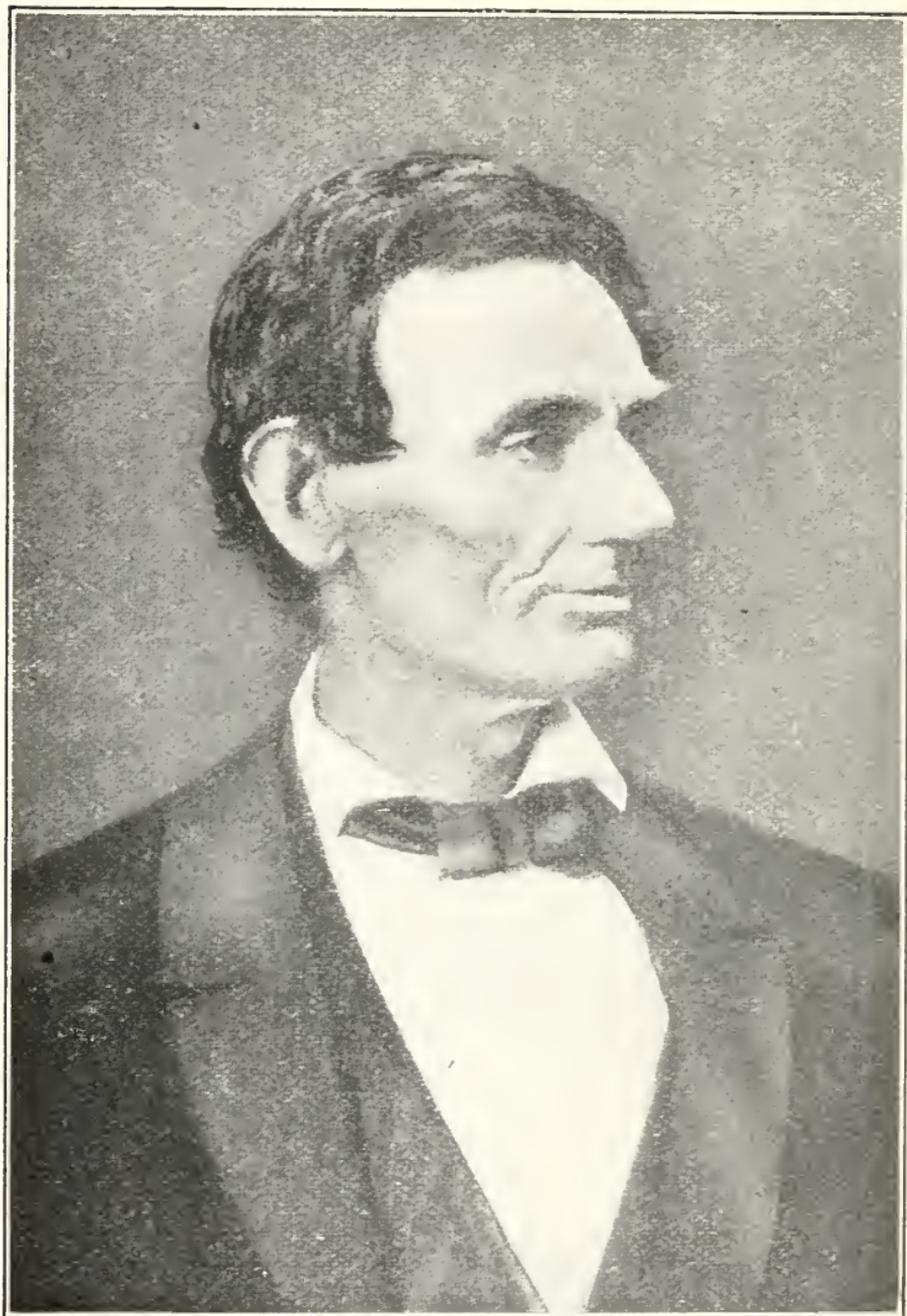


0.840a

0.840





LINCOLN THE CANDIDATE
(JUNE, 1860)

From a Photogravure after a Photograph by Hesler

THE WORKS OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

SPEECHES AND DEBATES

1858—1859

Introductions and Special Articles by

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

WILLIAM H. TAFT

CHARLES E. HUGHES

JOSEPH H. CHOATE

HENRY WATTERSON

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

And Others

Managing Editors

JOHN H. CLIFFORD

MARION M. MILLER

VOLUME IV

THE UNIVERSITY SOCIETY INC.
NEW YORK

Copyright, 1907
By Current Literature Publishing Company

Copyright, 1908
By The University Society Inc.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	
Lincoln the Ideal American. By Charles Evans Hughes	ix
JOINT DEBATE WITH DOUGLAS—CONCLUDED	
Fourth Joint Debate, at Charleston—Concluded. September 18, 1858	1
Fifth Joint Debate, at Galesburg. October 7, 1858	36
Sixth Joint Debate, at Quincy. October 13, 1858	85
Seventh and Last Joint Debate at Alton. October 15, 1858	136
SPEECHES (March 1, 1859, to September 30, 1859)	
Speech at Chicago on the Night of the Municipal Election. March 1, 1859	193
Speech at Columbus, Ohio. September 16, 1859	201
Address to Kentuckians on Douglas's Fallacies, Delivered at Cincinnati, Ohio. September 17, 1859	240
Address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, at Milwaukee. September 30, 1859	277



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from

The Institute of Museum and Library Services through an Indiana State Library LSTA Grant

PREFACE

IN this volume are comprised Douglas's Reply and Lincoln's Rejoinder in their Fourth Joint Debate, at Charleston, Ill., together with the last three debates. The memorable forensic contest was formally closed at Alton on October 15, 1858, but as a matter of fact it was continued throughout the next year: by Douglas in a speech-making tour through the South, with Presidential designs, and in an article in *Harper's Magazine*; and by Lincoln in speeches at Chicago, Columbus, and Cincinnati. These three addresses of Lincoln are also included in the present volume, as well as an address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, in which he attacked slavery as the enemy of free labor.

INTRODUCTION

Lincoln the Ideal American.¹

BY CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

THERE is one man who presents to the American people above all others in his many-sided greatness the type, the representative, of those qualities which distinguish American character and make possible the maintenance of our national strength, and in Abraham Lincoln we recognize not simply one who gave his life for his country and rendered the most important service that any man could render in the preservation of the Union but one who seemed to have centred in himself those many attributes which we recognize as the sources of our national power. He is, *par excellence*, the true American.

I wish in our colleges and wherever young men are trained, particularly for political life, that there could be a course in Lincoln. I wish our young men could be taken through the long efforts of his career, I wish they could become more intimately acquainted with the addresses that he delivered, I wish that they could get in closer touch with that remarkable personality, then they would never find it possible to take a low or morbid view of American opportunity.

¹From an extemporaneous address delivered before the Republican Club of New York.

Abraham Lincoln was an acute man, but we erect no monuments to shrewdness. We have no memorials by which we desire to perpetuate the records of American smartness. Skill in manipulation, acuteness in dealing for selfish purposes, may win their temporary victories, but the acuteness that the American people admire is that acuteness which is devoted to the solution of problems affecting their posterity and directly related to their interests, and which is employed unselfishly and for the benefit of the people, apart from any individual interest.

I have long been a student of Lincoln. I have marveled at the ability which he displayed. There has been no greater exponent of that shrewdness of intellect which so pre-eminently characterizes the American; but Abraham Lincoln devoted all his talents, his extraordinary perspicacity, to the welfare of the people. He was a man of principle. He was a man, all of whose acts were founded upon a recognition of the fundamental principles which underlie our Republic. Said he on one occasion, "I have no sentiments except those which I have derived from a study of the Declaration of Independence." He was profoundly an apostle of liberty. I have said that he was a man of principle. Rarely has the doctrine of the relation of the nation to the States, and of government to the individual, been more lucidly expounded than he expounded it: "The nation must control whatever concerns the nation. The States or any minor political community must control whatever exclusively concerns them. The individual shall control whatever exclusively concerns him. That is real popular sovereignty."

AN EXPERT LOGICIAN

He was an expert logician. He brought to bear upon his opponents the batteries of remorseless logic. He had a profound confidence in the reasoning judgment of the American people. He disdained all efforts to capture the populace by other means. There is nothing more illuminating than his conduct in that grand campaign against Douglas in 1858. He developed his line of attack in a question. He brought to bear upon his opponents an extraordinary ability of analysis. He eviscerated the subject of discussion and he presented the whole matter that was then before the great American nation in its bare bones, in a perfectly cool and logical consideration; and, while he lost the campaign for the senatorship, he made himself the apostle of thinking America in its opposition to the extension of slavery. He had one foundation principle, and that was this: "Slavery," he said, "is wrong. It may be recognized where it constitutionally exists, but shall it be extended?" And to every proposition that was presented by his skilful, adroit opponent he presented not abuse, not any appeal to the emotions of the multitude, but cogent reasoning from which none could escape; and, while he lost the senatorship, he appeared before the American people as representing their ideal of straightforward, honest representation of the truth applicable to their crisis, and received the highest honors within their gift.

There never has been an illustration, I venture to say, within the memory of man where intellect has exerted so potent a magnetism and where loyalty has been commended simply because rea-

son exerted its sway. I love to dwell upon these historic events. Any American who has failed to take advantage of their study has lost largely his opportunity.

A HUMBLE MAN

Whenever you are tempted to think in a discouraging manner of the future of the American Republic you should read the annals of those times when the Union itself was in the balance, and you should realize how inevitably to the demand of reason the American public respond and how necessarily anything that cannot stand against honest judgment must fail in this enlightened Republic. Lincoln was a humble man, unpretentious and of lowly birth. He was without affectation; he was the most democratic of men. No one that has ever lived among us has been so much a brother to every man, however lowly born or unfortunately circumstanced. His was not the early training of those who, like many of our distinguished men, had the advantages afforded by parentage with noble traditions, although in poor circumstances, with schooling and environment which would stimulate the loftiest of aspirations. He sprang from conditions which would seem to stifle ambition. He simply was a man, a great American, superior to all the disadvantages which surrounded his birth and early training, and there is no man who walks in any station of life in any part of the country but can call Lincoln his brother, his friend, a man of like passions and like experiences with himself.

We recognize some men for the services they have rendered. They have deserved well of their

country. We recognize Lincoln for his service. No one has deserved better of his country. He rendered a service which cannot be eulogized in too extravagant terms; but we forget anything that Lincoln ever did or anything that Lincoln ever said in the recognition of the great manhood that was his, which transcended anything he did because of what he was. He was a progressive man; he was sensitive to the demands of his day. Three or four years after the outbreak of the war, he said: "I have not controlled events; I confess events have controlled me. After three years we find ourselves in a situation which neither party and no man devised or expected." He was a man who met each demand as it arose. To the radicals he was too conservative; to the conservatives he was too radical. Few in the community praised him during his life. Probably no man in the whole history of the Republic was ever so severely criticised and lampooned as was Lincoln in the dark days of 1864, when through years of trouble he had sustained a burden which would have broken down an ordinary man. He said in August of that year that it seemed there were no friends, and he looked forward to the next election as almost certain to go against the party which he represented.

A MAN OF GRIEF

Without sacrilege I may say he was "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." And, frequently alone, without the sustaining encouragement of even those who were close to him in his official family, he endeavored to exercise that judgment which history commends and that ex-

Thank You for previewing this eBook

You can read the full version of this eBook in different formats:

- HTML (Free /Available to everyone)
- PDF / TXT (Available to V.I.P. members. Free Standard members can access up to 5 PDF/TXT eBooks per month each month)
- Epub & Mobipocket (Exclusive to V.I.P. members)

To download this full book, simply select the format you desire below

