



Lincoln Lore

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

MARCH 4, 1865.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation.

Monaghan 600

One of the rarest and most valuable publications in all Lincolniana is listed in Jay Monaghan's *Lincoln Bibliography 1839-1939*, Volume 1, page 149, under the number 600. The caption title of the three page folder is *Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865*. The copy in the Foundation's collection measures 9½" x 5¾". These measurements vary somewhat from the copy in the Illinois State Historical Library.

Copies of this rare publication are to be found in the Lilly Library of Indiana University (formerly the property of Foreman M. Lebold), Library of Congress (2 copies), Goodspeed's Book Shop (likely 2 copies), Lincoln National Life Foundation, Illinois State Historical Library, Harvard University, Brown University, and in the private libraries of Carl Haverlin, Philip D. Sang, Thomas Wentworth Streeter (possibly 2 copies) which are being sold by Parke-Bernet) and H. Bradley Martin. Perhaps thirteen or fourteen copies of this publication are extant.

An explanation of the rarity of Monaghan 600 has been advanced by Carl Haverlin of Northridge, California, one of the owners of an original copy:

"If you would like one of my famous intuitive bibliographical hunches in relation to the piece you write about I'll say that I think the rarity of the 2nd Inaugural results from the fact it was never printed for general distribution but as a press handout only. That is to say I think it may have been limited by the size of the press corps to 100 copies or less. I have no fact to back up this assumption. But if I'm not right why is the 1st Inaugural relatively common?"

The Haverlin copy is described by the owner:

"A few more words to support my general theory that the piece was press impelled. I got my copy from an English dealer. It is marked in blue pencil; has a spindle scar. The blue pencil has been used to write a heading 'Last' over the printed *Inaugural Address* and again under those words 'of President Lincoln.' Below the spindle scar in blue 'Orationed' with two cryptic letters

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Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. 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 offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time,

lower case, *g h*. A numeral in ink '45 is in the upper right hand corner. An ink bracket is margined above and below the word *some* in line 8 of page 2. A blue X in front of *fundamental* on line 17. A blue doodle margins line 9 of page 3 and the word *unrequited* is underlined in blue. The same pencil wrote below the address 'Abraham Lincoln President of the United States' in two lines. The words 'of the' are obviously a speed writing compaction. Walt Whitman uses the same contraction.

"Finally and at long last there is what I am *sure* is the autograph of Lincoln on page 1 above the border... Going back to my press presumption it is possible to reconstruct some correspondent... for an English paper getting to the President and pressing his copy upon him for the signature—the proffered small pocket pen—the holding of something for A. L. to write on in the crush..."

In January 1952 at the Podell sale when the Carroll A. Wilson copy was

sold at auction for \$1,850, it was described in *American Book Prices Current* as "one of 4 copies." Perhaps this count included, in addition to Wilson's copy, the copies in the Lebold, Lilly and Illinois State Historical Libraries. Haverlin also owned his copy in 1952. At the time of the Podell sale there were no copies in the Library of Congress.

In the early 1960s, it is rumored among book collectors that the Goodspeed Book Shop of Boston, Massachusetts, located five additional copies which may account for more copies being today in institutional and private hands. Needless to state, the discovery of additional copies has not affected the value of the folder, with current prices now ranging as high as \$2,750.

An excellent article titled "The Second Inaugural On Its One-Hundredth Birthday March 4, 1865 — March 4, 1965" appeared in the March 1965 issue of *The Month*, a magazine published by Goodspeed's Book Shop, 18 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Permission to publish this article (which features M. 600) has been granted by the editor:

"On the last Sunday in February, 1865, President Lincoln entered his office holding a roll of manuscript in his hand. To a Congressman there by appointment and to Francis B. Carpenter, portrait painter and author of *Six Months at the White House*, the President said: 'Lots of wisdom in this document, I suspect. It is what will be called my "second inaugural," containing about 600 words. I will put it away here in this drawer until I want it.' Then seating himself before the fire, in a 'familiar and cheerful mood' (Carpenter wrote), Lincoln talked of the old days in Illinois.

"Lincoln had more reason to feel 'cheerful' that night than for a long time. Grant was closing in on Richmond, Sherman was advancing northward through the Carolinas, and Thomas had triumphed in the West. The end of the war was coming at last. On the 4th of March, at noon, the 38th Congress would adjourn and the 39th would not meet till December, unless called in special session. The President was about to begin his second term, which (write Randall and Current, *Lincoln the President*) 'was not expected necessarily to be his last—gamblers... were betting that he would be re-elected in 1868. After four years as a war President, he could look ahead to nearly four more, at last, as a peace President. More immediately, with no Congress in session to hinder him, he could look ahead to a few months of peace-making on his own... [to] the kind of settlement that he desired.'

'And on what the Chief Magistrate might have to say,' writes Carl Sandburg (*The War Years*), 'on his words now, such had become his stature and place, depended much of the face of events and the character of what was to happen when the war was over. This no one understood more deeply and sensitively than Lincoln as he wrote his second inaugural address.'

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He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both north and south this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward 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 his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

"The 4th of March, 1865—Inauguration Day—dawned dark and stormy. Rain fell steadily through the morning. Mud oozed through the pavement of Pennsylvania Avenue. Just before noon the rain ended but it left the spectators of the morning parade wet and bedraggled. 'Such another dirty crowd probably never was seen,' reported Noah Brooks, the *Sacramento Union's* man in Washington.

"Lincoln sat in his room in the Senate wing of the Capitol, examin-

ing and signing Congressional bills, until called to take his place in the front row of the Senate chamber, where the inaugural ceremonies were to begin. To Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles they seemed poorly planned: 'All was confusion . . . a jumble.' Besides, there were the weather and the Vice-President elect. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, who was to take the oath and speak first, was recovering from typhoid fever and was feeling poorly, wherefore, as was customary, he fortified himself with a little whiskey. But Johnson was a

temperate man, and the Senate chamber was hot, and the stimulant launched him into a rambling speech, to the great distress of Lincoln, who—as he walked to the inaugural platform outside—whispered to an aide that Andrew was to orate no more that day. At Lincoln's arrival on the capitol steps, writes Brooks:

'A tremendous shout prolonged and loud, arose from the surging ocean of humanity . . . just at that moment the sun . . . burst forth in its unclouded meridian splendor, and flooded the spectacle with glory and with light. Every heart beat quicker at the unexpected omen.'

"Then it was that Lincoln began what Lord Charnwood called 'one of the few speeches ever delivered by a great man at the crisis of his fate on the sort of occasion which a tragedian telling his story would have devised for him.'

'Fellow-Countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first.' Four years of war had been accompanied by his and others' 'public declarations . . . on every point and phrase.' Four years before 'Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *wake* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.' Carl Sandburg reports 'applause and cheers' at the words 'Both parties deprecated war' and that Lincoln paused long before adding 'And the war came.'

The President then spoke of slavery, 'somehow, the cause of this war' and an 'offence' against Providence, continuing: 'If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time . . .'

"The final sentence has long been cherished as the supreme utterance in all inaugural addresses since 1789, 'a sacred effort' as American Negro writer and lecturer Frederick Douglass called it. During these 75 words 'Reporters noticed . . . many moist eyes and here and there tears coursing down faces unashamed of emotion' (Sandburg).

'With malice toward 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 his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.'

"As we were working on this note we paused to listen to a recording of Sir Winston Churchill's *Battle of Britain* or *Finest Hour* speech. We first heard it by radio from London twenty-five years ago—and now again on the day of his funeral. How we wish we could have had on tape Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address*, and his *Second Inaugural*.

"May we be forgiven for hacking out pieces of the earlier part of the address—an offence the less pardonable because the *Second Inaugural* is the briefest of all its kind, running to little more than the 600 words Lincoln himself had counted.

"As with the even shorter address at *Gettysburg*, the greatness of the *Second Inaugural* was not at once universally recognized. Some newspapers found it too little and too general, failing in the spelling out of

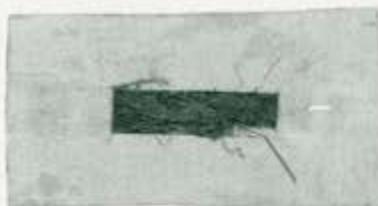
peace terms. One Pennsylvanian wrote to a fellow Keystone-Stater, Simon Cameron, Lincoln's first Secretary of War: 'Why could not Mr. [Secretary of State] Seward have prepared the Inaugural so as to save it from the ridicule of a Sophomore in a British University?' — apropos of which Messrs. Randall and Current write: 'But Cameron's correspondent knew nothing of the actual response in England... If anything, the second inaugural received even greater immediate acclaim in England than in the United States.' And Charles Francis Adams, Jr., (son of our Ambassador to England), veteran of the war and later a railroad man, thought that 'Not a prince or minister in all Europe could have risen to such an equality with the occasion.'

"Lincoln himself, in a letter of March 15th, wrote: 'I expect the [Second Inaugural] to wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them.'

"Cannon boomed as Lincoln walked from the platform. That evening, in the East Room of the White House, he shook hands (according to the press) with more than 6,000 people — among them Walt Whitman, who presently wrote the greatest of American elegies on the death of the man who had written and on that day spoken the greatest of American inaugural addresses. At midnight the crowds departed, leaving the White House, said the President's aide, Colonel Crook, looking 'as if a regiment of rebel troops had been quartered there, with permission to forage.'" Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865. [Caption title.] 8vo leaflet, removed, (short marginal tear on both leaves, pp. 3, in morocco-backed case. [Washington, 1865.] \$2,750.00

"Monaghan 600. The extremely rare first printing. "No American President had ever spoken words like these to the American People."

—Carl Schurz.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A portion of the rope with which David E. Herold was hanged July 7, 1865.

The Lincoln Conspirators

A Military Court in Washington, D.C. brought to trial eight people who were charged with conspiring to bring about the assassination and death of the Sixteenth President and the members of his cabinet and administrative staff. Of the eight prisoners, four were given a death sentence. These were Mrs. Mary A. Surratt, Lewis Paine, David E. Herold and George A. Atzerodt. The remaining four were given prison sentences. The death sentences were carried out on July 7, 1865.

In the Foundation's archives is to be found a rather gruesome relic — a piece of the rope used to hang Herold, along with a statement by W. H. Maxwell, the soldier who secured the fragment of execution:

The Regt. I was in the 4th U.S. Veteran Vols. Hancock's Corps done duty around the old Capitol prison Washington where those connected with the assassination of Lincoln were confined formed a hollow square about the scaffold when they were hanged and Co. E of which I was one cut the bodies of Mrs. Surratt, Payne, Herold & Azerott down.

W. H. Maxwell

Maxwell served three years in the Army of the Potomac, First division, being connected with the 6th Corps,

Co., 65th N. Y. Vols. and Battery C. 1st Penn. Light Artillery. He also served one year in Co. E. 4th U. S. Vet Vols. Hancock's Corps. He participated in the following battles: Lees Mill, Siege of Yorktown, Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill, Fredericksburg, twice, Salem Heights, Wilderness, Harper's Ferry, Maryland Heights, Winchester and other small skirmishes.

After the war Maxwell was an examiner and appraiser of merchandise at the New York Custom House under President Arthur and also served as postmaster for Saugerties during President Grant's first term.

Robert Lincoln — Genealogist

Editor's Note: Robert T. Lincoln, the eldest son of the President, was often reluctant to discuss the lineage of his distinguished father, but in a letter dated November 25, 1904 to William E. Curtis, Chicago Record-Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., he was unusually accommodating.

R.G.M.

Pullman Building
Chicago

November Twenty-fifth, 1904

Dear Mr. Curtis:

Very many thanks for your letter of November twelfth, in which you give me some interesting and unknown details of the ancestry of my grandmother.

The blueprint copy of the Lincoln and Boone records in Pennsylvania, is very interesting to look at, and quite amusing in the close details of the births of children. It begins with the marriage of Abraham Lincoln, son of Mordecai Lincoln in 1737. It is my understanding that this Abraham Lincoln was the brother of my ancestor John Lincoln, who left Pennsylvania and settled in Rockingham County, Virginia, about 1750. His son Abraham, went to Kentucky in 1780, and my father was the grandson of the latter.

Very Truly Yours
Robert T. Lincoln

Wm. E. Curtis, Esq.
Chicago Record Herald Bureau
Washington, D. C.

Announcement

Lincoln Lore Index 1 — 1500

About November 1, 1967 there will be available for sale a *Lincoln Lore Index* extending from the first copy issued April 15, 1929 to the fifteen hundredth copy issued in February, 1963. The index will be a 56 page publication in offset printing of green ink and will measure 11" x 8½", the identical measurements of *Lincoln Lore*. The index will be in three divisions; namely, titles, subjects and persons.

The price of the index will be released at a later date. All orders will be handled through the Lincoln National Life Foundation.