lines of the Union forces had secured the desired position from which to make their charge, Marshall suddenly sounded a retreat, and left the field under cover of the darkness.

The sudden disappearance of the enemy and the silence which prevailed, together with the uncertainty whether it was an actual retreat or a ruse, made the hour following the disappearance one of great anxiety. The troops, fatigued and hungry, moving cautiously about in the dark woodland and fields, anxiously awaiting developments, were but a counterpart of that other historical picture of the great President at Washington, pacing his room at that very hour, and saying, "I cannot bear this dangerous delay. Have n't we any one who will fight?"

Colonel Garfield's suspense was not long, however, for soon the clouds overhead began to assume an unusual color, and a little later were lit up with the lurid glare of distant fires. The distant mountains stood out prominent in the unnatural light, and pillars of illuminated smoke arose along the road toward the gate to Virginia. It was clear, then, that Marshall was retreating out of Kentucky, and was burning his immense military stores.

To pursue the rebels that night was impracticable, and, after a short cavalry reconnaissance, the tired troops used the light of the enemy's burning camps to prepare their meagre supper and hard beds. The time, the circumstances, and the fact that the enemy numbered forty-nine hundred, made the victory an important one, while Colonel Garfield's bravery and ability, displayed in the march and engagement, placed him at once among the experienced and trustworthy soldiers.
The next day the enemy was pursued to the Virginia line, and the order was then given to return to their camps near Piketon with their prisoners. They had killed two hundred and fifty of the enemy and taken forty prisoners, with a loss to the Union troops of only thirty-two men. Colonel Garfield's commission as a brigadier-general was dated so as to take effect from that battle at Prestonburg.

The next day after establishing the brigade camp, a heavy rainstorm came on which laid a large portion of Sandy Valley under water. It was impossible to march or to transport provisions overland. The river became so swollen that the steamboats were detained in the Ohio, and that source of supply was also closed. It was a most alarming condition of affairs, for it was impossible for the army to find sufficient food in the surrounding region, even if they transgressed the strict orders forbidding foraging. When they had rations for two days only the puzzled commander saw no way to save his little army from actual starvation. If the army had been able to march or wade through the mud, it would have been a disobedience of orders to leave the country to be again occupied by the enemy.

In his perplexity he decided to go for provisions himself, thinking that he might find some boat along the river which could be brought up in such an extremity.

But he went as far as the Ohio River before he found one. The great flood was so powerful that no one dared venture into its surges. He found two or three boatmen who said that a boat had once ascended the Big Sandy in a flood like that, but it was a miracle that it escaped destruction.

"Some boat must go up," said the general. "My men shall not starve!"

He found a rickety steamboat fastened to the bank of the stream awaiting a subsidence of the flood, and he ordered the captain to take a load of provisions up the river to the camp. The captain refused, saying that it would be as bad as suicide to undertake it. But General Garfield insisted with his revolver in hand, and the captain and men, thinking they might as well be drowned as be shot for disobedience of military orders, allowed the boat, with themselves, to be taken by the general for the dangerous experiment. Finding no one whom he dared to trust to take the wheel,
or who was strong enough to manage it in the swift current, the
general himself took the wheel, and for two days and the greater
part of one night stood at his post. It required the most cautious
steering to avoid the projecting banks and trees covered by the
flood, and often the boat would graze an obstruction which would
have sunk it, if it had struck near the prow.

Once the craft ran aground on a hard sand-bank and refused to
back off when the wheel was reversed, and the general tried to in-
duce some of the men to take the small boat and go on shore to
fasten a rope so that they might pull the boat off the bank by the
aid of the windlass. Not one dared tempt the terrific flood. So
the general took the boat and the rope, and at a most hazardous
risk of his life, especially so, as the river navigation was new to him,
he crossed the stream and fastened the rope.

It was a triumphant hour for him when he saw the crowd of his
anxious troops on the river bank awaiting his coming, and one in
which he blessed that day on which he learned to steer a canal
boat.

The half-famished men, who had descended in despair to the
river, believing that no boat could stem the flood, shouted them-
selves hoarse, and performed all kinds of childish antics, when they
saw their general skillfully steering the frail and trembling river
steamer. They could scarcely believe their own eyes; and many a
night about the camp fires the soldiers afterwards told the story of
the general's dangerous trip up the Sandy, with rations for his
hungry men.

For three months the Union troops remained at or near Piketon,
often making short expeditions to drive out stray bands of rebel
raiders.

In the month of March General Garfield determined to drive out
the rebels who were posted near Pound Gap, on the Virginia side
of the Cumberland Mountains; and with seven hundred men, in-
cluding two hundred cavalry, he made a forced march of forty
miles, and encamped secretly near the enemy's quarters. Early
next morning, in a blinding snow-storm, he sent the cavalry through
the Gap, while the infantry clambered up by a difficult path to sur-
prise the rebels in the rear. He was completely successful in sur-
prising the post, but the rebels scattered so fast that he captured
but few of them. They left valuable stores of ammunition and
provisions behind, of which he took possession. The next day he burned the camp and returned to his quarters. A few days later he was ordered to report with the greater part of his command at Louisville.

When General Garfield arrived at Louisville, he found that General Buell was far away in Tennessee hurrying to the assistance of General Grant, at Pittsburg Landing. So General Garfield, obedient to fresh orders, bade a hasty farewell to his comrades, and hurried on after the army. He overtook General Buell at Columbia, Tennessee, and was at once assigned to the command of the Twentieth Brigade, in the division of General T. J. Wood.

This change in his command was a great grief to General Garfield, who had hoped to keep the Fortieth Ohio in his brigade, and thus be with his old friends, scholars, and neighbors throughout the war. But from that time their paths diverged, and never united again during the entire contest.

The army, of which his new command formed a part, made a forced march from Columbia to Savannah, on the Tennessee River, and from that point they were in great haste hurried on by boat to Pittsburg Landing. The battle of Shiloh had been raging for more than a day when these reinforcements arrived. Without rest or time to enter camp they hurried on to the field of battle, and General Garfield’s command was under fire during the final contest which gave the victory to the federal troops.

The next day his troops, with other forces under General Sherman, were sent in pursuit of the retreating enemy, and a short but hotly contested battle was fought, in which General Garfield was conspicuously cool and brave.

During that tedious siege of Corinth, which followed, his command was nearly all the time at the outposts, and was engaged often in skirmishes with the rebels, and was with the first column that was ordered forward when the town was evacuated by Beau-regard.

In June, 1862, his brigade was sent to repair and protect the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, between Corinth and Decatur, after which he advanced to Huntsville, Alabama, and gained no little credit for his skill in military engineering, connected with the fortifications.

It has been often related of him that while in command of this
brigade a fugitive slave came rushing into his camp, with a bloody head, and apparently frightened almost to death. He had scarcely passed the headquarters when a regular bully of a fellow came riding up, and with a volley of oaths began to ask after his "nigger." General Garfield was not present, and he passed on to the division commander. The division commander was a sympathizer with the theory that fugitive slaves should be returned to their masters, and that the Union soldiers should be made the instruments for returning them. He accordingly wrote a mandatory order to General Garfield, in whose command the darkey was supposed to be hiding, telling him to hunt out and deliver over the property of the outraged citizen. General Garfield took the order and deliberately wrote on it the following indorsement:

"I respectfully but positively decline to allow my command to search for or deliver up any fugitive slaves. I conceive that they are here for quite another purpose. The command is open, and no obstacles will be placed in the way of search."

The indorsement frightened his staff officers, and they expected that, if returned, the result would be that the general would be court-martialed. He simply replied, "The matter may as well be tested first as last. Right is right, and I do not propose to mince matters at all. My soldiers are here for other purposes than hunting and returning fugitive slaves. My people on the Western Reserve of Ohio did not send my boys and myself down here to do that kind of business, and they will back me up in my action." He would not alter the indorsement, and the order was returned. Nothing ever came of the matter further.

June 15th General Garfield was detailed to sit in a trial by court-martial of a lieutenant of the Fifty-eighth Indiana volunteers. His skill in that case, combined with his memory of judicial decisions, caused the officers sitting with him in the court to commend him for his signal ability in such matters. On July 5th he was again detailed to act as president of the important court-martial detailed to try Colonel Turchin of the Nineteenth Illinois. Of that court General Garfield's adjutant-general, Captain P. T. Swaim, acted as judge advocate.

July 30th he was given a leave of absence, owing to the return of the fever and ague, which had not disturbed him until that season, from the spring when he left the canal. For two months he lay at
Hiram, dangerously sick, and several important commands were offered him, which his illness compelled him to decline. It was during this summer that he paid for the small wooden dwelling in Hiram which was afterwards his home.

As soon as he was able to travel he was ordered by the Secretary of War to report to the War Department at Washington. This he did about the 25th of September. His fame as a jurist in martial trials had reached Washington, and he was ordered to sit on the court of inquiry in the case of General McDowell. At one time he was ordered to proceed to South Carolina, with General Hunter, but circumstances intervened to keep them in Washington.

November 25, 1862, he was made a member of the court in the celebrated trial of General Fitz-John Porter for the failure to cooperate with General Pope at the battle of Bull Run. At that trial he had a delicate and important duty to perform, and did his work with such wisdom as to secure the unsolicited compliment from its president that "he must have been a great lawyer in Ohio."

During his engagements at Washington he was called home by the illness and death of his only child. It was a sad blow to a heart so tender as his; and it is said of him that while he held the body of the sweet little child in his arms, after its death, he remarked how inappropriate to everything about him was his military uniform, and of how little consequence, compared with the love and peace of a happy home, were the honors which men could bestow.

While he was at home, in the months of August and September, as already stated, and confined to his bed, there was no little agitation going on in that congressional district over a successor to the renowned antislavery champion, Joshua R. Giddings. The excitement was caused by the fact that Mr. Giddings had been defeated in the nominating convention, two years before, by some means, and his friends laid all the blame on the successful candidate. They therefore determined upon preventing the renomination of Mr. Giddings's successor. In their canvass for a candidate who would be sure to carry the convention, as there was no hope that the health of Mr. Giddings would admit of his return to Congress, even if he could have left his post as consul-general in Canada, they hit upon General Garfield, who at that time was recovering, but whose return to the malarial districts was considered dangerous. His name was one which was sure to overcome any combination or opposition.
It does not appear that they consulted with General Garfield at all, but very carefully concealed their design, both from him and the opposition. On the presentation of his name to the Republican Congressional Convention in September, it was received with all the enthusiasm that the friends of the measure had expected. He was the single man on the "Western Reserve" against whom it would be a farce to make any opposition.

The movement did not at first meet with General Garfield's approval, and he reserved his decision whether he should refuse the honor, until he could confer with President Lincoln. His pay as a general was much larger than that of a congressman; he had entered the war to stay, and he disliked to leave it.

On the other hand, his health might break down if he returned to the South, and it was probable that the war would be closed in the year which would intervene between his election and the opening of the Congress to which he would be chosen.

When he visited the President, and told him the circumstances, Mr. Lincoln bluntly remarked that there were generals enough already and plenty more to be had, but the number of congressmen who understood the needs of the country were few, and if the Rebellion continued it was likely to be lessened by the death or enlistment of good men. Members of the Cabinet giving him the same advice, he silently acquiesced in the nomination, and was elected with unheard-of unanimity.

In January he had so far recovered that he was ordered into the field, and directed to report to General Rosecrans at Murfreesborough. Immediately after his arrival he was appointed chief of staff to General Rosecrans, then commanding the Army of the Cumberland.

The writer of the history of the Forty-second Ohio Regiment, whose sources of information were so trustworthy, and whose gifts as a writer were so apparent as to lead to his selection, by that regiment of students, as their historian, wrote, in 1875, of General Garfield's share in the campaigns of the Army of the Cumberland as follows:—

"He was assigned to duty as chief of staff of the army of the Cumberland, in place of the lamented Colonel Garesche, who had been killed in the battle of Stone River. Early in the spring of that year Captain P. T. Swaim, his adjutant-general since the pre-
vious April, was directed to organize a Bureau of Military Information. By a system of police and scout reports very full and trustworthy information was obtained of the organization, strength, and position of the enemy's forces.

Early in June the general commanding required each general of a corps and division of the Army of the Cumberland to report his opinions, in writing, in reference to any early or immediate advance against the forces of General Bragg. Seventeen general officers submitted written opinions on that subject. Most of them were adverse to any early movement, and nearly all advised against an immediate advance. General Garfield presented to the commanding general an analysis and review of these opinions, and urged an immediate movement against the enemy. For more than five months the army of Rosecrans had lain inactive at Murfreesborough, while the commanding general had haggled and bandied words with the War Department. As chief of staff, General Garfield did all that adroit diplomacy could do to soften these asperities, and meanwhile gave all his energy to the work of preparing the army for an advance, and ascertaining the strength of the enemy.

His Bureau of Military Information was the most perfect machine of the kind organized in the field during the war. When at last June came, the government and the people demanding an advance, and the seventeen subordinate generals of Rosecrans advising against it, the analysis of the situation drawn up and submitted by General Garfield, met and overthrew them all. Speaking of this letter, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, in his "Ohio in the War," says: "This report we venture to pronounce the ablest military document known to have been submitted by a chief of staff to his superior during the war." This is high praise, but it is history.

Twelve days after it was submitted, the army moved, — against the will and opinion of General Crittenden and nearly all Rosecrans' leading officers. It marched into the Tullahoma campaign, one of the most perfectly planned and ably executed movements of the war. The lateness of the start, caused by the objections which General Garfield's letter finally overcame, alone saved Bragg's army from destruction. There was a certain work to do, which might as well have been begun on the 1st of June as the 24th. Had it been begun on the first of these dates, Bragg's army might, in all probability, have been destroyed. As it was, the heavy rains intervened and saved him from pursuit.
With his military reputation thus strengthened General Garfield went with his chief into the battle of Chickamauga. His influence over Rosecrans had by this time become almost supreme. His clear and comprehensive mind grasped every detail, and his opinions were invariably consulted on all important questions. He wrote many orders upon his own judgment, submitting them to Rosecrans for approval or alteration. On the field of Chickamauga he wrote every order except one, and that one was the fatal order to General Wood, which ruined Rosecrans' right wing and lost the battle. The order from Rosecrans to Wood, as the latter interpreted it, required him to move his command behind another division, leaving a wide gap in the line of McCook's corps, which held the right. Wood says that he knew this move would be fatal, but it was ordered, and he felt compelled to execute it. Longstreet saw the blunder, hurled Hood's division into the gap, and within an hour McCook's corps was broken and streaming, a disorganized mob of men, back to Chattanooga. Trying vainly to check the tide of retreat, General Garfield was swept with his chief back beyond Rossville. But the chief of staff could not concede that defeat had been entire. He heard the roar of Thomas's guns on the left, and gained permission of Rosecrans to go round to that quarter and find the Army of the Cumberland. While the commander busied himself with preparing a refuge at Chattanooga for his routed army, his chief of staff went back accompanied only by a staff officer and a few orderlies, to find whatever part of the army still held its ground, and save what there was left. It was a perilous ride. Long before he reached Thomas one of his orderlies was killed. Almost alone he pushed on over the obstructed road, through pursuers and pursued, found the heroic Thomas encircled by fire, but still firm, told him of the disaster on the right, and explained how he could withdraw his right wing and fix it upon a new line to meet Longstreet's column, which had turned the right of Thomas' position and was marching in heavy column upon his rear. The movement was made just in time; but Thomas's line was too short, it would not reach to the base of the mountain. Longstreet saw the gap, drove his column into it, and would have struck Thomas's line fatally in the rear, but in that critical moment General Gordon Granger came up with Steadman's division, which moved in heavy column, threw itself upon Longstreet, and, after a terrific struggle, drove him back. The dead and wounded lay in heaps
where those two columns met, but the army of General Thomas was saved. As night closed in upon the heroic Army of the Cumberland, Generals Garfield and Granger, on foot and enveloped in smoke, directed the loading and pointing of a battery of Napoleon guns, whose flash, as they thundered after the retreating column of the assailants, was the last light that shone upon the battlefield of Chickamauga. The struggle was over, and the rebels retired repulsed. Had the two shattered corps of McCook and Crittenden that night been brought upon the field and enabled Thomas to hold his ground, there might have been a second day to that battle, which would have changed its complexion in history.

The battle of Chickamauga practically closed General Garfield’s military career. About four weeks after the engagement he was sent by Rosecrans to Washington to report minutely to the President and the War Department the position, deeds, resources, and capabilities of the army at Chattanooga. He went, had frequent lengthy interviews with the President and Secretary Stanton, and thus, point by point, made a most thorough and satisfactory report. Meanwhile, General Garfield had been promoted to a major-generalship of volunteers “for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Chickamauga,” to take rank from the 19th of September, 1863. Rosecrans had been removed from the command of the army at Chattanooga and General Grant appointed to his place.

General Garfield was then called to a new field of duty. In October of the year previous, while the Forty-second was retreating from Cumberland Gap, the people of the Nineteenth Congressional District of Ohio had elected him as their representative to the Thirty-eighth Congress.

“He was a major-general, young, popular in the army, and in high favor at Washington; he was poor, and his army pay was double the slender salary of a congressman, but he had been chosen by the people of his district as their representative under circumstances which, in his judgment, would not permit him to decline the trust. General Thomas offered him the command of a corps; but Lincoln urged him to resign his commission and come to Congress. The President was strenuous, and his advice prevailed. There was no want of major-generals, but there was need of all the zeal, courage, and ability that could be assembled in Congress.” So his friends argued, and the sequel proved the wisdom of their de-
mand upon him. Yielding to this, he resigned his commission on the 5th of December, 1863, having served in the army more than a year after his election to Congress, and took his seat on the same day in the House of Representatives, where he served until elected to the United States Senate in 1880, just before his nomination for the presidency.

His election to the Senate was remarkably spontaneous and hearty on the part of the Ohio Legislature, and was a just and reasonable compliment to him for his eminent services through sixteen years of a most active legislative life.

The story of General Garfield’s success in the House of Representatives of the American nation is the most interesting and the most remarkable part of the history of his life. We have already seen how his qualities as a young man commended him to the respect and attention of the Senate of Ohio, and we shall see how quickly those same qualities lifted him above the mass of congressmen, and brought him into the notice of the nation.

It must not be considered by the reader that, because General Garfield was known to the President, and to some of the great captains of our army, and was loved and honored by the people of the Western Reserve, that he was known in the House of Representatives. There were hundreds of generals in the field whose names were far better known than that of Rosecrans’ chief of staff. There were generals in the House of Representatives who had seen severer service, and whose deeds had been far wider proclaimed. There were old statesmen there whose hairs had grown white in the service of the nation. There were scholars of the highest reputation, and orators whose words had become classic. Not a score of the whole assembly knew him by sight, or could recall his place of residence or past services when his name was called.

It was a new start in life. In Congress, as in the back-woods, he must overcome difficulties and fight his way alone. To win distinction there he must be something more than daring, truthful, and industrious; he must possess that peculiar combination of strong talents and intellectual acuteness to which men somewhat vaguely apply the term “greatness.” To be eminently great in a nation of great men, and in a time when especial circumstances combined to develop and disclose human nobility, required masterly talents and incessant watchfulness. To be of unusual service to humanity and
of exceptional value to a nation, when twenty-five millions of people were striving at a fever heat to do the same thing, is something of which a man has reason to be proud. Such is General Garfield's record. He entered upon his duties in Congress at a time when there were foes within and foes without; when a strong army threatened the nation in the Southern States, and Great Britain menaced it from the ocean; when the finances of the government were getting into an almost inextricable snarl; when the people were searching for their greatest men for counselors in the nation's peril and distress; and when it required fortitude, wisdom, and patriotism above the common order, to provide securely for the nation's future.

For this work General Garfield was well endowed by nature and education. He was a ready speaker, — apt, elegant, pointed, vehement. He had all the scholarship of the colleges, and more to draw upon. He had the practice of cultured public speaking. He had the experience of war, and a course of extensive reading from which to draw forcible and illuminating illustrations. He had all the physical characteristics of dignity, strength, countenance, and voice, which are so useful in the public forum. Thus he was well equipped for a place in a deliberative assembly. But the growth of a member's influence, under the most favorable circumstances, is slow. He could not be a leader there until he had again and again displayed his ability for the post. He does not appear to have aspired to leadership; but from the first day of the session set himself with stubborn purpose at the task of securing a complete knowledge of the rules and history of Congress.

Then followed a study of the resources of the nation in men and money, and of the history of other countries, whose experience could throw any light, or give any suggestion to statesmen, in the complicated and perplexing trials of the Union. His habits of incessant study served him well, and he always had a book in his hand or in his pocket, for use in any spare moment. His astonishing readiness in congressional debates upon any question of commerce, manufactures, finance, revenue, international law, or whatever came up, can be accounted for by this industrious habit. Never idle himself, and aided by his wife, as only a talented, patient, and affectionate woman of her unusual gifts can help a man of letters, he steadily and heartily favored the measures he thought were wise and good, and ear-
nestly, and sometimes excitedly, opposed those actions which he deemed to be pernicious and wrong.

He was given a place at once, upon his entry into Congress, on the very important committee on military affairs. His colleagues bear testimony to his activity, industry, and efficiency, from the very beginning of his term. His speeches were often models of graceful oratory, and yet have about them none of that objectionable air of conceit which would suggest that the speaker delivered them for any other purpose but to convince.

On the first anniversary of the death of Abraham Lincoln, and during General Garfield's third year of service in the House of Representatives, Congress adjourned for the day as a mark of respect for the martyr President's memory. General Garfield was selected to make the motion to adjourn, and in so doing was selected to make a short address. It was one of the most cultured, thoughtful, and appropriate addresses to be found in the vast collection of patriotic speeches, which remain to this generation from the days of war and reconstruction.

"I desire," said he, "to move that this house do now adjourn. And before the vote upon that motion is taken I desire to say a few words. This day, Mr. Speaker, will be sadly memorable so long as this nation shall endure, which God grant may be 'till the last syllable of recorded time,' when the volume of human history shall be sealed up and delivered to the omnipotent Judge. In all future time, on the recurrence of this day, I doubt not that the citizens of this republic will meet in solemn assembly to reflect on the life and character of Abraham Lincoln, and the awful tragic event of April 14, 1865,—an event unparalleled in the history of nations, certainly unparalleled in our own. It is eminently proper that this house should this day place upon its records a memorial of that event. The last five years have been marked by wonderful developments of individual character. Thousands of our people, before unknown to fame, have taken their places in history, crowned with immortal honors. In thousands of humble homes are dwelling heroes and patriots whose names shall never die. But greatest among all these great developments were the character and fame of Abraham Lincoln whose loss the nation still deplores. His character is aptly described in the words of England's great laureate—written thirty years ago—in which he traces the upward steps of some
"Divinely gifted man,
Whose life in low estate began,
And on a simple village green;

"Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breasts the blow of circumstance,
And grapples with his evil star;

"Who makes by force his merit known,
And lives to clutch the golden keys,
To mold a mighty State's decrees,
And shape the whisper of the throne;

"And moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on Fortune's crowning slope
The pillar of a People's hope,
The centre of a world's desire."

"Such a life and character will be treasured forever as the sacred possession of the American people and of mankind. In the great drama of the Rebellion there were two acts. The first was the war with its battles and sieges, victories and defeats, its sufferings and tears.

"That act was closing one year ago to-night, and just as the curtain was lifting on the second and final act,—the restoration of peace and liberty,—just as the curtain was rising upon new characters and new events, the evil spirit of the Rebellion, in the fury of despair, nerved and directed the hand of the assassin to strike down the chief character in both. It was no one man who killed Abraham Lincoln; it was the embodied spirit of treason and slavery, inspired with fearful, despairing hate, that struck him down in the moment of the nation's supremest joy.

"Ah, sir, there are times in the history of men and nations, when they stand so near the veil that separates mortals from the immortals, time from eternity, and men from their God, that they can almost hear the beatings, and feel the pulsations of the heart of the Infinite. Through such a time has this nation passed. When two hundred and fifty thousand brave spirits passed from the field of honor, through that thin veil, to the presence of God; and when at last its parting folds admitted the martyr President to the company of the dead heroes of the republic, the nation stood so near the veil, that the whispers of God were heard by the children of men. Awe-stricken by his voice, the American people knelt in tearful
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reverence, and made a solemn covenant with him, and with each other, that their nation should be saved from its enemies, that all its glories should be restored, and on the ruins of slavery and treason the temple of freedom and justice should be built, and should survive forever. It remains for us, consecrated by the great event, and under a covenant with God, to keep that faith, to go forward in the great work until it shall be completed. Following the lead of that great man, and obeying the high behests of God, let us remember that, —

"He hath sounded forth a trumpet that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment seat;
Be swift my soul to answer him; be jubilant my feet;
For God is marching on."

One of the most popular of General Garfield's eulogies, was upon John Winthrop and Samuel Adams, and was delivered December 19, 1876, the house then having under consideration the following resolution: —

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
December, 19, 1876.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). 1. That the statues of John Winthrop and Samuel Adams are accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress are given to the State of Massachusetts for these memorials of two of her eminent citizens, whose names are indissolubly associated with the foundation of the republic.

2. That a copy of these resolutions, engrossed upon parchment and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of Massachusetts.

He said: "Mr. Speaker, I regret that illness has made it impossible for me to keep the promise, which I made a few days since, to offer some reflections appropriate to this very interesting occasion. But I cannot let the moment pass without expressing my great satisfaction with the fitting and instructive choice which the State of Massachusetts has made, and the manner in which her representatives have discharged their duty in presenting these beautiful works of art to the Congress of the nation.

"As, from time to time, our venerable and beautiful hall has been peopled with statues of the elect of the States, it has seemed to me that a third house was being organized within the walls of
the Capitol—a house whose members have received their high credentials at the hands of history, and whose term of office will outlast the ages. Year by year, we see the circle of its immortal membership enlarging; year by year, we see the elect of their country, in eloquent silence, taking their places in this American pantheon, bringing within its sacred circle the wealth of those immortal memories, which made their lives illustrious; and, year by year, that august assembly is teaching a deeper and grander lesson to all who serve their brief hour in these more ephemeral Houses of Congress. And now, two places of great honor have just been most nobly filled.

"I can well understand that the State of Massachusetts, embarrased by her wealth of historic glory, found it difficult to make the selection. And while the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Hoar) was so fittingly honoring his State, by portraying that happy embarrassment, I was reflecting that the sister State of Virginia will encounter, if possible, a still greater difficulty when she comes to make the selection of her immortals. One name I venture to hope she will not select, — a name too great for the glory of any one State. I trust she will allow us to claim Washington as belonging to all the States, for all time. If she shall pass over the great distance that separates Washington from all others, I can hardly imagine how she will make the choice from her crowded roll. But I have no doubt that she will be able to select two who will represent the great phases of her history, as happily and worthily as Massachusetts is represented, in the choice she has to-day announced. It is difficult to imagine a happier combination of great and beneficent forces, than will be presented by the representative heroes of these two great States.

"Virginia and Massachusetts were the two focal centres from which sprang the life-forces of this republic. These were, in many ways, complements of each other, each supplying what the other lacked, and both uniting to endow the republic with its noblest and most enduring qualities.

"To-day the house has listened with the deepest interest to the statement of those elements of priceless value contributed by the State of Massachusetts. We have been instructed by the clear and masterly analysis of the spirit and character of that Puritan civilization, so fully embodied in the lives of Winthrop and Adams. I
will venture to add, that, notwithstanding all the neglect and contempt with which England regarded her Puritans, two hundred years ago, the tendency of thought in modern England is to do justice to that great force which created the Commonwealth, and finally made the British Islands a land of liberty and law. Even the great historian Hume was compelled reluctantly to declare that —

"The precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone; and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their Constitution."

"What higher praise can posterity bestow upon any people than to make such a confession? Having done so much to save liberty alive in the mother country, the Puritans planted, upon the shores of this New World, that remarkable civilization whose growth is the greatness and glory of our republic.

"Indeed, before Winthrop and his company landed at Salem, the Pilgrims were laying the foundation of civil liberty. While the Mayflower was passing Cape Cod, and seeking an anchorage, in the midst of the storm, her brave passengers sat down in the little cabin, and drafted and signed a covenant which contains the germ of American liberty. How familiar to the American habit of mind are these declarations of the Pilgrim covenant of 1620, —

"That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us at present, or to come, but such as has been or shall be enacted by the consent of the body of free men or associates, or their representatives, legally assembled."

"The New England town was the model, the primary cell, from which our republic was evolved. The town meeting was the germ of all the parliamentary life and habits of Americans.

"John Winthrop brought with him the more formal organization of New England society; and, in his long and useful life, did more than perhaps any other to direct and strengthen its growth.

"Nothing, therefore, could be more fitting, than for Massachusetts to place in our Memorial Hall the statue of the first of the Puritans, representing him at the moment when he was stepping on shore from the ship that brought him from England, and bearing with him the charter of that first political society which laid the foundations of our country; and that near him should stand that Puritan embodiment of the logic of the Revolution, Samuel Adams. I am
glad to see this decisive, though tardy, acknowledgment of his great and signal services to America. I doubt if any man equaled Samuel Adams in formulating and uttering the fierce, clear, and inexorable logic of the Revolution. With our present habits of thought, we can hardly realize how great were the obstacles to overcome. Not the least was the religious belief of the fathers—that allegiance to rulers was obedience to God. The thirteenth chapter of Romans was to many minds a barrier against revolution stronger than the battalions of George III.,—

"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.'

"And it was not until the people of that religious age were led to see that they might obey God and still establish liberty, in spite of kingly despotism, that they were willing to engage in war against one who called himself 'king by the grace of God.' The men who pointed out the pathway to freedom by the light of religion as well as of law, were the foremost promoters of American independence. And of these, Adams was unquestionably chief.

"It must not be forgotten that, while Samuel Adams was writing the great argument of liberty in Boston, almost at the same time Patrick Henry was formulating the same doctrines in Virginia. It is one of the grandest facts of that grand time that the colonies were thus brought, by an almost universal consent, to tread the same pathway, and reach the same great conclusions.

"But most remarkable of all is the fact that, throughout all that period, filled as it was with the revolutionary spirit, the great men who guided the storm exhibited the most wonderful power of self-restraint. If I were to-day to state the single quality that appears to me most admirable among the fathers of the Revolution, I should say it was this: that amidst all the passions of war, waged against a perfidious enemy from beyond the sea, aided by a savage enemy on our own shores, our fathers exhibited so wonderful a restraint, so great a care to observe the forms of law, to protect the rights of the minority, to preserve all those great rights that had come down to them from the common law, so that when they had achieved their independence, they were still a law-abiding people.

"In that fiery meeting in the Old South Church, after the Bos-
ton massacre, when, as the gentleman from Massachusetts has said, three thousand voices almost lifted the roof from the church, in demanding the removal of the regiments, it is noted by the historian that there was one, solitary, sturdy “nay” in the vast assemblage; and Samuel Adams scrupulously recorded the fact that there was one dissentient. It would have been a mortal offense against his notions of justice and good order, if that one dissentient had not had his place in the record. And, after the regiments had been removed, and after the demand had been acceded to that the soldiers who had fired upon citizens should be delivered over to the civil authorities, to be dealt with according to law, Adams was the first to insist and demand that the best legal talent in the colony should be put forward to defend those murderers; and John Adams and Josiah Quincy were detailed for the purpose of defending them. Men were detailed whose hearts and souls were on fire with the love of the popular cause; but the men of Massachusetts would have despised the two advocates, if they had not given their whole strength to the defense of the soldiers.

“Mr. Speaker, this great lesson of self-restraint is taught in the whole history of the Revolution; and it is this lesson that to-day, more, perhaps, than any other we have seen, we ought to take most to heart. Let us seek liberty and peace, under the law; and, following the pathway of our fathers, preserve the great legacy they have committed to our keeping.”

General Garfield was appointed on many important special committees by Congress: he was sent to Louisiana by the President to report upon the political condition of the people with reference to reconstruction, he was chosen one of the High Commission to which was referred the contested presidential election in 1876, and which gave Rutherford B. Hayes the seat.

He delivered many speeches on public occasions in different parts of the United States, and conducted important cases before the Supreme Court of the United States.

His nomination for the presidency by the Republican party at Chicago in June, 1880, was a surprise both to him and to the country. General Garfield was a delegate to the convention, and was an open advocate of the nomination of Hon. John Sherman of Ohio. The party, however, was in danger of a most serious division, in which the adherents of General U. S. Grant and of Hon. James G.
Blaine were the contestants. The friends of each were so strong and so bitter in their opposition to the other, that the only safe measure to adopt was found in the nomination of an unobjectionable man who was allied with neither faction. Hence with great enthusiasm they turned to General Garfield. He was elected by a strong majority both of the people and of the Electoral College, and was inaugurated at Washington, March 4, 1881, amid great rejoicing, the city being crowded with parades, vocal with bands of music, and brilliant with flags, banners, decorations, and pyrotechnics.

But the old theory of the rose and the thorn appears to be as true of the roses of presidential honors as of any other desirable attainment. As the office was higher than any other which he had held, and as the honor was the greatest the world could give, so the annoyances that accompanied him into his office were more discouraging than any he had experienced, and the dangers which surrounded him the most appalling of any which the world contains. He was set upon by an unusually merciless horde of applicants for political office, who, having heard of his natural goodness of heart, thought that their efforts would be successful if they could succeed in getting their private histories and afflictions within the scope of his personal attention. Many of the seekers after national honor and pay had not restrained themselves sufficiently to await the inauguration; but at his home in Mentor, in the railway carriages, in hotels, and in
private assemblies they had intruded recklessly and remorselessly upon his time and attention. They coaxed, they flattered, they wrote biographical sketches and laudatory poetry; they sent him presents, they filled his rooms with correspondence which it was impossible for him to read, they even cursed and terribly threatened him as he hinted at refusal or stated that several hundred of the applicants for the same office must inevitably be disappointed.

It was a time that tried the metal of the man's character and tested the powers of his mind, as campaigns military and political had failed to do.

Among those who joined that army of office seekers was a man by the name of Charles J. Guiteau, who was a native of Illinois, and who claimed at the time to be a resident of New York. His life had been most erratic, and his ambition most unbounded. He had professed many kinds of religious beliefs, and had unsuccessfully tried to practice law in Chicago and New York. He had attempted to lecture on religious and social themes; but with many another vagabond, he found that to be successful at that he must at least be great in some one direction, to attract or hold the attention of the people. He wrote a book upon his religious hobbies, and cheated the publisher and his landlady in order to get it into print. He had the appearance of a gentleman, and betrayed the confidence of many unsuspecting friends. He was hypocritical, licentious, and cruel. His parents, brother, and wife, after many protests, warnings, and griefs, left him to his natural tastes, and refused to remain in his company.

In the political campaign of 1880 he ingratiated himself into the good-will of some of the Republican committee of New York, and made a few unsuccessful speeches, and on the fact that he had taken part in the contest, he based his claims for a consulship at Marseilles, France, and importuned President Garfield for the appointment.

The President listened patiently at first, but when the man's unfitness became apparent both in his actions and reputation, the refusal was stated promptly and frankly. Guiteau pleaded, but received repeated refusal. Then he boldly threatened vengeance and was forcibly ejected from the White House.

Filled with wrath, shame, and disappointment, he deliberately
but firmly resolved to assassinate the President at the first opportunity.

Soon after he formed this resolution a political quarrel arose between the President and Senator Conkling of New York, about the appointment of a collector for the port of New York. The dispute may have been an outburst of the smothered feeling lingering after the defeat of favorite candidates in the Republican Presidential Convention, and may have been connected less remotely with the fact that the President had placed in his Cabinet with William Windom, Wayne MacVeagh, Robert T. Lincoln, William H. Hunt, Samuel J. Kirkwood, and Thomas L. James, Senator James G. Blaine of Maine, who had been one of the candidates opposed in that convention by Senator Conkling.

After endeavoring in vain to prevent the confirmation by the Senate of the President's appointments, and after the President had threateningly but temporarily withdrawn the unconfirmed nominations from before the Senate of some of Senator Conkling's friends, both the senators from New York resigned and went back to their state Legislature, expecting a triumphant re-election as a rebuke to the President. They failed of their election, and men favoring the President were chosen in their places. The contest created great excitement and awoke much bitter feeling in the nation. It injured the business of the country, created bitter divisions, and encouraged assassination.

Guiteau was so blinded by his desire to kill the President that he drew much encouragement from the quarrel, and expected to find support and defense in his deed from the defeated party. He did not, however, consult with any of them or apprise any man of his intentions.

When the success of the administration party seemed certain, Guiteau purchased a large revolver, and for many days dogged the President's footsteps, seeking a favorable opportunity to kill him. Twice he was on the point of committing the murder, but was prevented first by the accidental turning about of the President, and once later when the President was conveying his sick wife to the railway station, and when the sight of her pale sweet face so stirred his conscience that he could not raise his weapon.

On the morning of July 2d (1881), the President went to the Baltimore station in Washington, expecting to take the train for
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New York and make a tour up the Hudson River and through New England with Mrs. Garfield, who was not fully recovered from a prolonged and dangerous illness. Secretary Blaine accompanied him to the railway station, riding in the same carriage, and as they alighted they stood conversing together near the doorway. Guiteau had sought the spot intent upon his murderous purpose, but the constant passing of passengers prevented the accomplishment of his design until the President entered the ladies' room of the station and stood within a very short distance of the assassin. Guiteau, stepping behind his victim, fired two shots into the President's back in quick succession, and amid the alarm and confusion consequent among the people upon such an awful crime, he escaped to the door. But while he was trying to secure a hack to hurry away and while the prostrate and fainting President was being lifted from the floor, he was seized by the bystanders and was soon in the jail.

The wounded man was carried hastily back to the White House, medical attendance called, and his waiting wife at Long Branch summoned by telegraph to meet him at his bedside in Washington, instead of greeting him at New York, as they had planned.

Only one shot had taken dangerous effect in the President's body and that passed through his back from side to side, shattering one rib and a portion of the spine, and lodging in the flesh. It was a wound that must necessarily have proved mortal, and the surgeons who were called, and who represented the most skilled men in the profession, declared that the only expectation of the President's recovery lay in the hope that the wound was not such as it appeared to be.

Then began a season of national humiliation, tears, prayers, and watching such as the world never saw before. Every event of the slightest moment, every mouthful of food, every kind of medicine and treatment, the rise and fall of his temperature and pulse, the words he spoke, waking or in dreams, the heroic watching and fortitude of his wife and children, the sayings of his aged mother, and the opinions of public men, were circulated in the public press and eagerly read and re-read by millions of tearful eyes. A day of fasting and prayer was universally observed by the nation, and men who never prayed before asked earnestly of God that the good man's life might be spared. Day succeeded day, and week followed week, adding hourly to the suspense until the gloom everywhere apparent
was saddening and disheartening in the extreme. With a courage and resignation most wonderful, the patient held on to the slender thread of life, and with Christian charity and heroism spoke kindly of his enemies and even of the murderer, and calmly declared to his friends that he did not fear to die.

The heat of the summer came on, and the malaria of the marshes arose to add to the dangers, and after more than two months of suffering in the dreadful heat, the martyr was removed by railway to Long Branch, where for a few days he lingered, looking out upon the sea and holding his wife's hand by day, and dreaming of his boyhood's home and his loved playmates by night. On that little seaside cottage at Long Branch, in the town of Elberon, N. J., was centred the anxious attention of the whole civilized world. Queen Victoria of England, King William of Germany, Emperor Alexander of Russia, President Grévy of France, King Humbert of Italy, Emperor Francis of Austria, the Sultan of Turkey, the Pasha of Egypt, and the rulers of many lesser nations sent frequent inquiries concerning the suffering man. Legislatures, councils, conventions, synods, and colleges in many lands sent words of sympathy. But the simple-hearted man, whose life had been passed among the people, cared much less for all these honorable and official attentions, sincere as they were, than he did for the affectionate hearts whose sympathy had comforted him in his poverty, and whose encouragement had sustained him in previous trials. His wife, his daughter, his aged mother, his cousin Dr. Boynton, his neighbors, his long tried companions in public life, were to him dearer than the notice of kings or queens. No experience recorded of any president so clearly demonstrates the shallowness of political honors and the foolishness of seeking an office for fame or distinction, as the experiences and words of James A. Garfield in his lingering illness. When told by the physicians that it seemed impossible to cure him, he firmly replied, "I am not afraid to die." When told how much the nation had need of him, he said, "Our nation does not depend for its life or prosperity on any one individual." When reminded of the honor to which he had come, he declared that he had "rather be a humble farmer in Mentor than president of the world." When, in his last hours, he did not mention a hope of being again at the head of the nation, or of homage and applause, but simply wished that he might be permitted once more to meet all his family to-
gather, he displayed a beautiful trait of character and a wisdom unusual among political leaders. As compared with home, wife, children, and old friends, all offices, honors, praises, and power were not worthy of mention. Unchanging love and faithfulness to wife, children, and neighbors were in him, as in every other noble mind, his highest claim upon the honors and sympathies of a civilized world.

On Monday, September 19th, after eighty days of suffering, the indications were so unfavorable that the physicians warned the attendants and nurses, among whom were several members of his Cabinet, that the hour of death drew very near. All day he lay half dreaming, sometimes asking for his daughter Mollie, sometimes holding the hand of his wife, while the whole nation was weeping and tremblingly awaiting the moment of his death. Late in the evening he seemed to sleep and he was left alone for a while with only one attendant, Major Swaim, of the United States army. Near midnight he awoke and complained of pain in the region of the heart, and after an effort to change his position on his couch, sank into a stupor from which he did not afterwards rally. A half hour later, with his hand clasped by his wife, with his daughter kneeling at the bedside, and surrounded by many of the great men of the nation, the martyred President peacefully drew his last breath. Midnight bells all over the land tolled in gloomy concert, and the grief-stricken people sprinkled their pillows with tears, saying, "Our President is dead."

So swift are the wings of modern communication that before noon of the next day messages of condolence, sympathy, and grief came to the heart-broken widow from all parts of the world. One was from Queen Victoria, and read as follows:

"Balmoral, September 20th.

"To Mrs. President Garfield,—Words cannot express the deep sympathy I feel with you. May God support and comfort you as He alone can."

"The Queen."

The history of the President's illness and death, as reported in medical books, was one of the most remarkable events in modern surgery. The post-mortem examination revealed to the surgeons for the first time the exact location of the bullet, and showed that it had taken a course entirely different from that which the medical men had supposed. It showed also that such vital portions of the
body had been injured that the patient's recovery, from any human standpoint, appeared to have been impossible. The success of the methods adopted in prolonging the President's life in such a wonderful manner, showed a great advance in surgery and medicine within a quarter of a century. Many men during the last war, who were attended by the most skillful surgeons, died within a few hours of wounds apparently less dangerous than this. The immediate cause of death was secondary hemorrhage from one of the mesenteric arteries adjoining the track of the ball, the blood rupturing the peritoneum, and nearly a pint of blood escaping into the abdominal cavity.

The preparations for the funeral were simple and unostentatious, in accord with the desire of Mrs. Garfield. Funds, which were raised to make the funeral more elaborate, were given by the wealthy donors to the fund of over $350,000, which was presented to Mrs. Garfield as an expression of sympathy.

The coffin was plain and the decorations modest. But the funeral of one so loved by an entire people could not be very private. A desire to see the cottage in which he died, or the funeral train, or the face of the dead, was so great, that every movement of the funeral party was attended by immense assemblies of the people. When the railway train containing the body and the mourners passed through the country on its way from Long Branch to Washington, an almost unending line of weeping people gazed sadly upon it from the road-side. In the large cities tens of thousands crowded about the stations.

The body was placed in the centre of the hall of the Capitol at Washington, under the great central dome, and there for two days lay in state, while many thousand people passed by the casket and looked upon the emaciated features of the dead. On the bier were placed many floral gifts, but chief among them was a beautiful wreath of flowers ordered by the Queen of England. Once during those sad days the multitude was shut out, and for an hour the stricken widow was left alone with her dead, — one of the saddest, sweetest pictures in our nation's history.

The funeral services at the Capitol were very brief and uncere-
monious, in accordance with the usual customs of the Disciples Church, of which the President had been a member. At 2:40 p. m., said an eye-witness, Colonel Rockwell, Dr. Boynton, Private Secre-
tary Brown, and the household of the President entered the rotunda and took seats reserved for them. The members of the House of Representatives filed in through the south door, preceded by the officers of that body and by ex-Speakers Randall and Banks. They were followed by the Senators, Senator Anthony leading, who entered by the north door. At three o'clock the Cabinet and distinguished guests entered in the following order: President Arthur and Secretary Blaine, ex-Presidents Grant and Hayes, Secretary and Mrs. Windom, Secretary and Mrs. Lincoln, Secretary and Mrs. Hnnt, Attorney-General and Mrs. MacVeagh, Secretary Kirkwood and Postmaster-General James, and Generals Drnm and Beale, the diplomatic corps, and the representatives of the army and navy.

Mrs. Garfield and the children were not present at the ceremonies.

Services were opened by Rev. Dr. Powers promptly at three o'clock. He ascended the dais, and briefly announced the opening hymn, "Asleep in Jesus, blessed sleep," which was rendered by a choir of fifty voices.

Rev. Dr. Rankin then ascended the raised platform at the head of the catafalque, and read in a clear, distinct voice, the scriptural selections. Rev. Dr. Isaac Errett then offered prayer.

As the closing words of the prayer died away, Rev. F. D. Powers, of the Vermont Avenue Christian Church, of which President Garfield was a member, delivered a feeling address.

At the conclusion of Dr. Powers's address Rev. J. G. Butler offered prayer.

This closed the ceremonies, and the vast assemblage, with bowed heads and reverent mien, arose as the casket containing the remains of President Garfield was slowly borne from the building in which he had gained so many laurels and triumphs. The casket was followed by President Arthur, leaning on the arm of Secretary Blaine, and by the members of the Cabinet, and in a quarter of an hour the rotunda was nearly deserted. During the progress of the ceremonies the appearance of the rotunda was solemn and impressive. The chairs, of which there were three hundred in the hall, were completely filled, while many persons remained standing in the aisles. The glitter of the uniforms of the army and the navy, and the court uniforms of the representatives of the diplomatic corps, served to brighten to a certain degree the solemnity of the scene.
Save a little confusion incident upon the seating of the officers of the army and navy, the best of order was preserved throughout, and no incident occurred to interrupt the sad impressiveness of the ceremonies.

Immediately after the close of the services the floral decorations were all removed (Mrs. Garfield having requested that they be sent to her home at Mentor) except the beautiful wreath, the gift of Queen Victoria, which had been placed upon the head of the coffin when the lid was closed, and which, when the coffin was borne to the hearse, remained upon it till the remains were buried. This touching tribute of Queen Victoria greatly moved Mrs. Garfield, as only a woman can feel a woman's sympathy at the time of her greatest earthly sorrow.

The coffin having been placed in the hearse, a single gun was fired from Hanneman's battery, the Second Artillery Band struck up a funeral march, and the procession moved in the following order around the south front of the Capitol to the avenue: Two battalions of District of Columbia militia, ten companies; two companies of United States marines, four companies of the United States Second Artillery, Light Battery Company A, United States Artillery; Grand Army of the Republic, Roscoe Conkling Club, Boys in Blue, Columbia, Washington, and De Molay Commanderies, Knights Templars, of the city, in full regalia; Beausant Commandery Knights Templars of Baltimore. Then came the hearse, drawn by six iron-gray horses, each led by a colored groom; following the hearse came about a hundred carriages, which were occupied by officers of the Executive Mansion and wives, relatives of the late President, ex-Presidents Grant and Hayes, President Arthur, and Secretary Blaine. The other Cabinet ministers and their wives, the diplomatic corps, Chief-Justice Waite, and Associate Justices Harlan, Matthews, and Miller; senators, members of the house, Governors of States and Territories, and Commissioners of the District of Columbia; the Judges of the Court of Claims, the Judiciary of the District of Columbia, and Judges of the United States courts; the Assistant Secretaries of State, Treasury, and Interior Departments; the Assistant Postmaster-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Assistant Attorneys-General. As the procession moved minute guns were fired from the military posts and forts surrounding the city, and the church bells were tolled. At least forty thousand peo-
people were gathered about the Capitol to witness the start of the procession; while along the line of march to Sixth Street the crowd was even greater than on the 4th of March. Everywhere it was most orderly and quiet; and as the hearse containing the remains moved along the avenue, from the very door of the Capitol to the entrance of the depot, all heads were uncovered.

On reaching the depot the military were drawn up in line upon the opposite side of the street, facing the Sixth Street entrance. The remains were borne from the hearse upon the shoulders of six soldiers of the Second Artillery and placed in the funeral car. The ten officers from the army and navy, selected as the guard of honor, stood with uncovered heads as the remains were taken from the hearse, and then escorted them to the car.

Again the scenes of the previous Wednesday were repeated, and, as the funeral train proceeded on its way to Cleveland, one almost unbroken line of people, sometimes swelling into great seas of human beings, greeted the sad procession with bare heads, tears, and sad faces.

The funeral train arrived in Cleveland on Saturday, the 24th, and the funeral at that place was held on Monday, the 26th. An eye-witness of the tearful scenes of that day gave the following account:

All that is mortal of the late President reposes in a tomb in the beautiful Lake View Cemetery of Cleveland. To-day the last funeral rites were celebrated in the open air of the public square, where the body has lain in state since Saturday.

The aged mother, the noble widow, the sons and the daughter, and the other relatives of General Garfield, the members of the household of the White House, the friends who had enjoyed his love and confidence, and the members of the Cabinet and their families, were seated around the coffin under the arched roof of the catafalque, and unseen by the larger company on the platform. The members of the Senate and House of Representatives, governors of States and other official dignitaries and committees, were assembled on the platform in due order, together with the Marine Band and the singing societies who were to take part in the exercises. All faced toward the coffin, resting on its high bier. All around the square, looking on with intense interest, although un-
able to hear anything but the music, was a dense crowd, completely filling the streets, and numbering from twenty to forty thousand.

Promptly at half-past ten o'clock the ceremonies at the pavilion began. The immediate members of the family and near relatives and friends took seats about the casket, and at each corner was stationed a member of the Cleveland Grays. Dr. J. P. Robinson, president of the ceremonies, announced that the exercises would be opened by singing by the Cleveland Vocal Society of the "Funeral Hymn," by Beethoven; whereupon the hymn was sung as follows:

"Thou art gone to the grave, but we will not deplore thee,
Though sorrow and darkness encompass the tomb;
The Saviour has passed through its portals before thee,
And the lamp of his love is thy light through the gloom."

The Scriptures were read by the Right Rev. Bishop Bedell, of the Episcopal diocese of Ohio.

The Rev. Ross C. Houghton, pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, then offered prayer; after which the Rev. Isaac Errett of Cincinnati delivered an eloquent address taking for his text the following:

"And the archers shot King Josiah, and the king said to his servant, 'Have me away, for I am sore wounded.'"

"There was never a mourning in all the world like unto this mourning. I am not speaking extravagantly when I say—for I am told it is the result of calculations carefully made from such data as are in possession—that certainly not less than three hundred millions of the human race share in the sadness and the lamentations and sorrow and mourning that belong to this occasion here today. It is a chill shadow of a fearful calamity that has extended itself into every home in all this land and into every heart, and that has projected itself over vast seas and oceans into distant lands, and awakened the sincerest and profoundest sympathy with us in the hearts of the good people of the nations and among all people. . . . He passed all the conditions of virtuous life between the log cabin in Cuyahoga and the White House, and in that wonderful, rich, and varied experience, still moving up from higher to higher, he has touched every heart in all this land at some point or other, and he became the representative of all hearts and lives in this land, and not only the teacher but the interpreter of all virtues; for he knew their wants and he knew their condition, and he established legiti-
I take it that this rock on which his whole life rested, followed up by the perpetual and enduring industry that marked his whole career, made him at once the honest and the capable man who invited in every act of his life, and received, the confidence and the love, the unbounded confidence and trust and love, of all that learned to know him. There is yet one other thing that I ought to mention here. There was such an admirable harmony of all his powers; there was such a beautiful adjustment of the physical, intellectual, and moral in his being; there was such an equitable distribution of physical, intellectual, and moral forces, that his nature looked out every way to get in sympathy with everything, and found about equal delight in all pursuits and all studies, so that he became through his industry and honest ambition, really encyclopedic. There was scarce any single chord that you could touch to which he would not respond in a way that made you know that his hands had swept it skillfully long ago; and there was no topic you could bring before him, there was no object you could present to him, that you did not wonder at the richness and fullness of information somehow gathered; for his eyes were always open, and his heart was always open, and his brain was ever busy and equally interested in everything. The minute and the vast, the high and the low, in all classes and creeds of men, he gathered up, that immense store and that immense variety of the most valuable and practical knowledge that made him a man not in one department, but in all rounds, everywhere in his whole beautiful and symmetrical life and character.

"But my friends, the solemnity of this hour forbids any further investigation in that line, and further detail of a very remarkable life. For these details you are familiar with, or, if not, they will come before you through various channels hereafter. It is my duty, in the presence of the dead, and in view of all the solemnities that rest upon us now in a solemn burial service, to call your attention to the great lesson taught to you, and by which we ought to become wiser and purer and better men. And I want to say, therefore, that there comes a voice from the dead to this entire nation, and not only to the people, but to those in places of trust, to our legislators, and our governors, and our military men, and our leaders of party, and all classes and creeds in the Union and in the States, as well as to those who dwell in humble life, qualified with the dignities and priv-
ileges of citizenship. The great lesson to which I desire to point you can be expressed in few words. James A. Garfield went through his whole public life without surrendering for a single moment his Christian integrity, his moral integrity, or his love for the spiritual. Coming into the exciting conflicts of political life with a nature capable as any of feeling the force of every temptation, with unlawful prizes within his reach, with every inducement to surrender all his religious faith and be known as a successful man of the world, from first to last he has manfully adhered to his religious convictions. . . . I feel just at this point that we need this lesson, this great, wondrous land of ours, this mighty nation in its marvelous upward career, with its ever-increasing power opening its arms to receive from all lands people of all languages, all religions, and all conditions, to blend them with us, to melt them into a common mass, so it becomes like the Corinthian brass, and in one type of manhood thus incorporating all the various nations of the earth in one grand brotherhood, presenting before the nations of the world a spectacle of freedom and strength and prosperity and power beyond anything the world has ever known. . . . And the wife, who began with him in young womanhood, has bravely kept step with him right along through all his wondrous career; and who has been not only his wife, but his friend and his counselor through all their succession of prosperities and this increase of influence and power; and who, when the day of calamity came, was his ministering angel, his prophetess, his priestess, when the circumstances were such as to forbid ministrations from other hands; speaking to him the words of cheer which sustained him through that long, fearful struggle for life, and watching over him when his dying vision rested on her beloved form, and sought from her eyes an answering gaze that should speak when words could not speak. And the children, who have grown up to a period that they can remember all that belonged to him, left fatherless in a world like this, yet surrounded with a nation’s sympathy and with a world’s affection, and able to treasure in their hearts the grand lessons of his noble and wondrous life, may be assured that the eyes of the nation are upon them, and that the hearts of the people go out after them. While there is much to support and encourage, it is still a sad thing and calls for our deepest sympathy that they have lost such a father, and are left to make their way through this rough world without his guiding hand or his wise
counsels. But that which makes this terrible to them now is just that which, as the years go by, will make very sweet and bright and joyous memories to fill all the lives of the coming years by the very loss which they deplore, and by all the loving actions that bind them in blessed sympathy in the home circle. They will live over again ten thousand times all the sweet life of the past, and though dead he will still live with them, and though his tongue be dumb in the grave he will speak anew to them ten thousand beautiful lessons of love, and righteousness, and truth. May God in his infinite mercy bear them in his arms and bless them as they need in this hour of thick darkness, and bear them safely through what remains of the troubles and sorrows of the pilgrimage unto the everlasting home, where there shall be no more death nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things shall have forever passed away. We commit you, beloved friends, to the arms and the care of the everlasting Father, who has promised to be the God of the widow and the father of the fatherless in his holy habitation, and whose sweet promise goes with us through all the dark and stormy paths of life: `I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.'

"I have discharged now the solemn covenant trust reposed in me many years ago, in harmony with a friendship that has never known a cloud, a confidence that has never trembled, and a love that has never changed. Farewell, my friend and brother! Thou hast fought a good fight. Thou hast finished thy course. Thou hast kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for thee a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give to thee in that day; and not unto thee only, but unto all them also who love his appearing."

The Rev. Jabez Hall then read General Garfield's favorite hymn, which was beautifully sung by the Vocal Society, as follows:

"Reapers of life's harvest,
Why stand with rusted blade
Until the night draws round thee,
And day begins to fade?

Why stand ye idle, waiting
For reapers more to come?
The golden morn is passing,
Why sit ye idle, dumb?"

At 11.45 Dr. Charles S. Pomeroy delivered the final prayer and benediction.
The funeral procession moved from Monumental Park at five minutes before twelve o'clock.

A succession of heavy showers so delayed the funeral procession that the line had to be broken before it reached the cemetery, and forming in files on either side of the avenue for nearly three miles the military and civic societies made way for the funeral car. The state militia were stationed at the entrance to the cemetery, and on either side of the driveways leading to the vault where, at Mrs. Garfield's request, it was decided to place the remains. The steps to the vault were carpeted with flowers, and on either side of the entrance was an anchor of tuberoses and a cross of white smilax and evergreens. Festooned above it a heavy black canopy was stretched over the steps from which the exercises were to be conducted.

At half-past three o'clock the procession entered the gateway, which was arched over with black, with appropriate inscriptions. In the keystone were the words "Come to rest;" on one side were the words "Lay him to rest whom we have learned to love," on the other "Lay him to rest whom we have learned to trust."

None of the President's family, except two of the boys, left the carriages during the exercises at the tomb, which occupied less than half an hour. Dr. J. P. Robinson, as president of the day, opened the exercises by introducing the Rev. J. H. Jones, chaplain of the Forty-second Ohio Regiment, which General Garfield commanded.

Mr. Jones said:—

"Our illustrious chief has completed his journey's end,—a journey that we must all soon make, and that in the near future. Yet when I see the grand surroundings of this occasion, I am led to inquire, Was this man the son of the emperor, of the king, that wore a crown? For in the history of this great country there has been nothing like this seen. Yet, I thought, perhaps, speaking after the manner of man, that he was a prince, and this was offered in a manner after royalty. But this is not an offering such as is made to earthly kings and emperors, though he was a prince and a free-man, the great commoner of the United States. Only a few miles from where we stand, less than fifty years ago, he was born in the primeval forests of this State and this country, and all he asks of you now is a peaceful grave in the bosom of the land that gave him birth. I cannot speak to you of his wonderful life and works. Time forbids, and history will take care of that, and your children's
children will read of this emotion when we have passed away from
this earth... You brethren here of the South, I greet you
to-day; and you brethren of the North, East, and West. Come,
let us lay all our bitternesses up in the coffin of the dear man. Let
him carry them with him to the grave in silence. Till the angels
disturb the slumbers of the dead let us love each other more, our
country better. May God bless you and the dear family; and, as
they constitute a great family on earth, I hope they will constitute
a great family in the kingdom of God, where I hope to meet you all
in the end. Amen.”

After an ode by Horace, sung in Latin by the United German
Singing Society, Mr. Robinson announced the late President’s fa-
vorite hymn, “Ho, reapers of life’s harvest,” which the German
vocal societies of Cleveland sang with marked effect. The exercises
closed with the benediction by President Hinsdale, of Hiram Col-
lege, and re-entering their carriages, the mourners drove hurriedly
back to the city, to avoid another shower which was threatened.
The military and Masonic escort left the cemetery in the same order
in which they entered, and kept in line until the catafalque was
reached, where they were dismissed.

The following day the sad family of General Garfield returned in
gloom to their home in Mentor; there, secluded from the public
gaze, to weep with each other,—a precious privilege to lovers of
quiet like them, who had been in the focus of the world’s gaze for
so many terrible weeks.

“Farewell! the leaf-strown earth enfolds
Our stay, our pride, our hopes, our fears,
And autumn’s golden sun beholds
A nation bowed, a world in tears.”
CHAPTER XXI.

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR.


In 1818 a French writer, named Blanché, wrote an article about the government of the United States which was largely copied at the time, to the great annoyance of the French government, and in which he very pointedly and perhaps unjustly said: "In France every man holds himself in readiness to be a slave; in the United States every man holds himself in readiness to be the President of the nation."

At the time that article was being read for the first time by the people a young lad eighteen or nineteen years of age, named William Arthur, was slowly crossing the Atlantic Ocean in one of the lumbering and uncomfortable packets which plied between the north coast of Ireland and the Canadian ports. He was a descendant of Scotch-English settlers in Ballymena, County of Antrim, Ireland, and had secured through the sacrifices of parents, the kindness of friends, and his own natural perseverance, an unusually practical education, having graduated at the Belfast University. The condition of Ireland during his boyhood had been such as to awaken a spirit of discontent, and the sad losses which the family endured in that terrible civil war of 1798 left many mourners and much financial distress. The tales of successful business enterprises in America, and the encouragement of the English government, induced this youth to seek his fortune in Canada. He was almost penniless and friendless when he landed in America, and penetrated into the woods of Eastern Canada. How utterly unlike the history of royal families with all their vicissitudes, and how illustrative of the French writer's thought is the history of this young man's life? Unknown, unnoticed, and without political hope or ambition, he makes his home among the rough and hardy backwoodsmen of Up-
Lives of the Presidents.

per Mills, Canada, not far from the Vermont line, seemingly a young man the least likely by birth, education, or location, to be the father of a President of the neighboring nation. By nature independent, and by culture a lover of freedom, he followed a course of life so certain to be unpopular, and so separated from political ambitions as to greatly increase the improbability of his being the parent of a political leader. He taught school, he worked with his hands, he was outspoken in his opinions, and soon after his settlement became a dissenter in religion, and adopted the faith of the lowly and often-despised Baptists. After much opposition and an elopement, he married an unusually talented lady, Melvina Stone, who was the daughter of a Methodist preacher. When he entered upon the self-sacrificing profession of a Baptist minister he abandoned the hope of being the companion of the rich, every prospect of political and social preferment, and every probability of either fame or wealth. Yet how great is the number of the successful and great men of America who owe their elevation into political distinction, or into endless fame, wholly to their noble self-sacrificing fidelity to duty in situations where, as far as human eye could see, the path led to oblivion or execration.

William Arthur was neither a great preacher nor a great man, estimated by the standard of the world’s great characters, but he was sincere and faithful. Through fifty years of religious labor he worked unflaggingly on for the welfare of others, and too unmindful of his own. A friend to the sorrowing, a companion of the poor, a devoted patriot, and a firm but tender parent, he achieved no remarkable successes and attained no very prominent position as an orator, writer, or theologian.

All his early life was spent on the border of the United States and Canada in most devoted and arduous missionary work.

In 1828 Mr. Arthur was installed as pastor of a small Baptist church, which worshiped in an old barn at Fairfield, Vermont, to which place he removed from Dunham Flats, Canada East. His salary was but $330 per annum, and he was obliged to work in the shop or fields a part of the time in order to defray his expenses. But such work preserved his health both in body and mind, secured to him a long life, and insured to his audience vigorous, practical, common-sense preaching. He was fortunate enough to secure a very comfortable log-cabin with one large room, two small rooms, a
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porch for a summer-kitchen, and a commodious garret. All the furniture was of rude construction, and consisted of the barest necessities for housekeeping, and many articles were the products of Mr. Arthur’s own skill and invention. With a slab for a book-shelf, an old rocker for his easy-chair, the kitchen for his study, and the Bible and two or three “Commentaries from the pen of Antrim’s chiefest scholar,” for a library, this theologian and student wrought most effective work. The town of Fairfield was then a small village, with one or two country stores and a mill.

In that secluded quarter of the land, just within the sacred precincts of the United States, in a log cabin, and in a rude but happy home, Chester Alan Arthur was born October 5, 1830.

He was the first-born son. But it was an event unknown beyond the gossiping circle of the little hamlet; and even there it was mentioned only as a heavy addition to the poor preacher’s heavy burdens. But the same joy that other mothers feel at the birth of their first son, and the same pride which other fathers take in their infant sons, were felt by his parents. It was an experience felt by some parent on our earth again and again, even as often as the beats of a human heart, and could not be regarded as anything unusual or remarkable. Usually with the birth of men who afterwards become noted, there springs up some superstitious story, tradition, or incident, which is believed to have foreshadowed the greatness of the coming man. But in this event not even the aged fortunetellers seemed interested.

Being a minister’s son, and in a New England town, it was a matter of course that he should receive considerable attention from the ladies of the parish, and that he should be flattered and coddled a little more than falls to the lot of other infants. But that was rather to his disadvantage than otherwise.

When the child was one year old, Mr. Arthur moved away to Hinesburg, or to Williston, and for twenty years following was the pastor of many different churches, and made his home in many different places. He was settled as a pastor during those years at Bennington, Hinesburg, North Fairfield, Williston, in Vermont, and at York, Perry, Schenectady, Greenwich, Lansingburg, in New York State; and after his long pastorate in the Calvary Baptist Church of New York city, he was stationed at Hoosic, West Troy, and Newtonville, in the State of New York. Rev. William Arthur died at Newtonville, N. Y., October 27, 1875.
By most creditable industry and close economy, he accumulated a large library and secured a permanent position among the literary men of his time. He took especial delight in history and biography. He found a pleasant task in unraveling the mysteries which surround the origin and growth of family names, and for twenty years collected facts relating to that subject. At last his material was so varied and important, that he published a book on that subject, to the great satisfaction of all lovers of antiquarian lore. He wrote many articles for the newspapers and magazines of the country, and a large number of his sermons were printed in pamphlet form. He was honored with the degree of "Doctor of Divinity," and was most sincerely and widely mourned at his death.

The boyhood of Chester Alan Arthur was spent in attending school in the rude school-houses of that time, in studying with his father at home, and in a great variety of labor. His father being poor, with a family of five for whom to provide,—three girls and two sons,—every child had to bear his share of the household work and earn his share of the income. His mother and his sisters were the most diligent among American women, and to them as much as to his father the young man owed his gratitude for opportunities and encouragement to secure the luxury of a liberal education.

The culture and information which he gained in the conversation and habits of his home were of untold benefit to the boy, who insensibly grew wiser day by day, listening to his father's conversation at meal-time or in the evening, by their log-fire.

When we find him at the age of ten years, 1840, entering at Greenwich, N. Y., upon the difficult studies which shall fit him for college, and wonder that the grammar school at Schenectady, where he is found a year later, furnishes among its many older heads no brighter mind than that of Chester Alan Arthur, we can easily account for it by estimating the power and value of constant association at home with cultivated and interesting people. It saves a child years of school study, and secures a permanent interest in the higher fields of mental culture, if the father selects with care and pleasure those topics of conversation which draw the attention of the family circle to higher and purer things. The home is everywhere a school of immeasurable importance, but to young Arthur it was of unusual potency. He found no teacher more earnest or capable than his father, and with such a parentage he had the advantage of many other boys.
When he was fifteen years of age he entered Union College, Schenectady, and, although so young, was able to compete with the oldest and best, and graduated with more than the average honors, in 1848.

In his college course he was not only very youthful but he was very poor. His father could not, on a salary of $500 per annum, support so large a family and pay the school expenses of so many children. They were all obliged to help themselves, and in that found the most valuable experience of their lives. Chester was obliged to spend a portion of his college years in teaching school in country towns, and while instructing others during the day, to keep up his college studies during the evenings. As the system of compelling the teacher to board a day or two in turn at every scholar's home was then a custom in the country, Chester discovered many uncomfortable boarding-places, and often found his studies wholly interrupted.

During the political campaign preceding the election of 1880, James S. Brisbin published in a sketch of the candidate's life a letter written by Chester in 1846, which gives an instructive and amusing glance at his occupation at that time, when he engaged in teaching at fifteen dollars per month in the most rural of rural districts. He said: —

"The committee-man soon arrived to transfer me to the scene of my future labors. The committee was a puny man, and, as afterward appeared, everything had been spared in his mechanism, ethically as well as corporeally. His principal features were his boots, which, like all Yankees, were blacked only on the frontispiece, he not wishing to invest anything where he could not see the benefit. He had tremendous lurid soles, probably to keep up the equilibrium between his moral and physical system. Just imagine a young man, with hope and expectation beaming on his countenance, with an unruffled mien, in a yellow wagon striped with green, like all down-East vehicles.

"Before me and attached to the concern was a vertebrated quadruped, an amalgamated specimen of comparative anatomy and animal manikinism. From its size it seemed to have been bought by weight, and from its condition its present owner must have had charge of it before the sale, with an eye to its purchase. It seemed to have lived in carnivorous times, for all its flesh had departed and
each moment, as it passed, had taken a hair as a memento. But now these mementos were gone, and the wind could only moan a piece to its mane.

"However, under all these circumstances, we at last arrived at an old fabrication on one side of the road, called a house, the only claim to the title being the presence of an immense chimney.

"The animal portion of our establishment had come to a standstill, and it seemed to be conclusive that this was our destination.

"We entered the domicile. Everything was fixed up, the old trunk was placed in the best room, and the process of getting acquainted commenced. This is very simple; for two little 'qnids' climb up on your knee, ask for your knife, and offer to 'swop' at once on terms very disadvantageous to you, as they think you are green. To convince you that there is no gammon, they test the temper of their blades upon all that connects your buttons with your garments. The head of the family talking at the same time, I was convinced that there were some words in the English language that they did not know, and many out of that I did not understand.

"At tea the character of the family was reviewed, and the biographies of individuals were related in the most plain and unequivocal terms.

"The mater-familias had a tongue as glib as a great ant-eater, and it was used to the particular detriment of her neighbors and to the praise of her own domestic arrangements, which certainly needed all.

"I am not an epicure, and if I had been, the pecuniar arrangements of the college clubs would have eliminated all such superfluous proclivities. The daily mode of living at the committee's was the antipodes of epicurianism. In my opinion, the diet of the Grahamites was as much superior to it as the feasts of the gods were to the daily meals of the lazarone, Lazarus. It caused me to think how the frugal fare of Zeno, the stoic, would have appeared under the domestic arrangement of the harpies; for their distinct dietetical system was founded more in accordance with the price of corn and the requirements of the law in respect to a peck of dirt than the physical condition of the partakers.

"My examination for a teacher's certificate took place on the night of my arrival, and it was highly interesting to witness the feats of erudition, before unheard of since the dark ages. For they,
being untrammeled by most of the customary forms of language, were in a good situation to excite the wonderment of one so unso-

phisticated.

"On the morrow the hour for commencing the literary instruction came, and with it the scholars. The school-house was an old red fabric, situated at the cross-roads. Just behind could be seen a few birches,—a grove in which the shrine of education is often placed,—and the numberless broken boughs showed that the worship de-
pended very much upon the nature of the surrounding scenery. It was an old building, and had occupied the same position in the com-
munity for many years. It had sent forth many enterprising young men as vendors of the multifarious modifications of time, and as itinerant physicians for the vagaries of lunatic time-pieces. It had given a turn to many a youngster's life that had gone with him to the end. Spelling-schools numberless had taken place within its walls; hearts had been lost and won; innumerable 'swoppings' had been transacted; the aromatic bark of the birches had wasted its sweetness on the obdurate back of the inveterate rogue. In the plastering above were the remains of the blank leaves of many books, having been reduced to a pulpy state by a process well known to idle urchins, and then projected with unerring aim to their des-
tined location. Here the weary pedagogue had spent his energies, and counted the dragging hours in pouring knowledge through youthful heads, wondering why the alphabet was not innate as a matter of convenience.

"However, my school commenced. It was composed of motley races of brats. There were nearly all the goddesses, all the saints, and as many of the wise men of antiquity nominally present. There was an African damsel, a score of aspirants for alphabetical mastery, and many a specimen of the Yankee swop-jack-kniver.

"The most prominent object was the oldest boy in school des-
canting upon the merits of some wooden combs, and endeavoring to negotiate a sale with some small boys. I should be happy to give the experience of the school-room if time and space would per-
mit. There was but one battle,—a strong farmer's boy endeavored to overthrow your humble servant and his authority at the same time; but, thanks to agility and gymnastic practice, there was a triumph for the teacher.

"Beware of trusting to the statistical calculation of committe-
men in respect to the number of the scholars, for they are as fallacious as the idea of getting your pay. And when you have over forty youngsters learning the rudiments of an education, do not delude yourself by complying with the direction to hear them four times a day."

After graduating as one of the six best scholars in his class he determined to enter at once upon his studies for the legal profession. The nearest law school was then at Ballston Springs, N. Y., and with some assistance from his father he began his studies at that place. He was obliged, however, again to teach school in order to pay his way at the law school, and in 1849 secured a position in North Pownal, Vermont, as principal of an academy. In 1850 James A. Garfield taught school in the same town.

The salary of young Arthur was then forty-five dollars per month, and with a small additional sum for the private tutorship of private students fitting for college, he was able to pay his way at Ballston Springs, and lay aside a small sum each year for future use. He was naturally economical and careful, and his experience had shown the value of that trait of his character. Few young men would, and perhaps few could, save money under his circumstances, even with the same income.

In 1851 he went to New York, where he obtained permission to enter the office of Hon. E. D. Culver, as a law student. Mr. Culver had been an influential member of Congress from Washington County, N. Y., and had boldly and persistently opposed the extension of slavery. He was an active participant in all the antislavery organizations of New York, and wholly fearless in his denunciations of the crime of human slavery. His feelings and principles were most congenial to young Arthur, and the student soon outstripped his tutor in both zeal and ability, as the defender of the black bondmen. During the two years which he passed in Mr. Culver's office as a student, he took an active part in the political meetings of the Whigs, often managing to throw into the discussions or resolutions some explosive bomb in the shape of a word or thought against slavery.

So close was his application to study, so clear the opinions he expressed upon intricate questions of law, and so frank and manly his demeanor, that before the two years had passed which were necessary to his admission to the bar, Mr. Culver proposed to take
him into partnership, and intrusted him with some very difficult and important cases.

At the time when he was admitted to the bar, 1852, he was much interested in a case, now known as the "Lemmon Slave Case," which Mr. Culver had conducted before Judge Paine in New York. Jonathan Lemmon and his wife, from Virginia, arrived in New York with eight colored slaves, and there awaited the departure of a ship for Texas, to which State they were emigrating. A free colored man of New York becoming acquainted with some of the slaves, appeared for them in court, and sued out a writ of habeas corpus. Mr. Culver, being well known as an antislavery man, was engaged as counsel for the slaves. Somewhat to the surprise of their own counsel and against the predilections of the judge, they did find themselves so favored by the laws of New York, that they were declared to be free. The rejoicing of the liberated slaves and the excitement of the colored people were genuine and extravagant. The whole nation discussed the case, and the indignant slaveholders of Virginia compelled their state authorities to take an appeal from the decision of Judge Paine. They employed Charles O'Conor, one of the ablest attorneys in the nation, and expected to reverse the decision secured by Mr. Culver. At this time a partnership had been formed under the style of Culver, Partsen, and Arthur, and as Mr. Culver was called to attend to other important matters, the case of the Lemmon slaves was given to Mr. Arthur. He associated with himself William M. Evarts, and the two young men undertook to maintain the cause of the oppressed against public opinion, against precedent, and against Charles O'Conor and Henry L. Clinton. With the eyes of the entire nation upon them, watching every motion, and while condemnation and applause were both profusely bestowed, they fought the slaveholders, through the Supreme Court of the State, and obtaining a victory there, continued the battle in the Supreme Court of the United States. Victory perched upon their banners everywhere. The slaves were not fugitives. Their master had brought them into a free State. The slaves were free. New York was in truth a free State.

The decision awakened the spirit of the Abolitionist party and made the formation of the great Republican party a possibility. It was one of the most important initiatory events in the history of the emancipation of the slaves in the Southern States. In the case, the
legislatures of New York and Virginia had by the official employment of counsel taken antagonistic positions. The Northern States were established by it, in their claim to be free States. The States of the South regarded it as a blow aimed at their wealth and rights as citizens of the same nation, and some of them resolved that as the courts "had failed to do righteous judgment and deliberately ignored the Constitution and the law of 1850, the only remaining recourse is to civil war."

It also established Mr. Arthur's reputation as an attorney, and brought to him nearly all the legal business which the colored population of New York had to transact.

But some matters relating to the partnership business being unsatisfactory to Mr. Arthur, who now wished to enter a wider sphere of practice, he withdrew from the partnership with Messrs. Culver and Partsen, and thought of moving into some Western State. With this object in view he formed a partnership with Henry D. Gardner, one of his former room-mates, and they traveled for several months in the West in search of a suitable location for legal practice. They did not find one, and returned to New York, where they began a legal business as the firm of Arthur and Gardner.

In 1855 colored people were not allowed on the street cars of New York. On the Sixth Avenue and one or two other lines, conveyances labeled, "Colored persons allowed in this car," were run at long intervals, but on the Fourth Avenue and other east-side lines not even this provision was made. Under these circumstances Lizzie Jennings, a respectable colored woman, neatly dressed, cleanly and of good appearance, the superintendent of a colored Sunday-school, hailed a Fourth Avenue car and succeeded in obtaining a seat in it. The conductor took her fare, thereby tacitly admitting her right to be a passenger; but hardly had he done so when a drunken white ruffian, who was seated in the car, demanded, "Are you going to let that — nigger ride in this car?"

"Oh, I guess it won't make any difference," said the conductor.

"Yes, but it will," replied the other; "I have paid my fare and I want a decent ride, and I tell you you've got to put her out."

Thus appealed to the conductor went to the colored woman and asked her to leave the car. She refused to do so. The car was stopped. The conductor attempted to eject her by force. She resisted bravely, crying all the time, "I have paid my fare and I am entitled to ride."
Her dress was almost torn from her back. Strong men stood by but gave her no assistance. Still she fought bravely for what she believed to be her right. The conductor could not eject her, and was compelled to call for the aid of the police. By their efforts the woman was dragged from the car.

The matter coming to the notice of a number of influential colored people they desired to make it a test case, and applied to Mr. Arthur for advice. He at once espoused their cause and took their case before Justice Rockwell in Brooklyn. When the trial came on, the court room was crowded almost to suffocation; and at one time serious trouble was threatened by those who believed that to seek justice for one of the black race was to do injustice to humanity.

Even the judge seemed to share this opinion, for when the attorney handed him the papers in the case he threw them upon the desk, with the exclamation, —

"Pshaw! do you ask me to try a case against a corporation for the tort [the wrongful act] of its agent?"

In reply to this Mr. Arthur plainly pointed out a portion of the Revised Statutes under which there was an undoubted right of action. After examining it the court concurred cordially with the counsel; the case was tried, and, much to the delight of the colored people, a verdict of $500 was rendered in favor of the plaintiff. The railroad company paid the judgment without further contest, and at once issued orders that thereafter colored people be allowed to ride upon its cars. Similar action was soon after taken by all the city railroad companies. At this there was great rejoicing among all the negroes in New York; the Colored People’s Legal Rights Association was established, and for many years afterwards with much ceremony celebrated the anniversary of the trial.

Mr. Arthur was at that time a genial, social young man, loving lively companionship, and a frequenter of social and literary clubs. He took an active interest in militia organizations, and held an office in a New York regiment for several years. But his strongest inclinations were toward political assemblies and political discussions. From early boyhood he had exhibited a precocious interest in national affairs, and followed with eager interest all the details of the antislavery agitation, the Mexican war, the Know-Nothing movement, the Kansas war, and the Free-Soilers’ conventions. In the Presidential campaigns which occurred during his youthful days, espe-
cially those of 1840, 1844, 1848, and 1852, he was an enthusiastic witness of the unfurling of flags and the mass meetings, and took part as a torch-bearer or color-bearer with the keenest zest. When the Abolition Convention was held at Buffalo in 1852, on the call of James G. Birney, Gerrit Smith, and William Goodell, and nominated the latter as a candidate for President, it was regarded as a fit topic for joking, and the fact that the ticket obtained but seventy-two votes in the entire State shows the insignificance of the movement. But Mr. Arthur is said to have sharply rebuked a friend who ridiculed it, and remarked that we should hear from that party again. In 1856, when the Republican party was so suddenly formed out of the Whig, Free-Soil, Abolition, and Know-Nothing parties, Mr. Arthur was a delegate to the first State Convention, which was held at Saratoga, New York. He was one of the signers, with William M. Evarts and Moses H. Grinnell, of a call for the formation of a Republican Club in New York city. At that time it was not thought by any political leader that the Republican party could secure the vote of a single State. It being right in principle was all he cared to know about it. He was never ambitious to hold an office, and simply followed his natural inclination and did what he could to secure the passage of such political measures as he considered wisest for his State and nation.

In 1860 Mr. Arthur was judge advocate of the Second Brigade of New York militia; and when Hon. E. D. Morgan was elected governor in 1861, he was appointed to the office of engineer-in-chief on the governor's staff. January 27, 1862, Governor Morgan promoted him to the very important office of quartermaster-general, from which time he was known as "General Arthur."

His management of the office of quartermaster-general during the entire term of Governor Morgan's administration was a most remarkable exhibition of practical business ability by a professional man. The contracts for immense quantities of provisions, clothing, arms, ammunition, transportation, and storage, were such as to require millions of money, and most hastily drawn agreements, yet with scarce a mistake, and with such remarkable economy that his accounts at Washington were allowed without dispute in regard to a single item or article. He conducted easily and without flurry the entire business of equipping and feeding the troops of New York. He seems to have been so absorbed in his work for the nation as to
be forgetful of himself, and although he had handled such large sums, he found that the increase in his personal expense had been such, that he had grown poorer every day of his public service. Presents were frequently offered him by interested parties, but all gifts were firmly rejected.

His success in arming and provisioning troops was such as to induce the loyal governors of the nation, at their secret meeting at New York, in July, 1862, to call him in as a counselor, an honor extended to no other man. General Arthur served for a time on the staff of Major-General Hunt in the Army of the Potomac as inspector.

At the close of Governor Morgan's term he retired from public life and entered again upon the practice of law. His business, however, took a different course from his previous work, and he devoted himself entirely to suits and claims against the Government and State, and to the preparation of important bills for legislative action. Thus, without holding any public office, and seeking none, his profession led him into constant contact with the public men of the nation and made his professional life for ten years public and prominent.

Mrs. Ella L. Arthur, to whom he was married in 1853, and who died January 12, 1880, was a most excellent example of all that is sweetest and best in the life of American women. She was the daughter of Lieutenant-Commander Herndon, of the United States navy, who was a distinguished officer in the national service, and who died in 1857, at his post on the deck of the Central America, preferring death to the abandonment of his passengers when his ship sank. He was at the time commanding the vessel by permission of the government, and was employed by the Law-Roberts line of California steamers plying between New York and Chagres, Central America. His bravery was made the subject of a special resolution by Congress, a medal was struck at the mint, and a monument at Annapolis erected by the government to his memory. Mrs. Arthur was the mother of two children, a son and a daughter.

In 1871 Hon. Thomas Murphy, who was a firm friend of General Arthur, and who owed his election to the state Senate and perhaps his appointment by General Grant to the active efforts of General Arthur, resigned the office of collector of the port of New York. President Grant then appointed General Arthur to the vacant posi-
tion. He held the office four years and was reappointed by President Grant for four years more. But in 1878 President Hayes became dissatisfied with the management of the custom house, which under General Arthur’s direction seemed to be wielding a great influence on the politics of the State, and after an investigation which disclosed nothing dishonest beyond an inclination to serve his party while making the service efficient and correct, the President removed him during a vacation of Congress. A petition for his retention was signed by every judge of every court in the city, by all the prominent members of the bar, and by nearly every important merchant in the collection district, but this General Arthur himself suppressed.

On his retirement from the custom house, he returned to the practice of law in the firm of Arthur, Phelps, Knevals, and Ransom. But his interest in political questions and his friendship for Senator Conkling and other State and national officials precluded his retirement from active work, and in 1880 he was elected a delegate to the Republican National Convention, which was held in June of that year at Chicago, and which nominated General Garfield for President.

He was selected as a delegate both on account of his personal prominence, and because of his known friendship for General Grant, whose name was prominently before the country as a candidate for a third term in the presidency. General Arthur was also a close and confidential friend of Senator Conkling, who was the acknowledged leader in the movement to nominate General Grant.

The story of the election of delegates throughout the country and the scenes at the convention is one of the most exciting tales of our political history, and has been mentioned in the account of General Garfield’s life found in the preceding pages.

So deeply absorbed were the delegates in securing the nomination of their favorites for the first place on the ticket that there was scarce a mention of the second place. The friends of Hon. James G. Blaine and Hon. John Sherman contended against each other, and all against the friends of General Grant, and anxious days and sleepless nights were spent before the convention, and during its session, to win the victory.

But when General Garfield was nominated by the combination of the Blaine and the Sherman forces, while the friends of General
Grant stood firm through all, it was apparent that some compromise must be effected to secure the votes of the Grant men, and thus unite the whole party, or defeat was certain at the polls. The whole convention felt this; and until General Stewart L. Woodford of New York cast his vote for General Arthur for Vice-President, no way out of the dilemma had seemed to suggest itself. But on the suggestion of a name of one who was known to be so close a friend of General Grant and Senator Conkling, the convention, almost with one accord, voted for his nomination. It was done so soon and so unexpectedly that General Arthur could hardly realize the marvelous turn which affairs had taken until long afterward. He could feel the force of Byron’s line, “I awoke one morning and found myself famous.”

The election resulted in the triumphant choice of Garfield and Arthur, and in March General Arthur took his seat as the presiding officer of the United States Senate, where he won the respect of all the members by his impartiality and courtesy.

But when the quarrel between Senator Conkling and President Garfield disturbed the Senate and the country, General Arthur displayed his friendship for the Senator in an open and vigorous espousal of his cause. It was a contest over political appointments, and reflected no credit on any of the parties concerned in it. It disturbed the business of the country, created many animosities, and gave courage to murderous fanaticism. Senator Conkling’s resignation and canvass for re-election were approved by the Vice-President, and the senator’s candidacy before the New York Senate was advocated by the words and personal presence of General Arthur in Albany. Just as the candidacy of Senator Conkling was drawing to a disastrous end, and when the bitterness of political strife was increased by the sense of failure, the bullet of the assassin at Washington called off the combatants to weep at his sickness and grieve at his death.

During the eighty anxious days which the President lived after his assassination, the Vice-President, with sincere grief and most creditable modesty, remained away from the public gaze, and, although entitled legally to the office of President, because of General Garfield’s inability to administer the office, refused to do the least act which would disturb or endanger the President’s life. His bearing during those days of trial gained him the sympathy and respect of the entire nation.
At his private house in New York, on the morning of the 20th of September, and on the receipt of the news of President Garfield's death, at about three o'clock A. M., General Arthur was sworn by Judge Brady, and with emotion choking his utterance, assumed the great office of President of the United States.
CHAPTER XXII.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS' PROGRESS.


A GENTLEMAN connected with the United States government was dining, in London, with a large party of distinguished Englishmen. Some one inquired of him, "How many States are there in the American Union?"

He calmly replied, "I do not know." There was a pause. Surprise was manifested that he should not be informed upon so vital a point. At length an explanation was called for. He very calmly said,—

"When I left New York for a tour up the Nile, six months ago, there were thirty-four States in the Union. How many have since been added I cannot tell."

Indeed, it is very difficult for any one to bear in mind the number of States over which the stars and stripes now float. It is like remembering the sum of asteroids in our planetary system when a new one is discovered every few months.

Upon the establishment of this government, as an independent power among the nations, there were but thirteen States in the confederacy. Now we count thirty-eight States and ten Territories.

The territory embraced in the thirteen original States covered an area of eight hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and eighty square miles. We have made such vast accessions that, at the present time, the area belonging to the nation embraces three million five hundred and fifty-nine thousand and ninety-one square miles. We have increased fourfold.

The first census was taken in 1790. There were then three mill-
ion nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand three hundred and twenty-eight inhabitants. Of these six hundred and ninety-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-six were slaves.¹

At the last census the population numbered fifty million one hundred and fifty-two thousand eight hundred and fifty-six. Not a slave now treads our soil. By an amendment of the Constitution, it has been declared that the right of suffrage shall not be withheld from any citizen of the United States “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

Our government has passed through as severe an ordeal as it is possible for any nation to be subjected to, and has emerged from it triumphantly. It is not too much to say, that, at the present moment, we have the strongest government on this globe, — a government which gives promise of perpetuity above any other. There is not a throne in Europe which is not menaced with perils far beyond any which we contemplate.

A century ago there were but a few insignificant towns scattered along the coast from Maine to Georgia. Maine was almost an unbroken solitude, with but here and there a hamlet upon her rugged shores. Savages roamed through all the interior of New York. Pittsburgh was but a military post. The largest part of Virginia was an unexplored wilderness, mostly covered with a dense and gloomy forest. It required the laborious journey of twelve days to pass from Baltimore to Pittsburgh. Michigan was deemed a barren waste, utterly worthless. As to the regions beyond the Mississippi, even the imaginations of men had hardly traveled so far.

The great Northwest, now the abode of refinement and culture, and waving with the richest harvests, was then unexplored. St. Louis was a frontier settlement scarcely known. As late as 1803 it was written, —

“The Missouri has been navigated for twenty-five hundred miles. There appears a probability of a communication by this channel with the western ocean.”

The planters of Virginia were feudal lords, trampling upon the rights of the industrial classes, who were kept in stolid ignorance. In 1671 Governor Berkeley boasted that Virginia had neither “printing-presses, colleges, nor schools.” The land was held by a few

¹ *Encyclopædia Americana*, article “United States.” Mr. Bancroft estimates that there were less than three millions of inhabitants when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed.
proprietors. The estate of Lord Fairfax embraced five million acres. And yet Virginia, to whom we are indebted for both Washington and Jefferson, coöperated in perfect union with Massachusetts, in resisting the tyranny of the British crown.

At the beginning of the Revolution, the Colonies possessed few public edifices noted for architectural grandeur, or which would bear comparison in historic interest with the famed palaces and castles of the Old World; yet some of the plain structures of those days were hallowed by scenes the memory of which will be cherished as long as the love of freedom lives in the heart of man. Prominent among these honored memorials of the past is Carpenters’ Hall in Philadelphia, where assembled the First Continental Congress, and whose walls echoed to the fiery eloquence of Patrick Heury and John Adams. This relic of the past is still preserved with reverential care, and contains interesting mementos of Revolutionary days, which may be seen by visitors.

Still more famous is Independence Hall, where the Second Continental Congress held its
sittings, where the delegates of the United Colonies discussed the great question upon which hung the destinies of America, and from whose steps was read the Declaration of Independence. The furniture is the same as that used by Congress, portraits of the country's heroes crowd the walls, and relics of our early history are everywhere. In Congress Hall, in the second story, Washington delivered his farewell address. From the steeple a fine panoramic view of the whole city can be had. This hall still attracts the footsteps of pilgrims to the shrines of liberty; and the old bell which rung out a joyful and defiant peal on the 4th of July, 1776, now cracked and useless, but with its grand prophetic motto still intact, finds an honored resting-place within its walls.

While the citizens of Philadelphia proudly cherish Independence Hall, Bostonians look with equal pride upon Faneuil Hall. Hither
the citizens of the old Puritan town involuntarily turn their steps in times of national peril; and from its platform go patriotic utterances which stir the heart of the Commonwealth, and find a response in distant States. Here Webster and Everett and Phillips and Sumner held the attention of the critical audiences of the modern Athens, and swayed the multitude at will.

Now stately buildings devoted to religion, to art, and to education, are rising all over the land; while State vies with State, and city with city, in adorning the edifices devoted to governmental use.

In 1776 we had no navy, no national banner. On the 14th of November of that year, Paul Jones raised our first naval flag, under a salute of thirteen guns. This flag, which consisted of thirteen stripes and a pine-tree with a rattlesnake coiled at the roots, was unfurled at the mast-head of the frigate Alfred, of forty-four guns, lying at anchor off Chestnut Street Wharf in Philadelphia.

"T was Jones, Paul Jones, who first o'er Delaware's tide,
From Alfred's main displayed Columbia's pride;
The stripes of freedom proudly waved on high,
While shouts of freedom rang for liberty."
England then had a fleet of a thousand sails. With five small vessels, carrying in all but one hundred guns, we entered upon a naval conflict with that gigantic power.

On the 14th of June, 1777, Congress established our present national flag, with its alternate stripes of red and white and its constellation of stars. It is the most beautiful flag ever unfurled to the breeze. In its folds are enshrined the dearest rights of humanity. Paul Jones was the first to spread that banner from the frigate Ranger.

Triumphantly he bore it across the Atlantic, through battle and through storm, and, with courage which could not have been exceeded, sent dismay through all the cities and towns which lined the British coast.

In February, 1778, France was the first nation to recognize the independence of the United States. On the 22d of February, 1778, the stars and stripes, borne aloft by Paul Jones, were for the first time honored with a national salute by the French fleet in Quiberon Bay.¹

There is a beautiful lithograph, hanging upon many parlor-walls, which virtually exhibits the whole military power of the United States but about two hundred and fifty years ago. This army consisted of ten men. The lithograph is entitled,—

"THE MARCH OF MILES STANDISH."

"Just in the gray of the dawn, as the mists uprose from the meadows,
There was a stir and a sound in the slumbering village of Plymouth;
Clanging and clicking of arms, and the order imperative 'Forward!'
Given in tone suppressed, a tramp of feet, and then silence.
Figures ten, in the mist, marched slowly out of the village.
Standish the stalwart it was, with eight of his valorous army,
Led by their Indian guide, by Hobomok, friend of the white men,
Northward marching to quell the sudden revolt of the savage."
²

One hundred years ago the farmers of Lexington and Concord proved that the spirit of Miles Standish still pervaded the land; and the fields won by the fathers in toil and danger were handed down by the sons in title-deeds written in blood. The right of man to defend to the last extreme his life, liberty, and property, was there proclaimed by deeds not to be misunderstood; and the lesson has been slowly winning its way among the nations. To-day, Lex-

¹ Life of Paul Jones. Series of Pioneers and Patriots.
² Longfellow.
THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, APRIL 19, 1775.
ington and Concord are among the most inspiring watchwords of liberty.

Now let foreign invasion venture upon our shores, and our armies would not be numbered by thousands, or hundreds of thousands, but by millions.

It is not too much to say, that there is not another nation upon the globe so capable of repelling invasion as our own. Europe combined could not conquer these United States.

A hundred years ago, New York city had a population of about twenty thousand. Boston had fifteen or eighteen thousand. Philadelphia was what would now be considered an unimportant town of about twenty thousand inhabitants, clinging to the banks of the Delaware. Baltimore was a mere village. There were no large towns farther south.

A stage-coach ran from the Jersey side of the Hudson to Philadelphia in two days. It was ordinarily an eight days' voyage in a sloop from New York to Albany. From Boston to New York, it was a week's journey in the stage-coach. In 1777 Congress met in Baltimore. John Adams, in his diary, gives an account of his fatiguing journey to that "far-away country." It took three weeks of horseback-riding.

A bolder deed was never performed on earth, than when, under these circumstances, fifty-one men met in Philadelphia, in July, 1776, and there, in the name of these thirteen feeble colonies, threw down the gage of battle to the empire of Great Britain, then the most powerful nation upon the globe. As we now contemplate the scene, it seems as though the chances were a hundred to one that the armies and fleets of Great Britain would, in a single campaign, crush out all opposition, and that every signer of the Declaration of Independence would swing upon the gallows.

In the year 1807 Robert Fulton ascended the Hudson in his newly-constructed steamboat, The Clermont, of a hundred and sixty tons' burden. We shall not here enter upon the vexed question of the origin of steamboats. It is sufficient to say, that then and there commenced the era of steamboat navigation in the United States. In 1811 the steamboat Orleans was launched at Pittsburg, and descended to New Orleans in fourteen days. This was the first steamer which ever floated upon the waters of the Missis-

sippi. It would be difficult, at the present time, to count our floating palaces, and the thousands who crowd their gorgeous saloons. There is no other nation which can exhibit, in this respect, such a spectacle of prosperity, wealth, and refinement.

The first railway in the United States was constructed in Massachusetts, in the year 1826. It ran from Milton to Quincy, a distance of two miles. The cars were drawn by horses.

The first passenger railway was the Baltimore and Ohio, fifteen miles in length. It was opened in 1830. Its cars were drawn by horses for one year, and then a locomotive was placed upon the track.

The next line was from Albany to Schenectady, sixteen miles in length. This also was first run by horse-power, and then by steam. The number of miles of railroad in the United States is now to be counted by thousands. Every year they are increasing with wonderful rapidity. Our immense continent is embroidered with them. The iron horse, "whose sinews are steel, and whose provender is fire," rushes with undiminished speed, regardless of the Rocky Mountains, from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore.

The fastest time ever as yet made in America was in driving a train over the New York Central, from Rochester to Syracuse, eighty-one miles, in sixty-one minutes. In view of the present condition of railroads, it is amusing to read the following statement in one of the English quarterly reviews of as late date as 1819:—

"We are not partisans of the fantastic projects relative to established institutions; and we cannot but laugh at an idea so impracticable as that of a road of iron, upon which one may be conducted by steam. Can anything be more utterly absurd, or more laughable, than a steam-propelled wagon, moving twice as fast as our mail-coaches? It is much more possible to travel from Woolwich to the Arsenal by the aid of a Congreve rocket."

In the year 1794 Eli Whitney patented the cotton-engine, usually called by abbreviation the cotton-gin. Before that time, cotton was almost worthless in consequence of the difficulty of separating the seed from the fibre. In the cotton-boll there is but about one quarter of fibre. This great invention gave a new impulse to the industry, not only of our own country, but of the civilized world. The annual crop was then but about four thousand pounds. The census of 1859 reported a crop of two thousand million pounds.

It would be difficult to compute the number of factories which the cotton crop has reared throughout Christendom, or the hundreds of thousands of busy hands it has employed.

Before the invention of the cotton-gin, cotton was sold at forty cents a pound. It often required the labor of a day to separate one pound of the fibre from the seed.

In the year 1874 it is reported that there were nine million four hundred and fifteen thousand three hundred and eighty-three spindles employed in the United States, and five hundred and sixty-seven million five hundred and eighty-three thousand eight hundred and seventy-three pounds of cotton, were consumed. This made about thirteen and a half pounds for every man, woman, and child.¹

Many can remember when they first saw a fire built of bituminous or anthracite coal. Little was it imagined, in the days of the Revolution, that beneath the majestic forests which covered the Lehigh Valley and the Mauch Chunk Mountain, mines of richness were stored, beyond all the fabled wealth of Ormuz or of Ind.

It was many years after the independence of our country was achieved, when a solitary hunter, drenched with the rain which was falling in torrents, was returning at night weary to his cabin. He struck his foot against a black stone. Its appearance was so peculiar that he picked it up and carried it to his hut.

An intelligent man happened to call there from Philadelphia. He took the stone to a laboratory. Its true character was ascertained. The mountain was explored, the mines opened; and now more millions of tons are annually consumed than can easily be computed. Coal has become the great motive-power of all our physical energies. It is impossible to form an adequate estimate of its value.

In 1776 there was no mode of signalling news, but by beacon-fires, or by arms of wood, swinging from elevated buildings. Abraham could send a letter to Lot on an Arabian charger as rapidly as could Washington, after the lapse of many thousand years, transmit a note from Mount Vernon to Jefferson at Monticello.

In the year 1832 Morse commenced his experiments in telegraphy. He informed the writer that his attention was first drawn to the subject by conversation at the dinner-table, on board a packet as he was crossing the Atlantic. His first patent was obtained in 1840. It was four years before he could inspire the community.

with sufficient confidence in his plans to enable him to raise funds to construct a line from Washington to Baltimore.

Professor Morse of course availed himself of scientific discoveries previously made. It was through his own persistent genius that those discoveries were applied to purposes of practical utility. And now the electric telegraph is one of the necessities of the age. Information runs along the insulated wires more rapidly than the earth revolves upon its axis. All Christendom is braided with the electric lines. They rest ten thousand fathoms deep upon the bed of the Atlantic. In our morning papers we read the record of events which occurred the evening before in London and Paris.

In the year 1776 Priestley suggested that India-rubber was an excellent article "for removing pencil-marks from paper." That was all that it was supposed then to be good for. Charles Goodyear, with persistence against discouragements which places him in the front rank of this world's heroes, has made India-rubber one of the necessities of our civilization.

Among the wonderful discoveries of modern times, it is difficult to state what is the most wonderful. But nothing, perhaps, could be more incredible than the statement that a man could be placed in a placid sleep, and thus be subjected, without any conscious pain, to the most terrible surgical operation. The knife can cut through the quivering nerves, and the saw can sever the bones, while the patient sleeps in a dreamless slumber. In the year 1846 Drs. Morton and Jackson of Boston introduced those anaesthetics, now in common use, which have proved one of the greatest blessings ever conferred upon humanity. The amount of suffering they saved in our late civil war no imagination can gauge.

There are but few who can now remember the old-fashioned tinder-box, with its flint, steel, tinder of burnt linen, and splint dipped in brimstone. Lucifer matches are now used throughout the civilized world. They are made by machines which will cut thirty thousand in a minute, and are sold by the hogshead.  

A hundred years ago illuminating gas was unknown, save as the result of chemical experiments in the laboratory. It was not until the year 1825 that the streets of New York were lighted by gas. Boston had adopted the improvement three years before. And now it is hardly too much to say, that all our cities and large towns are

illumined by the flame of the jet of gas. The extinguishment of
that flame would plunge a large portion of our republic into dark-
ness.

The improvements in the printing-press almost surpass credence.
The press used by Benjamin Franklin was a clumsy machine of
lever power, laboriously worked by hand.

The web perfecting press of Hoe receives upon a cylinder a roll
of paper four and a half miles in length. From this roll it cuts and
prints on both sides from twelve to fifteen thousand sheets in an
hour, amounting to the almost incredible number of more than two
hundred a minute, or more than three each second. The machine
is twenty feet long, six wide, and seven high. Mr. Hoe, the in-
ventor, is an American. Three of the machines are used by leading
printing-offices in London, and five are now in process of being built
for offices in the United States, and two for Australia.

Another printing-machine, called the “Victory,” will “damp,
print, cut, fold, and deliver from six to eight thousand per hour of
an eight-page newspaper of fifty inches square.”

Many can remember when they first saw a metallic pen. Scarcely
the third of a century ago they were regarded as a great novelty,
and were sold for fourteen cents each. The metallic pen has now
become one of the necessary appliances of civilization; and those
of most perfect manufacture can be purchased at less than a dollar
gross.

In January, 1839, M. Daguerre announced to the world his great
discovery. It is very unfair to rob a man of the merit of an invention
or discovery, because he avails himself of the experiments of those
who have preceded him. As early as 1776, chemists knew that
fused chloride of silver is blackened by exposure to the sun’s rays.
For many years chemists were experimenting upon this subject, and
ascertaining new facts.

We have not space even to name the numerous processes by which
this most beautiful art is now made effectual. Every year progress
is made, and the effects produced are more wonderful and perfect.
It is said that the first daguerreotype from life was taken by Pro-
fessor John W. Draper, of New York, in 1839. It was so announced
in the London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine of March,

1840. Professor Draper also succeeded, in 1840, in obtaining a photograph of the moon.¹

Almost all inventions are the result of progressive development, rather than of sudden inspiration. This is emphatically true of the sewing-machine. It is generally regarded as an American invention, with which the name of Elias Howe is indissolubly associated. Two thousand patents for sewing-machines have been granted in the United States.

The success of the sewing-machine is to be dated from about the year 1850. It is estimated that forty millions of capital are now employed in their manufacture. In the year 1873 six hundred thousand machines were made and sold. They are now found in almost every dwelling.

As to manufactures in general, there is no array of figures which can convey to the reader an adequate idea of their growth in our country within the last century.

In 1790 it was estimated that the annual value of the manufactures of the United States amounted to twenty million dollars. According to the last census, it is estimated that the value of the manufactures for 1870 amounted to the sum, above finite comprehension, of four thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine million dollars, involving an outlay of capital of two thousand one hundred and eighty-one million, two hundred and eight thousand dollars.

Over two and a half million persons, of twenty years of age and upward, were employed in these manufactures. A little over five million were engaged in agriculture, and about one million in trade.²

Since the days when an electric current was first used to transmit telegraphic messages, great discoveries have been made in regard to currents of electricity. The speaking telephone combines in its properties a number of very interesting scientific facts. By this instrument the exact words, tone, and pitch of the human voice and all other sounds may be reproduced at a distance, so as to be perfectly understood. The essential principle is a small iron plate which vibrates with the sound, and these vibrations are conducted by an electric current, and reproduced at the other end of the line by means of another iron plate, which vibrates in the same way as the first, and thus speaks to the listening ear. In the talking pho-

nograph, the invention of Mr. Thomas A. Edison, the vibrations of the sound or voice are impressed on a permanent substance, such as a sheet of tinfoil, and can be reproduced at any time. This is a purely mechanical machine, as no use is made of electricity. One of the latest uses of electricity is for the production of permanent light. Investigations have been made for this purpose; and it has been discovered that the electric current can be divided, and a great number of lights produced by a current of electricity generated from a single source. The cost of maintaining the electric light is much less than that of gas.

It was decided to have an international exhibition in 1876 on a scale of grandeur which the world never before witnessed, in commemoration of the centennial anniversary of the birth of our republic. It was appropriately held in Philadelphia, where the republic was born and cradled.

There then were exhibited, on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, the resources of our own country, and its progress in those arts which elevate and ennoble humanity. Commissioners were appointed from each State and Territory to superintend the plan. The expense, which was estimated at first at ten million dollars, but afterward reduced to about seven million, was easily met; the State of Pennsylvania and city of Philadelphia alone contributing upwards of two and a half millions. All the governments of Europe, and some in Asia, and the other divisions of the world, were invited to cooperate in the celebration by sending commissioners with the richest display of their own manufactures. All products brought into the ports of the United States for this purpose were declared free of duty.

The exhibition continued for six months, from May to November, and every preparation was made for the comfort and convenience of visitors.

The buildings devoted to the exhibition were projected on a magnificent scale, as will be seen from the following description. First in size and importance was

THE MAIN EXHIBITION BUILDING.

This building was in the form of a parallelogram, extending east and west, 1,880 feet in length, and north and south 464 feet in width. The larger portion of the structure was one story in height,
the main cornice upon the outside being 45 feet above the ground, and the interior being 70 feet. At the centre of the longer sides were projections 416 feet in length, and in the centre of the shorter sides of the building were projections 216 feet in length. The main entrances were provided with arcades upon the ground floor, and central façades, extending to the height of 90 feet. Upon the corners of the building there were four towers 75 feet in height; and between the towers and the central projections or entrances, a lower roof was introduced, showing a cornice 24 feet above the ground.

In order to obtain a central feature for the building as a whole, the roof over the central part, for 184 feet square, was raised above the surrounding portion, and four towers, 48 feet square, rising to 120 feet in height, were introduced at the corners of the elevated roof.

ART GALLERY.

This is located on a line parallel with and northward of the Main Exhibition Building, on the most commanding portion of the great Lansdowne plateau, and looks southward over the city. Like the Horticultural Building, it is intended that it shall remain in permanence as an ornament of Fairmount Park. The entire structure is in the modern Renaissance; and the materials are granite, glass, and iron. The structure is 365 feet in length, 210 feet in width, and 59 feet in height, over a spacious basement twelve feet in height, surmounted by a dome, the summit of which is 150 feet above the ground. All the galleries and central hall are lighted from the sides. The pavilions and central hall were designed especially for the exhibition of sculpture.
HORTICULTURAL BUILDING.

This is an extremely ornate and commodious building, and was designed to contain specimens of ornamental trees, shrubs, and flowers. It is located a short distance north of the Main Building and Art Gallery, and has a commanding view of the Schuylkill River and the northwestern portion of the city. The main conservatory, the angles of which are adorned with eight ornamental fountains, is 230 by 80 feet, and 55 feet high, surmounted by a lantern 170 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 14 feet high.

AGRICULTURAL BUILDING.

This structure stood north of the Horticultural Building, and was composed of wood and glass. The nave was 820 feet in length by 125 feet in width, with a height of 75 feet from the floor to the point of the arch. The central transept was of the same height, with a breadth of 100 feet, and the two end transepts were 70 feet high and 80 feet wide.

MACHINERY BUILDING.

This structure was located at a distance of 550 feet from the west front of the Main Exhibition Building. The north front was upon the same line as that of the Main Exhibition Building, thus pre-
senting a frontage of 3,824 feet from the east to the west ends of the exhibition buildings, upon the principal avenue within the grounds. The entire area covered by the building was fourteen acres. It was lit entirely by side-lights, and stood lengthwise nearly east and west.

The following is a summary of the ground covered by the various buildings: Main Building, 21.47 acres; Art Gallery, 1.5 acres; Machinery Hall, 14 acres; Horticultural Hall, 1.5 acres; Agricultural Hall, 10.15 acres; total, 48.62 acres.

**TABULATED REVIEW.**

The wonderful growth of the United States since this century began cannot be understood or appreciated without great research and close thought. But a partially tabulated statement concerning some of the more important features of the nation's progress will assist the student of our history, and give an outline of our condition to the busy reader who cannot afford the time for a more detailed search.

The territory now occupied by the United States has all been purchased by the inhabitants from some European power, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Acquisition</th>
<th>Area square miles</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Per acre</th>
<th>From</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>13 States</td>
<td>421,000</td>
<td>$70,000,000</td>
<td>28 cents</td>
<td>England.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>1,172,000</td>
<td>15,000,000</td>
<td>2 cents</td>
<td>France.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
<td>13 cents</td>
<td>Spain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Indian Territories</td>
<td>123,000</td>
<td>27,500,000</td>
<td>32 cents</td>
<td>Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>376,000</td>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>4 cents</td>
<td>Mexico.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>280,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>England.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>546,000</td>
<td>15,000,000</td>
<td>4 cents</td>
<td>Mexico.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>Acquired.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mexico.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>680,000</td>
<td>7,500,000</td>
<td>2 cents</td>
<td>Russia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,604,000</td>
<td>$150,000,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The territory of the United States is now larger than the whole of Europe.

The population was in —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>4,504,500</td>
<td>1,001,400</td>
<td>5,505,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>43,402,408</td>
<td>6,577,497</td>
<td>50,152,866</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fourteen per cent. of the population are European emigrants, and the sexes are divided as follows, 102 males to every 100 females.

In the war with the Rebellion, 1861 to 1865, 581,000 men were destroyed. The Northern army contained 2,653,000 men, including 186,000 negroes, and the Southern army in 1864 had 549,000 men.

The Indians are steadily diminishing in numbers and soon will be extinct. In 1836 the Indians numbered 333,000, and in 1880 a little less than 300,000.

The United States has a coast line in length equal to half the circumference of the globe, there being 10,300 miles on the Atlantic coast, and 2,300 on the Pacific coast.

At present there are fifty cities of greater magnitude than Philadelphia was eighty years ago.

The criminal statistics show that the highest ratio of criminals to the population was in 1869, then the rate was nearly one to every 800 inhabitants. In 1880 it was nearly one to 1,290 inhabitants, a very marked decrease. Foreigners number only fourteen per cent. of the population, and yet furnish thirty-three per cent. of the criminals.

The agricultural increase of the nation has been enormous since the extension of railroads into the Western States and Territories. From 1875 to 1879, the sales of land by the government averaged 7,000,000 acres annually, and the sales have largely increased since that time. The land grants to railroads in the twenty years, from 1860 to 1880, have averaged about seventeen millions of acres a year. The aggregate of all the lands actually settled and reclaimed from the wilderness, from 1830 to 1880, exceeds in territory the whole of France, Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain. The area still left for settlement is more than twenty times as large as the territory of the British Islands. All of which will doubtless be taken up within twenty years.

The average production of grain is in excess of 58 bushels to every inhabitant of the country. The exportation of grain in 1880 was about 220,000,000 bushels. The grain harvested in 1879 was reported officially as follows: Wheat, 448,756,630 bushels; Indian corn, 1,547,901,790 bushels; oats, 363,761,320 bushels; potatoes, 181,626,400 bushels; hay, 35,493,000 tons; cotton, 2,367,540,900 pounds; tobacco, 391,278,350 pounds. The yearly average value of the crops per acre is about $14.50. The value of land has been
greatly enhanced by the railroad competition, which enables a farmer to send his wheat from Chicago or St. Louis to New York or Boston, for eight cents per bushel, and land it in England for twelve cents per bushel.

The cotton fields cover an area as large as the territory of Prussia, and corn and wheat occupy a space equally as large. Great Britain takes about one third of the cotton crop (1880), and one third is manufactured at home. The remaining portion is sent to the European continent. Vineyards are extending rapidly on the Pacific Slope, and in the Mississippi Valley. There are 150,000 acres under vines. The vintage in 1879 was about 21,000,000 gallons.

In 1810 the exports of the United States were 1,000,000 barrels of flour, 90,000 casks of pork, 150,000 tons of cotton, and 120 barrels of rice, which is but the merest item compared with vast shipments now made. The value of the grain exported in 1879 was in excess of $200,000,000. The value of the live stock raised in 1879 was $1,775,000,000. The average number of cattle slaughtered per year, from 1875 to 1881, is nearly 8,000,000 head.

There are about 250,000 head sent yearly to England, having a value of $40,000,000.

The slaughter of hogs is 4,500,000 yearly, of which number one third are killed in Chicago. Sheep raising seems to be on the decline in the number of head, and on the increase in the quantity and value of the wool.

The largest sheep farm is among others nearly its equal, at Albuquerque, New Mexico, where there are 500,000 sheep, and the farm contains 30 square miles. The largest cattle farm is in Texas and contains 4,000,000 acres, and supports 2,225,000 cattle. The largest wheat farms are in California, where one farmer has 90,000 acres under cultivation, the average crop is 13 bushels per acre, which is an average less than one half that per acre of the small farms of Great Britain.

The farms of the United States, with the personal property used on them, are valued at $12,000,000,000. The sum paid yearly for farm wages is in excess of $400,000,000.

The United States at present produces 480,000 tons of butter, and 130,000 tons of cheese. The increase in the number of acres under cultivation is over 3,000,000 per year.

The shipping of the nation is in a sad state of decline, owing to
bad legislation. From 1830 to 1860 the ship-building interests were very important, and averaged 40,000 tons annually. Now the foreign trade is nearly all done by foreign steamship lines. The American Marine in 1881 stands 16,830 sailing vessels, 4,717 steam vessels. On the Mississippi and its affluents there are 1,100 steamboats which carry 10,000,000 tons of freight every year.

The total exports of merchandise from June 30, 1879, to June 30, 1880, was $850,866,058. The total imports in that time of merchandise, was $667,954,746.

Until within twenty years nearly all the manufactories of the nation were in New England, and not until as late as 1876 did the manufactories make articles for export. The growth of manufacturing may be seen in the statement of the amount of capital invested at different periods. In 1850 there were $1,020,000,000 invested in mills, etc. In 1860 there were $1,890,000,000. In 1870, $4,230,000,000. In 1880, $5,500,000,000.

The average rate of wages among operatives old and young in the United States is about $455 per year.

The value of cotton goods manufactured in the United States is officially given as follows: Namely, 1831, $40,000,000, 1860, $115,000,000, and in 1877, $200,000,000.

Massachusetts manufactures more cotton goods than all the other States combined; large cities like Lawrence and Lowell have been wholly built up within thirty-five years by this industry.

The woolen manufactories, numbering 2,890, consume annually, 250,000,000 pounds of wool, and produce goods to the value of $180,000,000.

The value of silk goods manufactured in 1880 was $29,983,630.

There are 2,900 breweries in the country, producing annually 400,000,000 gallons of beer, and 3,000 distilleries producing 82,000,000 gallons of spirits. Adding the wine produced we show an enormous production of alcohol.

The manufacture of boots and shoes has grown from $30,000,000 in 1840, to $300,000,000 in 1875. Massachusetts alone makes 120,000,000 pairs of boots and shoes yearly.

The production of lumber in 1840 gave employment to 36,000 men, who manufactured timber worth $11,000,000. In 1879 the value of the lumber produced was $380,000,000. The average of timber felled daily is 24,000 acres.
In 1840 the production of coal was 2,000,000 tons, employing 7,000 miners. In 1879 55,000,000 tons were taken from the mines. The United States coal fields are seventy times as large as the coal fields of Great Britain.

In 1830 there were 29,000 operatives engaged in the iron trade, and the production did not exceed 184,000 tons, but in 1879 it was in excess of 3,070,000 tons. In 1873 it was over 5,500,000 tons.

The production of petroleum, which was discovered in 1859, now amounts to 8,000,000 gallons, with 400,000 gallons wasted daily for lack of storage. The value of the production is $40,000,000 a year.

In 1820 there were no canals, now there are over 4,000 miles.

In 1825 there were no railroads, now there are in use 86,497 miles, of which 4,721 miles were built in 1879.

In 1843 there were no telegraphs; in 1880 there were 200,000 miles in operation.

In 1875 there were no telephone lines; in 1881 there are nearly 80,000 miles of wire in use for that purpose.

In 1850 there were 2,526 newspapers and periodicals published in the United States. In 1881, 10,500 were published.

In 1831 only fifteen per cent. of the population, or about eighty-five per cent. of the school children, attended school; now the average attendance is nineteen per cent. of the population, being over ninety-five per cent. of the school children. The expense of the school system is over $80,000,000 per year.

In 1831 there were but fourteen colleges in the United States. In 1880 there were 364.

There are in the nation 2,851,000 white people and 2,789,689 colored persons who cannot read or write, of whom 777,873 are foreign born.

In 1850 the number of insane persons was 31,397, in 1860, 42,864, in 1870, 61,909, and in 1880 a little in excess of 70,000, averaging one to every 666 inhabitants.

The cost of the last civil war to the national government, not including destruction of property South or loss of revenue uncollected, has already amounted in direct payments to $6,189,929,909.

The total national debt in 1880 was $2,120,415,370.63.

In 1800 there were but 903 post offices. In 1880 there were 42,989.
In 1846 the production of gold and silver in the United States scarcely reached $1,300,000. In 1880 it was $73,700,000.

INFLUENCE UPON OTHER NATIONS.

Nations, like individuals, cannot live for themselves alone, neither can they increase in wealth, education, and power without exerting consciously or unconsciously an increased influence upon the institutions of other nations. In this respect the history of the United States has been most remarkable. Sometimes the influence of America in the affairs of the world has been silent and obscure, and at other times open and forcible, but nevertheless ceaseless and potent at all times since its entry into the great family of nations.

The effect of its example and success as a republic has not always been in favor of peace; and it may be that the agitation of the subject of liberty of conscience and freedom of action among the people of the old world, caused by the prosperity attending self-government in America, had much to do with the bloody scenes and startling revolutions of 1789 and 1797.

A glance at the present status of the nations of the earth as we turn the globe eastward under your eyes, will surprise even an American, if he should pause as each country comes up before him and recall those events in their history wherein the United States has had an important share. In the Pacific, midway between America and Asia, is the kingdom of Hawaii, or the Sandwich Islands. In 1820, when the first American missionary stepped on its volcanic shore, the nation was an absolute monarchy of the most rude and barbarous pattern, with a blood-thirsty king and an untamed savage population not wholly free from cannibalism. The beautiful valleys, plains, and mountain slopes were untilled and wild, the villages dirty and irregular, the people naked, and the moral sense in regard to chastity, liberty, and murder almost wholly in abeyance. There was a native acuteness and natural intellectual talent, and an adaptability in their natures, of which the Americans could avail themselves in enlightening and civilizing the people. Carefully and perseveringly cultivating those traits which tended toward moral and intellectual development, and as cautiously eradicating those customs and inclinations which led toward the savage state, the American missionaries steadily and speedily led the people into the light of national, intellectual, and moral freedom. These reformers had all those
VICES to contend against, which the dissolute sailors persistently in-
troduced, as they swarmed on shore from the sailing ships of every
civilized nation.

Yet how wonderful the record as we compare the present with
the past! Before Judge Lee went there from America the islands
were without form of law other than the will of a savage ruler.
Now a perfection of legal proceedings has become national, which is
so much admired by the Spanish, Portuguese, and English residents
of other Pacific Islands that the same experiment is being tried by
many of them. In 1820 the islands were a savage wilderness, in
which naked men roamed with the wild beasts. To-day beautiful
gardens of flowers, hedged fields of grain, and immense sugar and
cotton plantations adorn the charming landscapes. Then none but
the most primitive tools or spears were known to the natives; now
all the useful implements for agricultural or household uses, all the
ornaments of civilized art, and all the effects of landscape garden-
ing are found as in America. Then there were no manufactories;
now there are many. Then they imported nothing; now they take
merchandise from the United States exceeding in value yearly the
sum of $1,100,000. Then the people raised nothing for export;
now the products of their fields and manufactories which they ex-
port annually to other countries has a value exceeding $2,200,000.
Then they had no written language; now they have a native litera-
ture, and publish books and many newspapers. Then they had no
schools; now the common free school system is universal, and all
the people, with scarcely an exception, can read and write. Then
they had no national existence among the powers of the world; now
they have their accredited ministers at nearly every national capital.
Then they had no churches; now the religious denominations num-
ber an active membership of over 12,000.

The political institutions of the Hawaiian kingdom are modeled
after the Constitution of the United States, and the local adminis-
tration of the law is conducted by the same kind of officials and in
the same form as in the United States. So much like the United
States are all the institutions of the country, and so closely related
to our nation do the population feel, that there have been many pop-
ular movements in the islands in favor of reciprocity and free com-
merce between the two nations, and even for a political union as an-
other State.
ONE HUNDRED YEARS' PROGRESS.

The history of the Sandwich Islands seems but a prophecy of what Japan is to be, so far as its political and educational imitation of the United States is concerned. One of the secretaries of the Mikado told the writer in Tokio (Jeddo) in 1870 that thousands of young men were hesitating whether to remain in Japan or to start at once to the United States to secure an education, as the only question then appeared to be only how soon they would have the schools and institutions of America in Japan. The progress which the people of Japan have made since 1870 must have astonished even the most expectant men of that empire, and shows what a powerful influence the United States has had in their social and political revolutions. In 1854 Commodore Perry, of the American navy, was sent to secure some treaty with the sealed kingdom of Japan, whereby commerce with the people might be opened. It was a difficult and an apparently hopeless undertaking at the time; for the natives hated all foreigners with religious hatred, and every European who set foot on their shore incurred the penalty of death. The people were not in such a savage state as those of the Sandwich Islands, but their form of government was an absolute monarchy, their religion a low form of idol-worship, and their social relations barbarous and often murderously cruel. They had some knowledge of the culture of rice and tea, and among a favored class writing in Chinese characters was used for correspondence. They were, however, a brave, active, patriotic race, and when once relieved of the superstitions of their religion and the despotism of their government, they became noble, enterprising, honorable freemen.

Commodore Perry met with such success in his interview with the Japanese government that he secured the opening of two ports to the ships of the United States, and the contract was ratified by a solemn treaty. The announcement of that treaty induced many merchants of America to open a trade with Japan, and also drew the attention of the English government to the importance of the Japanese trade. Other nations imitated England in sending fleets and making treaties, so that in a few years an immense trade sprang up between Japan and the civilized world. Soon American missionaries found their way into the ports, and opened schools for children, and translated the Bible into the Japanese language. Then followed the mania among Japanese youth for secreting them-
selves on foreign vessels and visiting the United States and Europe. Then other ports were opened. Then the young sons of Japanese noblemen were sent to America and Europe to be educated. Then American school-teachers, professors, scientific men, and skilled workmen were invited to take important stations in the kingdom as teachers of the arts and sciences and directors and superintendents of the government's public enterprises; until they now hold influential situations in the Japanese custom houses, national banks, navy, army, government offices at the capitol, post office, public education, and department of agriculture, and are engaged to organize a common-school system after the pattern of the United States, and to connect the large cities of the nation with each other by telegraphs and railroads. Christian churches are being formed and supported by the people in many portions of the empire, and the theory of entire political freedom and universal suffrage as adopted in the United States has the support of the government officials.

Thus, in 1854, Japan was a hidden, unknown land to the enlightened world, and was in a sad state of barbarism. In 1881 it is one of the recognized national powers in the world. With the coinage and national bank system on the American plan which it has adopted, commerce has been greatly simplified and encouraged, until the exports for a single year are in excess of twenty-five millions of dollars, and the imports exceed twenty-eight millions of dollars.

Upon the gigantic empire of China the institutions of the United States are having a strong influence through the agency of the American missionaries, American commerce, Chinese students educated by the thousand in the United States, and through the vast throng of emigrants who ebb and flow in nomadic waves between the Pacific coast and China. Many Americans are employed, in common with Englishmen, in the internal revenue, customs service, treasury department, and diplomatic service of the Chinese nation. Americans have been engaged in the organization of the armies, and have led great armies in time of internal warfare. It is easy to foretell what will some day be the result of American education and experience among American institutions upon the thousands of Chinaman who now visit this country. Not many years hence the people of that land will become civilized and Christian under the influence of the civilized nations which now carry on commerce and otherwise exert an elevating influence upon them.
One of the marvels of this rushing age is found in the progress, within a few years, of the American missions in the work of Christianizing the kingdoms of Farther India. The advance in arts, sciences, agriculture, and religion in the kingdom of Siam, within ten years, has astonished the people who inaugurated the movement to send missionaries there. The success attending the teaching and preaching in Pegu and Burmah has surprised the missionaries themselves, and the aptness and willingness of the people in connection with civilized enterprises has been of late most strikingly displayed. In many places in those heathen countries American school-books, American tools, American machinery, and American teachers, are revolutionizing the whole condition of the people. Their influence is felt in the courts of the rulers, and the way clearly opened for further and greater reforms. The civilizing influences of missionary efforts and commerce seem to go hand in hand. Sometimes the missionaries open a country to commerce, and often commerce opens heathen lands to the missions. But in both commerce and missions the elevating and purifying influence of America is being felt more and more, year by year, in that hitherto benighted land of India.

Even in Mohammedan lands the American nation is becoming known and respected by the colleges and schools, churches and theological seminaries, which Americans are establishing. All along the coast of Palestine and Asia Minor, even into Constantinople, churches and schools proclaim the Americans' desire for the salvation of all men. In Egypt the positions of responsibility which have been hitherto held by Englishmen or Frenchmen are being partly filled with Americans, and the counsels of the oldest empire of the world are being influenced, and its internal policy more or less guided, by men from one of the youngest nations of the world.

The share which America has had in the formation or revival of the ancient Grecian nation will be considered by many as scarcely perceptible. But the outspoken friendship of distinguished Americans for Greece in her day of revolutionary trial, the contributions of money, the active part of American philanthropists, united with the adoption of so many political forms by Greece which were used only in the United States, the presence of enlightened American professors at Athens, and of Grecian professors in American colleges, cannot be lost upon the government or its people.
Italy is again a united, free, and intelligent nation, and no other country in the world has, perhaps, more reason to take pride in her progress in everything valuable to man, than the United States. There were three men whose influence upon the character of the Italian nation was most marked, and who contributed more than kings or queens to the establishment of a united and free nation. Those men were Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Manin. The former was an overzealous and impracticable man in many respects, but it would make a marvelous change in the history of Italy could we rearrange events and leave him out. He was a republican and an earnest student of American liberty. He often used the United States as an example in his speeches and writings in favor of a republic in Italy. He sought the acquaintance of Americans; and in his speeches to the Swiss urged the adoption of the American system of elections. He was also one of the founders of the "Americani," or society of Americans for the liberation of Italy from Austrian rule, and went with the society when it was merged into the "Carbonari."

Garibaldi was, from his earliest youth, an ardent admirer of the American republic, and was one of the few Italians who was well acquainted with the system of government and free institutions of our country. In 1850, after his severe struggle in the great revolution of Italy in 1847-48, he came to New York and became a citizen of the United States. Here he read our books and studied our political proceedings, and copied largely from our laws and constitution in his recommendations concerning the Italian republic which he hoped to see established. Many of the rights and immunities granted to the people at the union of Italy have been the outgrowth of his agitation.

Daniel Manin, the Venetian revolutionist, whose name is perhaps the least known of the trio, nevertheless had the greatest influence upon the policy of Victor Emmanuel and the Italian people in the constitution of the kingdom of Italy, and he was also the most hearty friend and admirer of the United States. His early life was much influenced by American books, as he often declared. He was one of the founders of the "Americani." He favored eloquently and persistently a "United States of Italy." He sent out as an incendiary document the Declaration of Independence, translated verbatim into Italian. He adopted "George Washington" and "Thomas Jefferson" as passwords for his guard, showing his regard for those Americans.
From his exile in Paris, after his almost miraculous heroism and endurance at Venice in the siege of 1848, he continually urged the Italians to take the United States as an example and make a free nation. Thus he, more than any other Italian of his time, prepared the people of Italy for the institutions which they now enjoy under that most limited form of a limited monarchy. He advocated American religious freedom, which was partially adopted. He advocated the adoption of the American school system, which was also partially done. He advocated the establishment of a judiciary and a congress after the plan adopted in America; and loved and honored, and almost worshiped, as he was by many Italians, his words had great influence, and brought about many reforms.

His influence did not die with him in 1857. The potency of his name was seen in 1866, and again in 1870, and should the present king fail to make such a "President" as Manin declared a king should be, if they tolerated one at all, he may reasonably expect to hear the call for his abdication fearlessly spoken as when against the Emperor Ferdinand the people so unanimously shouted "Avremo Manin" (we will have Manin).

The importance which the French people have attached to the example of America has been so often mentioned by French periodicals and French orators, that at times the people have wearied of the cry. The statesman, Gambetta, in a speech made just after the last siege of Paris, exclaimed, "I am accused of quoting 'the United States!' Citizens of France, it is safe to quote the United States!" From the days of Lafayette to the present day the success of the American nation has continued to be a favorite theme with the French in their opposition to tyranny, and the establishment of a republic on the ruins of a monarchy as old as civilization there, could not have been successful had not a mighty nation already tried the experiment successfully and that nation one which was closely united with France in fraternal affection. In the national constitution and laws there are now embodied republican provisions which are taken direct from the state and national constitutions of the United States. Indebted as we are to France for our national existence we rejoice at these opportunities for making some return.

England and the United States are now in such direct commercial competition that the whole internal policy of the British nation is affected by the industry and enterprise of the American people.
With American cotton fabrics securing the markets of the world, with the enormous product of grain, coal, iron, and beef in America, going into her own ports and underbidding the bare cost of production there, the English people are forced to make changes which disturb the tranquillity of the whole empire. Emigration increasing, discontent among the manufacturing population developing into popular political movements, and distress among the farmers causing feuds between landlord and tenant, it may be safely said that the United States is an important factor in shaping the future of England. In addition to these commercial considerations, although somewhat connected with them, the relations which so many of the American people hold to the government of Ireland through ancestry, birth, or sympathy, do influence more or less the policy and history of both nations. The great literary interests which both have in a common language, and the relation to each other being such, that the results of great discoveries or great achievements in literature or science must at once become equally beneficial to both, also shows how great and important our influence over each other's destiny has become.

On the extreme west coast of Africa next south of Senegambia, is a territory over which a republic is gradually but firmly extending its government, and in which will doubtless be seen the head and front of a powerful nation. It is called Liberia. It was founded in 1822 by the American Colonization Society. Its constitution is a copy of that of the United States as far as it could apply to the time and place. Its officers have nearly all been citizens of the United States, and its administration of law and election of officers are conducted in accordance with American custom. It is a foothold upon that vast dark continent similar to that of the English at Cape Colony, and its future appears equally hopeful to its founders.

Over the affairs of the South American nations the United States has exercised but little control, although again and again appealed to by some of them to do so. Yet capitalists of the United States have large sums invested in South American railroads and kindred enterprises, and many citizens of our republic are in the employ of those nations in connection with governmental business.

Upon the principalities of the West India Islands the United States has not used its political influence as much as it clearly ought to have done; and it is clearly the duty of this nation to interfere
enough in the government of adjacent countries or islands to secure peace both for them and for itself. For a powerful and wealthy nation to stand carelessly and listlessly by while murder, or human slavery, or useless destruction of property is going on at the next door, is to act the part of a participant in the crimes which it might prevent. Whether the "Monroe Doctrine" is to be upheld or not, it may not so much matter, but whether we are to allow our prestige and power to be wasted, while the oppressed of our continent and its islands cry in vain for succor, is a great matter. The United States would exert a powerful influence on the affairs of the West Indies, if the nation were less selfish. A word of advice would have saved and promoted the civilization of Hayti and San Domingo. A single stroke of diplomatic action would save Cuba from her ceaseless wars and terrible slavery. The United States possesses the necessary influence, but it has not been used.

Upon Mexico, however, the institutions of the United States have made a great and valuable impression. No country in the world, unless it be in Africa, presented a less favorable field for a republic than did Mexico when it declared its independence of Spain in 1821. Ignorant, hasty, and quarrelsome, the Mexican populace had but little fitness for self-government. This was most clearly demonstrated by the ceaseless rebellion and revolution which followed the adoption of a constitution copied almost literally from that of the United States. But yet with the moral influence of the American republic constantly exerted to encourage, enlighten, and caution the Mexican people, they have slowly ascended the scale of self-discipline until the introduction of railroads and telegraphs by the capitalists of the United States appears to be the crowning feature of republican success. Through all these years of internal warfare, election brawls, revolts, deposition of officials, defalcations, betrayals, and discontent, our Great Republic has seized upon the opportunities to calm the fears of officials, to frown down dangerous revolutions among the Mexican people, and by careful diplomacy to keep the nation republican in its form and tending upward in all its institutions. Once, when in the trying days of our civil war, France attempted to get a hold upon Mexico through Maximilian and his companion dupes, the Mexicans looked despairingly toward the United States, and asked a signal of recognition. The repetition of the "Monroe Doctrine," that no foreign power should be
suffered to interfere in the affairs of the New World, by several leading statesmen, was enough to encourage the Mexicans to the greatest resistance, and enough to show the invading nations how useless would be their attempts to gain a permanent footing in America. In the last Mexican civil war in which Juarez was concerned the prompt recognition of him as the rightful president by the United States destroyed all hope of successful rebellion on the part of the insurgents, and peace followed almost immediately. The form of government, the finances, the coin, the banks, the post-offices, the railways, the custom houses, the elections, the militia, the representative assemblies of Mexico, like those of Canada, make a closer and closer imitation of the Great Republic's usages and customs, in every passing year.

Such prestige and position among the nations of the world may be a subject of pride or a subject of humiliation according to the manner in which we use it. It is now time that every citizen of the republic should feel that the nation does not live for itself alone, but that the maintenance of all "its free and enlightening institutions not only insures peace, prosperity, and happiness at home, but also by the powerful force of example hastens the approach of that period when all mankind shall be also blessed with the inestimable boon of civil and religious freedom."
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