



# Lincoln Lore

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Editor  
Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 1565

Fort Wayne, Indiana

July, 1968

## Seward's Western Tour CAMPAIGN OF 1860

Senator William H. Seward of New York, the "consummate politician," took the blow of Abraham Lincoln's nomination for the Presidency as a champion. Yet he was humiliated, mortified, dejected and bitter. With a whimsical sense of humor he said he thought it was fortunate that he did not keep a diary, "for if he had there would be a record of all his cursing and swearing on the day after the news came."

Several months later, however, thinking the Republican party might need his leadership, with Lincoln at the helm, he plunged into active campaigning. He made a barnstorming trip through New England making some seven or eight speeches in support of the Republican ticket.

Meanwhile, Seward accepted an invitation to speak in Minnesota. This led to other invitations from many western cities. One invitation came from Springfield, Illinois, seconded by Lincoln, to speak in that city on August 8th (rally to celebrate Lincoln's nomination), but Seward declined because of a previous commitment in New England.

Nevertheless, a western tour began to shape up for early September with a "swing through Michigan and into Wisconsin and Minnesota, then down into Iowa and Kansas, back through Illinois and home by way of Cleveland." Seward was accompanied, once the trip got underway, by an entourage made up of his daughter Fanny and her friend Ellen Perry, Charles Francis Adams and his son Charles Francis, Jr., George E. Baker, George W. Patterson and General James Nye who was likewise accompanied by his seventeen year old daughter. However, some of the above-mentioned travelers did not last out the entire journey.

Like most political speaking tours, Seward made some major addresses and some whistle stop talks. Still suffering a personal pique over his loss of the nomination at Chicago, he had more to say about the Republican party and its principles than about Lincoln and Hamlin and their qualifications.

The Lincoln National Life Foundation has in its library a bound collection of seventeen Seward speeches made on this western trip. Seward's topics dealt largely with the foreign born and their development of Ameri-

ca's resources, the importance of free labor, the evolution of American democracy and a great deal about slavery. According to Glyndon G. Van Deusen in his new book, *William Henry Seward*, Oxford University Press, 1967, the Senator thought that "the ultimate center of American power would be near the head of navigation of the Mississippi, for Canada and Alaska eventually would be part of the American Union." Van Deusen also pointed out that Seward had little to say about the economic aspects of the Republican platform (protection, internal improvements, a homestead act, a railroad to the Pacific).

Again we might reiterate that Seward had very little to say about Lincoln. Perhaps this statement should be qualified by pointing out that he failed to mention his name in seven of the cities where he made speeches, and in the ten addresses that Lincoln's name was mentioned, the total amount of wordage accorded to the candidate was quite limited in relation to the total wordage of the whole speech.

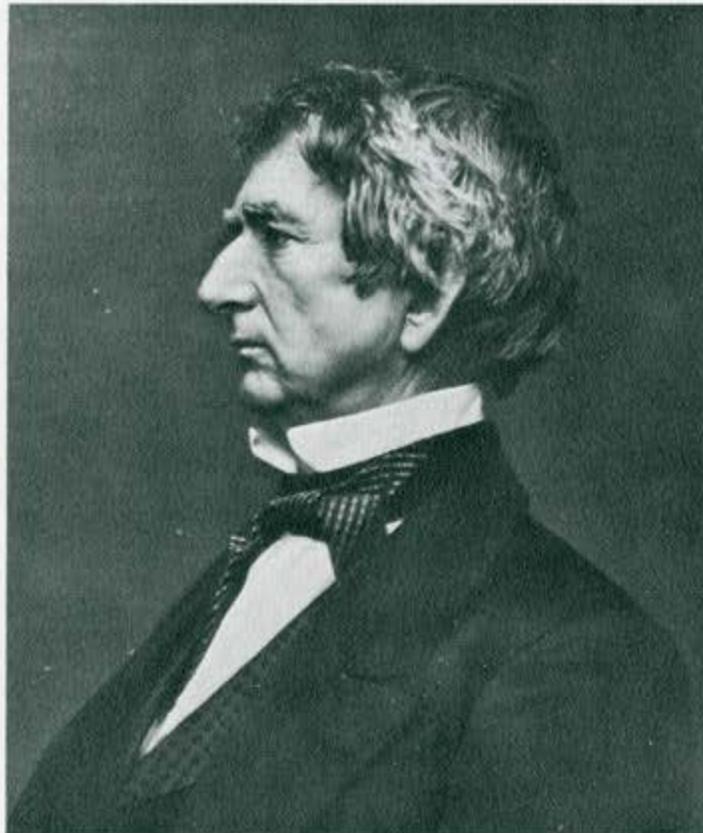
His topics have such titles as "The National Divergence and Return," "Destiny of the United States," "The West: Its Destiny and Its Duty," "Irrepressible Conflict Re-affirmed," and "Duty and Responsibility of the Northwest."

The New York Senator spoke in Detroit (2 speeches), Lansing, Madison (2 speeches), La Crosse, St. Paul, Dubuque, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Atchison, St. Joseph, St. Louis, Springfield, Chicago, Cleveland and Buffalo. It was at Buffalo that he gave his constituency a general report of his five weeks' speaking tour.

On September 4, 1860 at Detroit Seward mentioned

the Republican nominee, ". . . I feel well assured that Abraham Lincoln will not fail to re-inaugurate the ancient Constitutional policy in the administration of the government successfully, because the Republican party, after ample experience, has at last acquired the courage and the constancy necessary to sustain him, and because I am satisfied that the people at last fully convinced of the wisdom and necessity of the proposed reformation, are prepared to sustain and give it effect."

That same evening at Detroit Seward said in a speech



From the Frederick H. Mervserve Collection

William H. Seward

at Senator Chandler's lodgings: "Believe me sincere when I say that if it had devolved upon me to select from all men in the United States a man to whom I should confide the standard of the cause — which is the object for which I have lived and for which I would be willing to die — that man would have been Abraham Lincoln."

At La Crosse on September 14th Seward mentioned the nominee: "That is the only argument left — that the Union will be dissolved if we succeed in electing the honorable statesman from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. Well I propose to address a few words to you on the subject, and to examine how imminent that danger is with which we are menaced. The Union is to be dissolved, certainly, why not, if Abraham Lincoln, or the Congress of the United States acting with him, shall commit any overt act that shall be unjust or oppressive to the slave states or to any partion of the Union? But they will not wait for that, and they are very wise in not waiting for it, because if they put their threats on that condition they would, in the first place, have no argument against Mr. Lincoln's election, and in the next place they would have to wait until after the election before they raised the argument. So it must be on the condition, pure and simple, that Abraham Lincoln shall be elected President of the United States . . . if Abraham Lincoln shall be elected lawfully and constitutionally, then the government is to come down . . . if we like Abraham Lincoln as I am sure you do — don't you? (Aye, aye) if all the people of the United States like him better than they like John Bell, Stephen A Douglas or Mr. Breckinridge, how can we help his being elected."

At St. Paul on September 18th Seward said, "This battle is fought and this victory is won, provided that you stand determined to maintain the great Republican party under its great and glorious leader Abraham Lincoln, in inaugurating its principles into the administration of the government, and provided you stand by him in his administration if it shall be, as I trust it shall, a wise and just, and good one, until the adversary shall find out that he has been beaten and shall voluntarily retire from the field."

At St. Louis Seward said that "whatever lies in my power to do to bring into successful and practical operation the great principle that this government is a government for free men and not for slaves or slaveholders, and this country is to be the home of the exile from every land, I shall do as you are going to do by supporting Abraham Lincoln for President and Hannibal Hamlin for Vice-President."

On October 1st Seward's train pulled into Springfield, Illinois, for a twenty minute stop. A crowd gathered at the station to meet him. Lincoln was there with Lyman Trumbull. Cordial greetings were exchanged between them and Seward's party, amid the firing of cannon and the cheering of the crowd. When Lincoln came aboard the train, Charles Francis Adams "noted the awkward manner of the Republican nominee" and "that Seward seemed constrained in manner." Lincoln suggested a point that Seward might mention in his speech at Chicago, and Seward agreed although he wrote later that he had mentioned the identical point at Dubuque. Would this indicate that Lincoln had not bothered to read the Dubuque speech? Seward made Lincoln's point (whatever it was) in the Chicago speech, but the press reported it very briefly.

An "Interview with Mr. Lincoln" and a "Sketch of 'Old Abe'" appears in a pamphlet titled *Senator Seward's Western Tour* which carried the Senator's October 3rd Chicago speech: "At Springfield where Mr. Lincoln resides there was a crowd awaiting the arrival of the train, and a salute was fired as it approached the station. There was a rush into and about the windows of the car in which Mr. Seward was seated. Among those who pressed forward to shake him by the hand was Mr. Lincoln himself. His portrait bears a sufficient resemblance to him to make recognition easy, and yet he is not by any means so hard featured and almost repulsive looking as they represent him.

"On the contrary, while no one would call him a good looking man, neither would anyone be repelled by his aspect. The good humored expression that lurks about his clear gray eye, travels the one long, deep curved furrow down his cheek, and makes its home somewhere

"The fact of the convention was the defeat of Seward, rather than the nomination of Lincoln. It was the triumph of a presumption of availability over pre-eminence in intellect and unrivaled fame — a success of the ruder qualities of manhood and the more homely attributes of popularity, over the arts of a consummate politician, and the splendor of accomplished statesmanship."

Murat Halstead, correspondent  
for the Cincinnati *Commercial* at  
the Republican National Convention  
in Chicago, May, 1860.

in the region of his capacious mouth, must always make him friends. He dresses in the ordinary style of western lawyers, black cloth swallow-tailed coat, and pants fitting tightly to his long bony frame; the inevitable black satin vest, open low down and displaying a broad field of shirt bosom, the collar being turned down over a black silk neckerchief.

"The crowd commenced to vociferate for Seward and finally succeeded in getting him out to the platform. After alluding to the extent of his trip he said: "I am happy to express, on behalf of the party with whom I am traveling, our gratitude and acknowledgments for this kind and generous reception at the home of your distinguished fellow-citizen, our excellent and honored candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the United States. If there is in any part of the country a deeper interest felt for his election than there is in any other part, it must of course be here, where he has lived a life of usefulness; where he is surrounded by the companions of his labors and of his public services. We are happy to report to you, although we have traveled over a large part of the country, we have found no doubtful states.

"You would naturally expect that I should say something about the temper and disposition of the State of New York. The State of New York will give a generous and cheerful and effective support to your neighbor, Abraham Lincoln. I have heard about combinations and coalitions there, and I have been urged from the beginning to abandon this journey and turn back on my footsteps. Whenever I shall find any reason to suspect that the majority which the State of New York will give for the Republican candidate, will be less than 60,000, I may do so. The State of New York never fails — never flinches. She has been committed from the beginning, as she will be to the end, under all circumstances, to the great principles of the Republican party.

"She voted to establish this a land of freedom for you in 1787. She sustained the Ordinance of '87 till you were able to take care of yourselves. Among the first acts of her government, she abolished slavery for herself. She has known nothing of compromises, nothing of condition or qualification in this great principle, and she never will. She will sustain your distinguished neighbor because she knows he is true to his great principles, and when she has helped to elect him, by giving as large a majority as can be given by any half dozen other states, then you will find that she will ask less, exact less, from him, and support him more faithfully than any other state can do. That is the way she did with John Quincy Adams, that is the way she sustained Gen. Taylor, and that is the way she will sustain Gen. Lincoln."

The Springfield crowd then called on Gen. Nye for a speech and he responded. While he was speaking, the two great leaders engaged in a conversation within the train. The consensus of opinion between the two leaders was that they were pleased with the political trend of events. Mr. Lincoln said "Twelve years ago you told me that this course would be successful, and ever since I have believed that it would be. Even if it did not succeed now, my faith would not be shaken."

An invitation was then extended to the party to go some place (not definitely understood) in the city. They started to walk in Mr. Lincoln's company, but turned back when they learned that the train was scheduled to

stop for only a few minutes. The travelers returned to their seats in the car and as the train pulled out of the station Mr. Seward was cheered by the crowd.

At Chicago on October 3rd Seward said, "Mr. Lincoln represents the Republican party. He represents a party which has determined that not one more slave shall be imported from Africa, or transferred from any slave state, domestic or foreign, and placed upon the common soil of the United States. If you elect him, you know, and the world knows, what you have got."

A day later in Cleveland on October 4th Seward failed to mention Lincoln's name as the candidate for the Presidency on the Republican ticket. However, in his Buffalo speech of October 6th, Seward said: "It will gladden you when I say in relation to the state of the West, and I have had assurances there which leave no doubt that it will give its vote for Lincoln. I have seen him at his own home, and I have now to say, as I said before I went west, that he is a man eminently worthy of the support of every honest voter, and well qualified to discharge the duties of the Chief Magistracy. Above all, he is reliable; and I repeat at the foot of Lake Erie, what I said at the head of it; that if it had fallen to me to name a man to be elected as next President of the United States, I would have chosen Abraham Lincoln."

On that Saturday night, October 6th, Seward reached his home at Auburn and on October 8th he wrote Lincoln: "We arrived here on Saturday night, and I find no reason to doubt that this State will redeem all the promises we have made."

As has been mentioned before, of the political speeches in the Foundation's collection (in full or in abstract) which Seward made on his western trip, he failed to mention the Republican candidate's name in the cities of Lansing, Madison, Dubuque, Leavenworth, Atchinson, St. Joseph and Cleveland. Perhaps other speakers with Seward on the same platform mentioned the candidate's name, and no doubt at many whistle stops and in private conversation when Seward had no opportunity to develop a political theme, the name of Lincoln would become the chief topic of conversation.

In the light of modern day politics when the individual candidate or candidates is or are so important as to personality, appearance, qualifications and background, Seward's method of campaigning is very difficult to comprehend.

## Does History Repeat Itself?

Editor's Note: As sensational and tragic events have occurred in our national life this troubled year, they have recalled somewhat similar situations during the administration of Abraham Lincoln. These events have been treated under the heading "Does History Repeat Itself?"; however, current history will not stand still and the timely significance of the similar situations which confronted President Lincoln are lost as critical new national problems are constantly encountered.

R.G.M.

"I shall not seek — and will not accept the nomination of my party for another term as your President." L.B.J.

Political chaos reigned in the presidential election year of 1864, and Abraham Lincoln's advisers were pessimistic concerning the future of the party and the present incumbent of the White House. Thurlow Weed "told Mr. Lincoln that his re-election was an impossibility . . . (and) that the information would soon come to him through other channels."

Henry J. Raymond said that "unless some prompt and bold step be now taken, all is lost." He continued, "The People are wild for Peace. They are told that the President will only listen to terms of Peace on condition Slavery be 'abandoned.'" Raymond thought commissioners should be sent immediately to Richmond, offering to treat for Peace on the basis of Union. He felt that something should be promptly done, to give the administration a chance for its life.

It was six days before the Chicago Nominating Convention when Lincoln wrote his August 23rd statement. True, he as yet had no adversary, but at the same time he seemed to have no friends. It was on that date that he solemnly resolved on the course of action as indicated in the following secret note:

*Executive Mansion*

*Washington, Aug. 23, 1864*

*This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to co-operate with the President elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he can not possibly save it afterwards.*

*A. Lincoln.*

The document was carefully folded and sealed and was endorsed on the verso with autograph signatures of the Cabinet members and Lincoln's autograph date. In fact, there were three copies. One was advertised for sale in Stan V. Henkels' Catalogue 114, No. 41, January 4, 1924; there is also a signed copy in Edward D. Neill's handwriting (appointed August 23, 1864 to sign land grants) in the papers of Gideon Welles; and a third copy is in John Hay's handwriting which was not signed by Lincoln but was endorsed on the verso with autograph signatures of the Cabinet members.

Lincoln's reelection to the Presidency is a matter of history, and it was on November 11, 1864 (four days after the election) at a Cabinet meeting that the contents of the memorandum were made public. Lincoln said, "I resolved, in case of the election of General McClellan, being certain that he would be the candidate, that I would see him and talk matters over with him. I would say, 'General, the election has demonstrated that you are stronger, have more influence with the American people than I. Now let us together, you with your influence and I with all the executive power of the Government, try to save the country. You raise as many troops as you possibly can for this final trial, and I will devote all my energies to assisting and finishing the war.'"

Seward said, "And the General would answer you 'Yes, Yes;' and the next day when you saw him again and pressed these views upon him, he would say, 'Yes, Yes;' & so on forever, and would have done nothing at all." Lincoln replied, "At least, I should have done my duty and have stood clear before my own conscience."

"Any place, any time . . ." L.B.J.

Horace Greeley thought the South was ready for peace on a basis which the North could accept. So he wrote President Abraham Lincoln on July 7, 1864 about "our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country . . . (which) shudders at the prospect of fresh conscriptions, of further wholesale devastations, and of new rivers of human blood," and informed him that Confederate commissioners were then waiting at Niagara Falls, authorized to consider proposals of peace.

Lincoln replied to Greeley on July 9th:

*Your letter of the 7th; with enclosures, received. If you can find, any person anywhere professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery, what ever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you, and that if he really brings such proposition, he shall, at the least, have safe conduct, with the paper (and without publicity, if he choose) to the point where you shall have met him. The same, if there be two or more persons.*

Four days later Greeley wrote Lincoln that Honorable Clement C. Clay of Alabama, and Honorable Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, were at that moment not far from Niagara Falls and desired to confer with the President or with such persons as Lincoln would appoint.

Lincoln, meanwhile, grew impatient. Even with a promise of safe conduct (both ways) the so-called commissioners did not make their appearance, so Lincoln sent John Hay to Greeley with a very terse letter dated July 15th:

*Yours of the 13th is just received, and I am disappointed that you have not already reached here with those commissioners, if they would consent to come, on being shown my letter to you of the 9th inst. Show that and this to them, and if they will come on the terms stated in the former, bring them. I not only intend a sincere effort for peace, but I intend that you shall be a personal witness that it is made.*

Greeley went to Niagara Falls and offered to accom-

pany the supposedly accredited messengers to Lincoln, but he discovered that they were without the proper credentials.

Lincoln next wrote a "To Whom It May Concern" statement dated July 18, 1864. It follows:

*Executive Mansion  
Washington, July 18, 1864*

*To Whom it may concern:*

*Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States will be received and considered by the Executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points; and the bearer, or bearers thereof shall have safe-conduct both ways.*

*Abraham Lincoln*

This statement was carried by John Hay, who arrived at Niagara Falls on the 20th of July, but Greeley's peace efforts were a fiasco. *The New York Tribune* editor had been deceived, and he took his defeat in his little game of diplomacy in a bad spirit.

The President, however, remained consistent in his desire to meet "any persons, anywhere" or to put it differently, "at any time" to discuss conditions that would lead to peace.

"I have learned to face threats on my life philosophically and have prepared myself for anything that might come."

M. L. K.

An account of Lincoln's dream, which may have been a premonition of his approaching death, was first recorded by Ward Hill Lamson in his *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln 1847-1865*, which book was edited by Dorothy Lamson Teillard (his daughter) in 1895, and published by

A. C. McClurg and Company. According to the author, this dream was related by Lincoln "only a few days before his assassination." Lamson stated that he was present with Mrs. Lincoln when the President revealed the following secret of his sub-conscious mind:

*About ten days ago, I retired very late. I had been up waiting for important dispatches from the front. I could not have been long in bed when I fell into a slumber, for I was weary. I soon began to dream. There seemed to be a death-like stillness about me. Then I heard subdued sobs, as if a number of people were weeping. I thought I left my bed and wandered downstairs. There the silence was broken by the same pitiful sobbing, but the mourners were invisible. I went from room to room; no living person was in sight, but the same mournful sounds of distress met me as I passed along. It was light in all the rooms; every object was familiar to me; but where were all the people who were grieving as if their hearts would break? I was puzzled and alarmed. What could be the meaning of all this? Determined to find the cause of a state of things so mysterious and so shocking, I kept on until I arrived at the East Room, which I entered. There I met with a sickening surprise. Before me was a catafalque, on which rested a corpse wrapped in funeral vestments. Around it were stationed soldiers who were acting as guards; and there was a throng of people, some gazing mournfully upon the corpse, whose face was covered, others weeping pitifully. "Who is dead in the White House?" I demanded of one of the soldiers. "The President," was his answer; "he was killed by an assassin!"*

Does history really repeat itself? While these episodes in history are not carbon copies of the political, diplomatic and military maneuvers of 1968, along with the chaos and assassination that marks our troubled times, there are certain overtones which might lead one to believe that history sometimes appears to repeat itself.

### Joe Miller's Jest

A favorite yarn that is often told to illustrate Abraham Lincoln's brand of humor concerns the man with a pitchfork and a farmer's dog. According to Frederick Trevor Hill, who wrote *Lincoln The Lawyer*, the occasion when the Illinois attorney told this story was while he was defending a case of assault and battery. It had been proved that the plaintiff had been the aggressor, but the opposing counsel argued that "the defendant might have protected himself without inflicting injuries on his assailant."

With this argument in mind Lincoln said, "That reminds me of a man who was attacked by a farmer's dog, which he killed with a pitchfork. 'What made you kill my dog?' demanded the farmer. 'What made him try to bite me?' retorted the offender. 'But why didn't you go at him with the other end of your pitchfork?' persisted the farmer. 'Well, why didn't he come at me with his other end?' was the retort."

Where did Lincoln get this story which must have proved to be so valuable to him in his assault and battery case? From *Joe Miller's Jest* which was first published in 1739. Henry C. Whitney, in his book *Life on The Circuit with Lincoln*, stated that "He (Lincoln) really liked Joke books, and among others which I know to have been favorites were "Recollections of A. Ward, Showman," "Flush Times in Alabama," Petroleum V. Nasby's letters, and Joe Miller's Joke book. He would read them aloud to whomsoever he could get to listen to him."

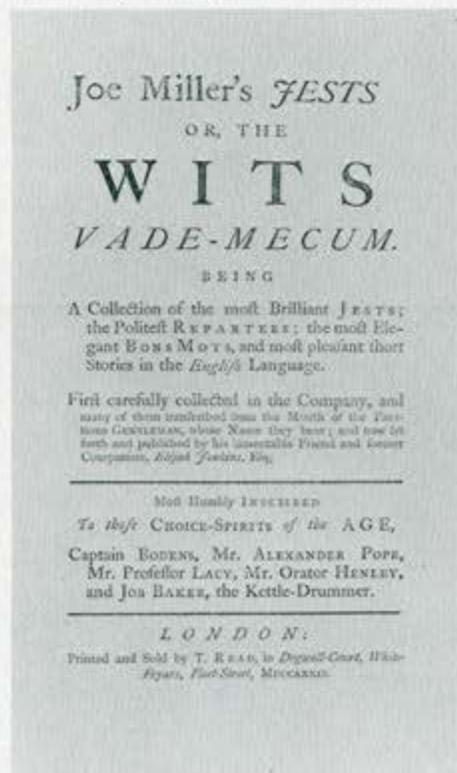
The Joe Miller version of the yarn follows: "A Dog coming open-mouth'd at a Serjeant upon a March, he run

he had run at me with his Tail."

We do not know what edition of *Joe Miller's Jest* Lincoln read. The first and subsequent early editions are real collectors' items. A description of the first edition follows: "(Mottley, John). *Joe Miller's Jest*; or the Wit's Vade-Mecum: being a collection of the most brilliant jests, the politest repartees, the most elegant bons mots, and most pleasant short stories in the English language; first transcribed from the mouth of the facetious gentleman whose name they bear, and now set forth and published by his lamented friend and former companion, Elijah Jenkins, Esq. 8 vo, London: Printed and sold by T. Read, 1739." Of the first edition very few perfect copies are known. The book sells today in fair condition from \$750 upward."

For information gathered by Hallett & Laing we must conclude that John Mottley was the compiler. "In the list of English dramatic writers appended to Whincop's *Scanderbeg*, published in 1747, it is stated under Mottley's name, that 'the book that bears the title of Joe Miller's jests was a collection made by him from other books, and a great part of it supplied by his memory from original stories recollected in his former conversations.'" Joe Miller himself was a comic actor, who made his first appearance at Drury Lane Theatre on the 30th April, 1715; in 'The constant couple'; he died on the 16 of August 1738."

The Lincoln Foundation's copy is a facsimile of the rare first edition of 1739 which was published in London about 1870.



the Spear of his Halbert into his Throat and kill'd him: The Owner coming out rav'd extremely that his Dog was kill'd, and ask'd the Serjeant, *Why, he could not as well have struck at him with the blunt End of his Halbert? So I would, says he, if*