

Charles Landon Carter Minor

### THE REAL LINCOLN

A True Portrait Drawn From the Testimony of His Friends and Contemporaries

by Charles L. C. Minor, M.A., LL.D

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## The Real Lincoln by Charles L.C. Minor

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#### INTRODUCTION



The manuscript of this volume was completed by Dr. Minor only a few days before his death. After the issue of the first edition, in 1901, he began this, thinking that a second edition would be needed. When the call for a second edition came, he had gathered and worked in much new matter, so that it has become a book now instead of a pamphlet.

To the undersigned was committed the charge of editing it – a labor of love in a double sense, for it is hard to say which they love most, the writer or the cause of political and historic truth so ably championed by him. It is all his work – his last work – to which might be appended the words of the Roman gladiator: *moriturus vos saluto*.

It is unnecessary for the editors to say anything as to the purpose for which this book was written; for this is fully stated in the preface by the author, and the concluding words of the second chapter show how the facts set forth, and so fully proved in this book, tend to allay rather than to excite sectional feeling between North and South. If in doing this it has been necessary for the writer to set forth facts which compel Lincoln's admirers to esteem him less, let not the reader blame the author for lack of charity; but rather consider that truth is a very precious thing, and that only truth could come from such an array of unwilling witnesses as has been marshalled here.

No man ever lived more willing than the author to give due homage to worth, and more unwilling to take from a hero any portion of his meed of praise; but to restore in some measure that goodwill between the sections which he had known in youth and early manhood, was an object with him beyond all price, and well worth his utmost efforts in the cause of truth, even though it should compel the world to place one of its heroes on a lower pedestal.

True here, as of all truth, are the words of the Master, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," from prejudice, passion, and all uncharitableness.

The editors are under obligations to Mr. Paul S. Whitcomb, of Portland, Oregon, for permission to use his article on "Lincoln and Democracy" which originally appeared in *Tyler's Quarterly Magazine*; to Capt. Samuel A'Court Ashe, of Raleigh, N. C., for condensing said article and supplying very valuable marginal notes thereto; and to Mrs. Beulah Johnson Howell, of New York City, for valuable suggestions.

Berkeley Minor, M.D. Carter.

#### SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR

#### ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

Charles Landon Carter Minor was the eldest son of Lucius H. Minor of "Edgewood," Hanover County, Virginia. His mother was Catharine Frances Berkeley. He was born December 3, 1835. He received the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Virginia in 1858.

The beginning of the War Between the States found him teaching at Bloomfield, LeRoy Broun's School, in Albemarle County, Virginia. He volunteered very shortly after the secession of his native State, and for some time served as a private in the Second Virginia Cavalry, Munford's regiment, seeing much active service about Manassas and in "Stonewall" Jackson's Valley Campaign; but later by competitive examination received a captain's commission in the Ordnance Department, and served on General Sam. Jones' staff in Southwest Virginia, and was his chief of ordnance when in command at Charleston, South Carolina. Captain Minor's last assignment was with General Gorgas as executive officer at the Richmond Arsenal, where he was when the war ended.

After the war he conducted a school in Lynchburg, Virginia, for some years. Then he held a chair in the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, till he was called to be the first president of the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College, now the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, at Blacksburg, Virginia, where he was for eight years. He subsequently conducted the Shenandoah Valley Academy, at Winchester, Virginia, for a good

many years, and finally, while assistant principal of the Episcopal High School, near Alexandria, Virginia, an attack of grip so injured his health that he was able thereafter only to take private pupils in Baltimore.

During these later years he gave much time to historical and political studies, particularly of the times of the Civil War, and wrote a good deal on these subjects in Baltimore and Richmond papers.

In 1874 Dr. Minor received the degree of LL.D. from William and Mary College.

In 1860 he married Miss Fanny Ansley Cazenove, of Alexandria, Virginia. Two children survive him, Fanny, wife of Rev. James F. Plummer, of Clarksburg, West Virginia, and Anne, wife of Rev. A.G. Grinnan, of Weston, West Virginia.

Dr. Minor died suddenly, Monday, July 13, 1903, at "Beaulieu" in Albemarle County, Virginia, the residence of his brother-in-law, R.M. Fontaine, Esq.

Dr. Minor was a devout Christian and loyal churchman; for many years of his life a vestryman, sometimes a delegate in the Councils of the diocese; always striving to do his duty in that state of life unto which it pleased God to call him. The writer knows none who have more fully illustrated the character of the Christian gentleman as drawn by Thackeray in the "End of the Play":

Come wealth or want, come good or ill, Let young and old accept their part, And bow before the awful will,

And bear it with an honest heart.

Who misses or who wins the prize, –
Go, lose or conquer as you can;
But if you fail or if you rise,
Be each, pray God, a gentleman.

# PREFACE

Since the publication of a pamphlet called *The Real Lincoln*, the author has found in the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, published by the United States War Department, and in other works by people of Northern sympathies, much that is interesting and curious to corroborate the points made in the pamphlet, and to establish other points of no less value for the vindication of the cause of the South, and for the establishment of the conclusion arrived at on the 57th page of the pamphlet that "the North and West were never enemies of the South" – a conclusion as little expected and as surprising to the author as it can be to anyone else. The final result of these studies is herewith given in a volume with the same title as the pamphlet, meeting the demand for a second edition of that work, but largely increased by part of the accumulations above described.

Some explanation is needed of the nature and aim of the work, and it is submitted, as follows:

A mistaken estimate of Abraham Lincoln has been spread abroad very widely, and even in the South an editorial in a leading religious paper lately said as follows: "Our country has more than once been singularly fortunate in the moral character and the admirable personality of its popular heroes. Washington, Lincoln and Lee have been the type of character that it was safe to hold up to the admiration of their own age and the imitation of succeeding generations." In the North the paean of praise that began with his death has grown to such extravagance that he has been

called by one eminent popular speaker, "a servant and follower of Jesus Christ," and by another "first of all that have walked the earth after the Nazarene," and on his late birthday a eulogist asked us to give up aspirations for a heaven where Lincoln's presence is not assured. A very distinguished preacher, on Easter succeeding the Good Friday on which Lincoln was assassinated, called him "A Christian man – a servant and follower of Jesus Christ – ...one whom we have revered as a father, and loved more than we can love any human friend," set forth a comparison between his death and that of the Saviour of mankind, likening Wilkes Booth to Pilate, and ended with, "Shall we not say of the day, it is fit?" It was on Good Friday that Lincoln was shot, and in a theatre.

To try to reawaken or to foster ill-will between the North and the South would be a useless, mischievous and most censurable task, and it will be seen at pages 27-28 of this book that it has an exactly opposite purpose; but it is a duty to correct such misrepresentations, for the reason that they make claims for Lincoln entirely inconsistent with the concessions of grave defects in him that are made by the closest associates of his private life, by the most respectable and most eulogistic biographers and historians of his own day and of this day, at home and abroad, who have described his character and career, and equally inconsistent with the estimates of him by the greatest and closest associates of his public life, and by a very large part of the great Northern and Western Republican leaders of his own day. The fact that the evidence submitted comes from such witnesses, and such witnesses only, is the chief claim that this book has upon the interest and confidence of its readers, and attention is called to the extraordinary cogency of such evidence, and to the fact that not a word of testimony is offered out of the mass that might be offered from the eminent writers, speakers, statesmen, and soldiers who took the Southern side.

In Appendix One will be found, in alphabetical order, the names of all the witnesses whose evidence is submitted. Reference is invited to that Appendix, as each witness is reached by the Preface 15

reader, and especially in every case where the reader finds it hard to believe the evidence, and it will be found that each is included in one of the above indicated classes. Only old and exceptionally well-informed men of this day are likely to know the ample authority with which these witnesses speak. See Lincoln himself; see Generals U.S. Grant, and Wm. T. Sherman; see Lincoln's greatest Cabinet Ministers, Seward, Chase, and Stanton; see, among the foremost leaders of thought and action of their day, John Sherman, Ben Wade, and Thaddeus Stevens; see representatives of the highest intellectual and moral standards, Richard Dana, Edward Everett, Charles Francis Adams, and Robert Winthrop; see the most ardent and prominent Abolitionists, Senator Sumner, and Wendell Phillips; see Horace Greeley, whose lofty integrity extorted admiration from thousands on whose nearest and dearest interests his *Tribune* newspaper waged a war as deadly as it was honest; see the correspondent of the London Times, Russell; see the most 1902, up-to-date historians of our own day, Ida Tarbell, A. K. McClure, Schouler, Ropes, and Rhodes; and see the most intimate associates of Lincoln's lifetime, Lamon and Herndon, who give such reasons for telling not the good only, but all they know about their great friend, as win commendation from the latest biographers of all, Morse and Hapgood, whose books have received only praise from the American reading public.

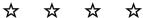
The following objection has been made to the first edition of this work: "What has the author himself to say about Lincoln? Nothing is found from the author himself; only what other people have said or written." It was the author's purpose to submit the testimony of certain classes above described, and to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Another objection has been offered, that this book gives only the bad side of Lincoln, and not the good. The author makes the acknowledgment that the largest measure of every excellence – intellectual, moral, and spiritual – has been claimed for Lincoln, and very generally conceded to him, and space need not be given to reciting those claims, because they are familiar to all who have given the least attention to Lincoln's place in the world's esteem,

and because to give them any adequate statement would require a space like the ten very large volumes in which Nicolay and Hay have done that work so ably and with such jealous protection of their hero's good name. Not only does the author concede that these comprehensive claims have been made and have been generally admitted, but the Appendix shows that even the strongest of these claims have been made, in whole or in part, by most of the very witnesses whose testimony is quoted in this book. To reconcile the damaging concessions with the contradictory claims by the same witnesses is not the duty of the author of this book. An examination of the chapter headed "Apotheosis of Lincoln" will, however, discover some explanation of these contradictions. It was a saying of Lord Somers that often the most material part of testimony is that on which the witness values himself the least.

A third objection has been made, that this book gives the testimony of Lincoln's enemies. Who were Lincoln's friends, if they are not included among these witnesses, and which of these witnesses was not on his side in the great contest?

## CHAPTER ONE Apotheosis of Lincoln



Few who read this book will escape the conclusion that the Real Lincoln was a very different man, in his private and in his public life, from what the world's verdict has pronounced him to be. The question then must arise in the mind of every one interested in his history, how so false an estimate of him was impressed on men's minds. The way it was done has been described more or less fully by several of his eulogists, as is now about to be shown; and a name, *Apotheosis*, has been given to the process of deification by four of his ardent eulogists. The *Century Dictionary* defines the word apotheosis as "deification; excessive honor paid to any great or distinguished person; the ascription of extraordinary virtues or superhuman qualities to a human being."

Allen Thorndike Rice describes the process as follows: "Story after story, and trait after trait, as varying in value as in authenticity, have been added to the Lincolniana until at last the name of the great War President has come to be a biographical lodestone, attracting without... discrimination both the true and false." Horace White says, "The popular judgment of him is in the main correct and unshakable. I say in the main, because in this judgment there is a tendency to *apotheosis* which, while pardon-

<sup>1.</sup> Horace White, John Russell Young, Ward H Lamon and Vice-President Hamlin.

<sup>2.</sup> Introduction to Reminiscences of Lincoln, &c., page 18.

able, is not historical, and will not last." And he goes on: "The popular conception of Mr. Lincoln as one not seeking public honors... is a *post bellum* growth;... he was in hot, incessant competition with his fellows for earthly honors."

Horace White goes on, "What Mr. Lincoln was after he became President can best be understood by knowing what he was before. The world owes more to Mr. William H. Herndon for this particular knowledge than to all other persons taken together."

As late as September 14, 1901, the Church Standard, of Philadelphia said of McKinley that "like Abraham Lincoln five and thirty years ago, he was hardly known for what he was until he died." General Keifer said, "But President Lincoln was not understood in 1861 nor even later during the war, and not fully during life, by either his enemies or his personal or party friends."4 Schouler says of General William T. Sherman's first interview with Lincoln that he "left the mansion... silenced and mortified,"5 and General Sherman himself says of the interview, "I was sadly disappointed, and remember that I broke out on John, d—ning the politicians generally, saying 'you have got things in a hell of a fix." Rhodes says, "The hand that draws the grotesque trait of Lincoln may disappoint the hero-worshipper, but the truth of the story requires this touch which... and... serves as a justification for these who could not in the winter of 1862-'3 see with the eyes of to-day."8

The biographer of ex-Vice President Hamlin says, "Indeed Mr. Hamlin was of the opinion that no man ever grew in the ex-

<sup>3.</sup> Introduction to a later book claiming to be Herndon's *Abraham Lincoln*, pages 21, 22, 26. See Appendix One at the name of Herndon.

<sup>4.</sup> Slavery and Four Years of War, page 178

<sup>5.</sup> History of the United States, Vol. VI, p. 23.

<sup>6.</sup> His brother, Senator John Sherman, had introduced him to the President.

<sup>7.</sup> Memoir, Vol. I, page 168.

<sup>8.</sup> History of the United States, Vol. IV, page 211.

ecutive chair in his lifetime as Lincoln did.... Lincoln's growth has long been a favorite theme with writers and speakers;... his extreme eulogists made the mistake of constructing a Lincoln who was as great the day he left Springfield as when he made his earthly exit four years later. Lincoln's astonishing development was thus ignored.... There is no intention of reviving an issue that once caused wide discussion.... Mr. Hamlin came to the ultimate opinion that Lincoln was the greatest figure of the age.... But he saw two Lincolns...."

In these last extracts the biographer makes us aware of two things - that Lincoln's Vice President was long in discovering his greatness and that efforts were made to check the apotheosis when it began. No one who knows the history of the time, as told by the most ardent Northern historians, such as Rhodes, or Ropes, or Schouler, will wonder that the contest ceased on the "issue that once caused wide discussion." Lalor's Cyclopaedia quotes the official records to show that thirty-eight thousand men and women had been dealt with by courts-martial. Many incurred imprisonment, often long and torturing, and not a few the death sentence and execution.<sup>10</sup> No doubt some who had disapproved the conquest and the emancipation were tempted to join in the *io* triumphe, and to share the monstrous spoils. The vast number who had opposed the whole war could hardly do else than despair and acquiesce. Fresh from a system that placed provost marshals wherever needed, and furnished veteran soldiers to repress resistance, only very bold men would venture to provoke the dominant powers by criticising him who had won the victory and the title of martyr. No protest could get a hearing over the din of triumph. From the South protest was hopeless. It was the Reconstruction period, a time now regarded with complacency by none or very few.

Hamlin's biographer, his son, further goes on to say, "The truth should be emphasized that it is a great mistake to judge pub-

<sup>9.</sup> Life and Times of Hannibal Hamlin, by C.E. Hamlin, page 393.

<sup>10.</sup> See page ?? of this book.

lic men of this time by their attitude toward Lincoln,"<sup>11</sup> and he names among those who opposed and bitterly censured Lincoln – Chandler, Wade, Sumner, Collamer, Trumbull, Hale, Wilson, Stevens, H. Winter Davis, Grimes, Julian, Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, David Dudley Field, John Jay, Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley, Wm. Cullen Bryant, and Secretary Chase.<sup>12</sup> Schouler says, "Yet Lincoln was long believed by contemporaries secondary in point of statesmanship.... Lincoln, as one of fame's immortals, does not appear in the Lincoln of 1861, whom men outside of the administration<sup>13</sup> likened in ridicule *to the original gorilla*."<sup>14</sup>

Morse says of Lincoln's "elaborate speech" in Congress on his resolutions nicknamed "the Spot Resolutions," which Congress did not notice by any action: "It may be not a very great or remarkable speech, but it was a good one," and says the resolutions "were sufficiently noteworthy to save Lincoln from being left among the nobodies of the House." This is *faint praise* for Lincoln's career in Congress.

John Russell Young is quoted as follows: "I have never read a description of him that recalls him as I knew him. Something always beyond and beyond. Nor has fame been kind to him in the sense that fame is never kind unless it is just. There is little justice in much that is written of Lincoln. Then comes the dismal fear that he is to live in an apotheosis. His sad fate may invite this; assassination is ever a consecration, for thus do the gods appoint their compensations.... The figure vanishes into mists; incense vapors a vision, not a man. For of such is human sympathy and

<sup>11.</sup> Life and Times of Hamlin, page 489.

<sup>12.</sup> Ibid., pages 50, 51, 449, 454.

<sup>13.</sup> His Chief Cabinet Ministers, Stanton and Chase, were not outside of the administration. See what they called him, page ?? of this book.

<sup>14.</sup> History of the United States, Vol. VI, page 21.

<sup>15.</sup> Lincoln, Vol. I, page 75.

human love."16

And the reviewer goes on, "If Lincoln could have chosen, Mr. Young thinks, and justly, that he would have desired to be remembered as he was, and not looked at through any distorting medium like the aureole and crowning flame of martyrdom.... Mr. Lincoln did not impress the capital as a welcome personal force. Living in an element of detraction, he was not a popular man. It would be hard to recall his friends."

No longer ago than February, 1902, a journal as strongly Republican as *Leslie's Weekly* published a paper called *Mr. Lincoln's Habits and Tendencies*, which contained the following: "Mr. Lincoln's neighbors in Springfield cannot yet realize that he was a marvelously great man.... They think there has been a mistake made, somehow; as he presented himself to them, he was decidedly *of the earth, earthy.*"

Rhodes, in his *History of the United States*, records that R. Fuller, a prominent Baptist preacher, wrote Chase: "I marked the President closely.... He is wholly inaccessible to Christian appeals, and his egotism will ever prevent his comprehending what patriotism means." In order to express his regret for the fact that "the men whose acquaintance with Lincoln was intimate enough to form any just estimate of his character,... did not more fully appreciate his statesmanship and other great qualities;... that they did not recognize him as the greatest patriot, statesman and writer of his time," Rhodes makes the important concession, "We cannot wonder that his contemporaries failed to perceive his greatness." <sup>18</sup>

How very far this "failure to appreciate his greatness" prevailed among the many eminent literary men of the North is noteworthy, for the world has been much misled about it. Horace Scudder, long editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, says of the sixth stanza of the famous "Commemoration Ode": "Into these three

<sup>16.</sup> Review in New York Times for January 18, 1902, page 34.

<sup>17.</sup> History of the United States, Vol. III., page 368, note.

<sup>18.</sup> Ibid., Vol. IV, page 211, et seq.

score lines Lowell has poured a conception of Lincoln which may justly be said to be today the accepted idea which Americans hold of their great President. It was the final expression of the judgment which had been slowly forming in Lowell's own mind, and when he summed him up in his last line, 'New birth of our new soul, the first American,' he was honestly throwing away all the doubts which had from time to time beset him." <sup>19</sup>

The words "the judgment which had been slowly forming" and "doubts which had from time to time beset him," can be understood from the following extracts, and others that might be made from the Biography, records that Lowell wrote a friend in December, 1861, "I confess that my opinion of the government does not improve.... I guess an ounce of Frémont is worth a pound of Long Abraham."<sup>20</sup> Three years later he wrote Mr. Norton, "I hear bad things about Mr. Lincoln, and try not to believe them."21 How very late Lowell did throw away the doubts about Lincoln which had beset him is curiously shown by Scudder's reluctant concession of the fact that Lincoln was not referred to at all in the ode as delivered (July 21, 1865) by Lowell on Commemoration Day at Harvard, but was subsequently introduced into it.<sup>22</sup> Scudder says, "The sixth stanza was not recited, but was written immediately, afterward."23 Laboring to explain this, he is obliged to call it "an after-thought," and to say, "one likes to fancy the whole force of the ode behind it," though he has shown that any such fancy would be entertained in defiance of the facts he records. If this "afterthought" did occur to Lowell "immediately" after, it did not occur to him, according to Scudder's own dates, sooner than ninety days after Lincoln's assassination; and it is a curious additional example of his apotheosis, that this

<sup>19.</sup> Biography of Lowell, Vol. XI, page 70.

<sup>20.</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>21.</sup> Ibid, page 55.

<sup>22.</sup> Ibid, page 70.

<sup>23.</sup> Ibid, page 70.

"conception of Lincoln" should have become, as Scudder says, "the accepted idea which Americans hold of their great President." The *New York Nation*, November 28, 1901, says, reviewing Scudder's *Life of Lowell*, "Lowell's growing appreciation of Lincoln is an important trait. A good many will be grieved to learn that the great Lincoln passage in the "Commemoration Ode" was not a part of it when it was first read by its author, but was written subsequently." The same *Nation* reveals that but for Lowell's wife, he would have gone "hopelessly wrong on the main question of his time."

However late Lowell's favorable judgment of Lincoln was formed, Scudder quotes from a paper in the *Century Magazine* for April, 1887, headed "Lincoln and Lowell," as follows: "Lowell was the first of the leading American writers to see clearly and fully and enthusiastically the greatness of Abraham Lincoln." <sup>24</sup>

All of this testimony to the fact that people found in Lincoln before his death nothing remarkably good or great, but on the contrary, found him the reverse of goodness or greatness, comes from witnesses the most trustworthy possible, they being what lawyers call *unwilling witnesses*. So far, however, as they testify, either directly or by suggestion, that a marvelous change, intellectual, moral and spiritual came over Lincoln after his entrance on the duties of President, their evidence has no such weight as that recorded by them against him, and has a strong presumption against its truth.

General Donn Piatt presents very effectively his view of how the change of the American world's feeling toward Lincoln, and of its estimate of him, came about. In *Reminiscences of Lincoln*, he says: "Lincoln was believed by contemporaries secondary in point of talent," and "Lincoln as one of Fame's immortals does not appear in the Lincoln of 1861, whom men... likened to 'the original gorilla'....<sup>25</sup> Fictitious heroes have been embalmed in

<sup>24.</sup> Donn Piatt, Reminiscences of Lincoln, Vol. XI, page 71.

<sup>25.</sup> Schouler, in his *History of the United States*, Vol. VI., page 21, uses, without quotation marks, the exact words of Piatt above quoted.

lies, and monuments are being reared to the memories of men whose real histories, when they come to be known, will make this bronze and marble the monuments of our ignorance and folly." And again he says: "With us, when a leader dies, all good men go to lying about him, and, from the monument that covers his remains to the last echo of the rural press, in speeches, sermons, eulogies and reminiscences, we have naught but pious lies.... Poor Garfield... was almost driven to suicide by abuse while he lived. He fell by the hand of an assassin, and passed in a moment to the role of popular saints... Popular beliefs in time come to be superstitions and create gods and devils. Thus Washington is deified into an impossible man, and Aaron Burr has passed into a like impossible monster. Through this same process, Abraham Lincoln, one of our truly great, has almost gone from human knowledge [the Reminiscences are dated 1886]. I hear of him and read of him in eulogies and biographies, and fail to recognize the man I encountered for the first time in the canvass that called him from private life to be President of the United States."26

Piatt then goes on to describe a conference that he and General Schenck had with Lincoln in his home in Springfield. "Lincoln had just been nominated for the first time.... I soon discovered that this strange and strangely-gifted man, while not at all cynical, was a sceptic; his view of human nature was low;... he unconsciously accepted for himself and his party the same low line that he awarded the South. Expressing no sympathy for the slave, he laughed at the Abolitionists<sup>27</sup> as a disturbing element

<sup>26.</sup> Reminiscences of Lincoln, pages 21, 477.

<sup>27.</sup> Mrs. Lincoln was present, and General Piatt adds, "One of Mrs. Lincoln's interjected remarks was, 'The country will find how we regarded that Abolition sneak, Seward." Rhodes says, in his *History of the United States*, Vol. II, page 325: "Lincoln was not, however, in any sense of the word, an Abolitionist." Whitney, too, says in his *On Circuit With Lincoln*, page 634, "He had no intention to make voters of the Negroes – in fact their welfare did not enter his policy at all." Rhodes quotes, in his *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, page 64, note, testimony of General Wadsworth, who was in daily communication, frequently for five or six hours, with the President and

easily controlled, without showing any dislike to the slave-holders.... We were not at a loss to get at the fact and the reason for it, in the man before us. Descended from the poor whites of a slave State, through many generations, he inherited the contempt, if not the hatred, held by that class for the Negroes. A self-made man, his strong nature was built on what he inherited, and he could no more feel a sympathy for that wretched race than he could for the horse he worked or the hog he killed.<sup>28</sup> In this he exhibited the marked trait that governed his public life.... He knew and saw clearly that the people of the free States not only had no sympathy with the abolition of slavery, but held fanatics, as Abolitionists were called, in utter abhorrence. While it seemed a cheap philanthropy, and therefore popular, to free another man's slave, the unrequited toil of the slave was more valuable to the North than to the South. With our keen business instincts, we of the free States utilized the brutal work of the master. They made, without saving, all that we accumulated.... Wendell Phillips, the silver-tongued advocate of human rights, was, while Mr. Lincoln was talking to us, being ostracised at Boston and rottenegged at Cincinnati.... The Abolitionist was hunted and imprisoned under the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument as keenly as he was tracked by bloodhounds at the South."

Then General Piatt candidly repudiates the false pretensions that are so often made to lofty, benevolent purpose in those who "conquered the rebellion," and ends as follows: "We are quick to forget the facts and slow to recognize the truths that knock from under us our pretentious claims to high philanthropy. As I have said, abolitionism was not only unpopular when the war broke out, but it was detested.... I remember when the Hutchinsons were driven from the camps of the Potomac Army

Stanton, as follows: "He never heard him speak of anti-slavery men otherwise than as 'radicals,' 'abolitionists'; and of the 'nigger question' he frequently spoke."

<sup>28.</sup> Herndon's *Lincoln*, Vol. V., page 74, *et seq.*, tells a story of Lincoln's barbarous cruelty, etc.

by the soldiers, for singing their Abolition songs, and I remember well that for nearly two years of our service as soldiers we were engaged in returning slaves to their masters when the poor creatures sought shelter in our lines."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29.</sup> Reminiscences of Lincoln, pages 480, 481, 482.