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An analysis of the documented statements of Abraham Lincoln compared with selected biographical materials relating to slavery

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTED STATEMENTS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN COMPARED
WITH SELECTED BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS RELATING TO SLAVERY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN
LIBRARY SERVICE

BY
ELIJAH SINGLEY

SCHOOL OF LIBRARY SERVICE

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
JUNE, 1963
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The volumes written about Abraham Lincoln are vast in number and have treated nearly every aspect of his life. Many of these are writings concerned with the Civil War, Lincoln's administration, and his religion. Also, the subject of slavery occupied much space in these volumes.

That Lincoln held an extreme dislike for the abstract issue of slavery is obvious, to an extent, from his issuance of the famous Emancipation Proclamation and other more minor statements which have possibly been amplified beyond their true significance. Lincoln's greatness is assumed by many who have given biographical accounts of him. This proneness towards honorable statements about Lincoln can be attributed, among other things, to a wave of Civil War propaganda which increased with passing time.\(^1\) Usually only the familiar and admirable are written about Lincoln for two reasons: (1) the reader wishes to identify himself with the biographical hero so as to receive encouragement from the evident struggles of men who were to become successful;\(^2\) (2) the biographies are commercial in nature, causing the writers to select popular subjects. This assures consumption. In reference to the second point Leo Lowenthal states:

\(^1\) James Garfield Randall, "Has the Lincoln Theme Been Exhausted?", American Historical Review, XLI (January, 1936), 289.

Our discovery ... encouraged us to guess that what is true of the selection of people will also be true of the selection of what is said about these people ... Our content analysis not only revealed impressive regularities in the occurrence, omission, and the treatment of certain topics, but also showed that these regularities may be interpreted in terms of the very same category of consumption which was the key to the selection of the biographical subjects. Consumption is a thread running through every aspect of these stories.¹

Biographies about Lincoln, it is felt, follow systematically positive patterns in treating the subject of slavery. That is, the attitudes expressed on this subject are positive.

**Purpose and Scope**

This thesis proposes to show the correlation between the manifest contents of Abraham Lincoln's documented works with reference to slavery, and the way in which this subject is depicted in biographical material.

The scope of this thesis will cover inclusively the documented statements of Lincoln significant to this study. The phrase "Lincoln's documented works" refers to the personal letters, speeches, state papers, fragments and other materials written or dictated to recorders by Abraham Lincoln. The expression "biographical material" refers to adult and juvenile biographies in book form and biographies found in magazines.

Individuals do not always obtain their impressions of historical personalities from close, personal scrutinizations of historical documents and texts. Much of it is obtained through a more popular and less scientific medium such as biographical materials. Leo Lowenthal² stated that biographies


²Ibid., p. 289.
have flooded the market in the past three decades and have been regular presentations in popular magazines. Despite this fact, however, very little attention has been given to this phenomenon; i.e., no attention has been paid to biographies published in magazines and very little to biographies in book form. The life of Abraham Lincoln is frequently treated in biographical writings. It is stated that:

Probably there have been more adult biographies written about Abraham Lincoln than any other American. The same statement can be made about the number of juvenile biographies which have portrayed his life.1

It is hoped that this thesis will accomplish the goals of adding to the presently meager store of knowledge of the contents of biographical materials about Abraham Lincoln located in adult and juvenile books and magazine articles; and shed light on the correlation between Abraham Lincoln's statements regarding slavery derived from his documented works and his statements cited in biographical materials.

Methodology

In the writing of this thesis, the following steps were employed:

1. Roy P. Basler's The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,2 were used to locate Lincoln's statements.

2. Biographies were secured to locate biographical presentations of the theme. These included adult and juvenile biographies appearing in books and magazine articles. To locate magazine

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articles Booker's *Abraham Lincoln in Periodical Literature* was used.

3. The content analysis method was used in this study. It was applied both to Lincoln's documented works and to the biographical materials about Lincoln. The themes were identified and were quantitatively evaluated on the basis of their having favorable, unfavorable or neutral attitudes expressed in them.

4. Statements of relevance to this study were transcribed on 3" x 5" cards and assigned to proper categories. A checklist was constructed on which data pertaining to various categories of the subject of slavery were recorded. In the adult and juvenile biographies a chapter or sub-chapter was considered the unit of analysis.

5. In Lincoln's works a complete speech, letter, *et cetera*, was considered one unit of analysis. Where there was a lengthy discussion of a given theme, it was evaluated in terms of the overall context and considered one theme. A sentence which expressed the main idea of that unit was considered the representative statement for that theme. Other distinctly different themes in the unit were also noted under their separate categories.

6. In the biographical materials about Lincoln, a unit was considered the complete context of a thought.

An attempt was made to designate the period of time in which a

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statement originated. To allow for this, Lincoln's life was arbitrarily divided into three periods: (1) early childhood; (2) as congressman; and (3) as President.
CHAPTER II

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTED STATEMENTS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN COMPARED WITH SELECTED BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS RELATING TO SLAVERY

The purpose of this thesis was to show the correlation between the manifest contents of Abraham Lincoln's documented statements with reference to slavery, and the way this subject was depicted in biographical materials. In writing this thesis Roy R. Basler's\(^1\) *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* was used to locate the documented statements of Abraham Lincoln; use was made of biographical materials which consisted of both adult and juvenile biographies. Periodical articles bearing material about Lincoln and slavery were analyzed also. The content analysis\(^2\) method was used and was applied both to Lincoln's documented works and to the biographical materials.

The arrangement of this paper allowed for an approach to the study in three parts. The first part deals with an analysis of Lincoln's documented statements. Basler's multi-volume work presented Lincoln's remarks in a chronological fashion, so that Volume I contained material from 1824 through 1848, Volume II contained material from 1848 through 1858, *et cetera*. This manner of organization lent itself to an explanation of Lincoln's statements in terms of time periods.

An analysis of the biographical statements constitutes the second

\(^1\)Basler, *op. cit.*

\(^2\)Berelson, *op. cit.*
portion of this chapter. The structure is essentially the same as the first part of the study in that the source books are described, a chronological treatment of the themes is presented and a detailed analysis is given of the themes.

The third and final part of the chapter constitutes a comparison of the 21 themes found in the documented works with those found in the biographies.


**Frequency of Occurrence of 21 Themes Found in Lincoln's Documented Statements**

A total of 658 of Lincoln's statements was found among the 21 themes. These included a high of 112 statements for the theme of Extension of Slavery to a low of six each for the themes of Insurrections, Negro, and
Mulattoes (see Table 1). The theme with the largest number of occurrences occupied the second position, and in similar fashion the other themes followed in their numerical order. Of the 21 themes, nine held four rank orders. That is, the two themes, Colonization of Negroes and Slaveholders held the same numerical position with 23 statements each; the themes Politics and Suffrage for Negroes, Slavery and the Bible and Population, Negro, held the same numerical position with 13 statements each; the themes Thirteenth Amendment and Treatment of Slaves both had seven statements each; and the two themes Insurrections, Negro and Mulattoes had six statements each.

Basler's eight volume compilation contains the written communications of Abraham Lincoln dating from his earliest recorded writings which were located in an arithmetic book once owned by him. These writings were composed of doggerel poems which were written between the years 1824 and 1826.¹

It was discovered that Lincoln's references to slavery tended to increase over the years, reaching a plateau in early 1859 when he was campaigning for the office of President of the United States. By and large, the bulk of his statements for a single year occurred during the period of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, which were initiated in August of 1858 and terminated in October of the same year. The period just prior to the debates and shortly after the debates were active years for Lincoln. Many of his expressions had to do with slavery.

Volume I contained items covering a 24-year period, dating from 1824 to 1848. It was during this period that Lincoln, at the age of 22, settled

¹Basler, op. cit., I, 1.
# Table 1

## Frequency of Occurrence of Documented Statements by Lincoln

According to Theme and Date

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Vol.1</th>
<th>Vol.2</th>
<th>Vol.3</th>
<th>Vol.4</th>
<th>Vol.5</th>
<th>Vol.6</th>
<th>Vol.7</th>
<th>Vol.8</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Extension of Slavery</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Emancipation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Negroes as Soldiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
<td>(4) Abolitionism</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Slave Trade</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Fugitive Slaves</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Legal Status of Slaves</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
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<td>(8) Racial Equality</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Moral Nature of Slavery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>(10) Colonization of Negroes</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>23</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>(12) Economic Aspects of Slavery</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13) Miscegenation</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14) Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15) Politics and Suffrage for Negroes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16) Population, Negro</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17) Slavery and the Bible</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18) Thirteenth Amendment</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19) Treatment of Slaves</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20) Insurrections, Negro</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21) Mulattoes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in New Salem, Illinois, and secured work as an assistant store clerk. He manifested his first concrete political ambitions in the year 1831 when he announced, through a local newspaper, his intention of running for the Illinois State Legislature. The Black Hawk War was fought during this period and Lincoln participated briefly in the campaign as a volunteer, receiving the elective rank of Captain. He ventured into his only attempt at business with a man named Berry, but was left penniless by 1833. He was elected to the Illinois State Legislature, located in Springfield, Illinois, in 1834 and remained there until 1842 when he was defeated in an election.

The first statement of Lincoln that could be taken as suggestive of his attitude toward the Negroes and the franchise was sent to the Editor of the Sangamo Journal on June 13, 1836. It stated:

I go for admitting all whites to the rights of suffrage, who pay their taxes and bear arms, (by no means excluding females).1

This statement cannot, in the strictest sense, be taken as a positive indication of what Lincoln's attitude toward Negro suffrage was. It was a political reality of that time that Negroes did not vote (with a few exceptions) and it is very doubtful that Lincoln even gave thought to the possibility of Negro suffrage at that time. So, at most, it can only be taken as an attitude of indifference to the Negro if, truly, an attitude is really expressed.

The first documented statement in which Lincoln made mention of the Negro or slavery was in a protest on slavery in the Illinois Legislature on March 3, 1837, when he and a fellow legislator issued this resolution:

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1Ibid., I, 48.
Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned protest against the passage of the same.

They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than to abate its evils.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in different states.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; but that that power ought to be exercised at the request of the people of said District.

The difference between these opinions and those contained in the said resolutions, is their reason for entering this protest.

Dan Stone,
A. Lincoln,
Representatives from county of Sangamon

Lincoln married Mary Todd in 1842 and set up a private law practice in Springfield. In the spring of 1847 Lincoln again was elected to a public office; this time it was as a member of the House of Representatives in Washington, where he served one term.

Volume I contained 24 items referring to 13 of the themes: Extension of Slavery, four items; Emancipation, two items; Abolitionism, four items; Fugitive Slaves, one item; Moral Nature of Slavery, one item; Legal Status of Slaves, two items; Slaveholders, two items; Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes, one item; Politics and Suffrage for Negroes, two items; Population, Negro, one item; Treatment of Slaves, one item; Insurrections, Negro, two items; and Mulattoes, one item.

The Second volume covered the years 1848 through 1858. These were

\[1\text{Tbid.}, I, 48.\]
meaningful years in Lincoln's life, during which time, in 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was guided through the Congress. The substance of the new bill established that slavery could not be legislated into or out of any Federal Territory, but was to be decided by the people residing in them. The search of Lincoln's works showed him to be firmly opposed to this legislation. This is illustrated under the theme Extension of Slavery (see Table 1).

Lincoln was in private law practice in 1854, having as his partner William Herndon, one of his biographers in later years. Lincoln returned to political life in 1854 to become one of the founders of the Republican party. In 1855 he had his first encounter with Senator Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; and met him again in the autumn of 1858 at which time they held their joint debates. In the course of these speaking contests most of the themes were dealt with by Lincoln. Especially did he deal with the themes Abolitionism, Fugitive Slaves, Legal Status of Slaves, Miscegenation, Moral Nature of Slavery, Racial Equality and Slave Trade.

This volume contained 163 units, the second largest number of statements from a single volume of the documented statements of Abraham Lincoln. Forty-eight of the items referred to Extension of Slavery, six to Emancipation, 13 to Abolitionism, nine to Slave Trade, six to Fugitive Slaves, 10 to Legal Status of Slaves, 15 to Racial Equality, nine to Moral Nature of Slavery, seven to Colonization of Negroes, 11 to Slaveholders, five to Economic Aspects of Slavery, six to Miscegenation, five to Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes, two to Politics and Suffrage for Negroes, four to Slavery and the Bible, three to Population, Negro, two to Treatment of Slaves, and two to Mulattoes.
Volume III contained items involving the years 1858 through 1860. The debates between Lincoln and Douglas continued in this volume and because of the enthusiasm created by these contests, Lincoln was in great demand as a speaker in the Mid-West, especially in Illinois. He made a few speeches in the East, the most important, perhaps, being his address at Cooper Institute in New York City in early 1860. The speech helped to win support from this urbane audience for the Presidential elections held later that year. The tone of Lincoln's speech was unequivocally favorable toward the eradication of slavery and was punctuated by such remarks as this, referring to those who sympathized with the extension of slavery:

All they ask, we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask, they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition, as being right; but, thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this? ... Let us have faith that right makes might, and in this faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.¹

This volume contained 207 comments of Lincoln on the 21 themes, the greatest number of items found in any one book. Approximately one-third of the statements made by Lincoln regarding slavery are contained in this volume. In terms of individual themes it included 44 units for Extension of Slavery; nine for Emancipation; 19 for Abolitionism; Slave Trade, 16; Fugitive Slaves, 18; Legal Status of Slaves, 15; Racial Equality, 19; Moral Nature of Slavery, 12; Colonization of Negroes, four; Slaveholders, five; Economic Aspects of Slavery, five; Miscegenation, 14;

¹Ibid., III, 549-550.
Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes, two; Politics and Suffrage for Negroes, six; Slavery and the Bible, seven; Population, Negro, five; Treatment of Slaves, three; Insurrections, Negro, one; and Mulattoes, three.

The fourth volume, which covered the years 1860 through 1861, noted a sharp drop in representation of themes. This was Lincoln's first year as President and he had to contend with the straining issues of war. On one hand he had to be firm in dealing with the secessionist states, and on the other hand had to be very diplomatic lest he drive away the loyal border states. His statements with regard to slavery were conservative, generally, and sometimes conciliatory. Lincoln made it clear in his inaugural speech that the federal government had no right to interfere with slavery where it existed and that the Constitution made specific provisions for the return of fugitive slaves:

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor, may be due."

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other ....

The 62 units discovered in this volume included 10 statements regarding the theme Extension of Slavery; eight for Emancipation; six for

\[1\textit{Ibid.}, \ IV, 263.\]
Abolitionism; Slave Trade, seven; Fugitive Slaves, 11; Legal Status of Slaves, two; Racial Equality, three; Moral Nature of Slavery, two; Colonization of Negroes, one; Slaveholders, three; Economic Aspects of Slavery, four; Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes, one; Slavery and the Bible, two; Population, Negro, one; and Insurrections, Negro, one.

Volume V held Lincoln's statements for the time period 1861 through 1862 when Lincoln was hard pressed for effective generals to command his armies. The Confederates were gaining victory after victory over the hapless Union troops and battle losses were great. Perhaps for this reason Lincoln showed his first inclination to make use of Negroes in the war effort. He made the following remark to the Senate and House of Representatives on July 17, 1862:

I am now ready to say I think it is proper for our military commanders to employ, as laborers, as many persons of African descent, as can be used to advantage.¹

Fifty-seven themes were located in the fifth volume. The theme Emancipation was represented with 23 items; Negroes as Soldiers, seven; Slave Trade, five; Fugitive Slaves, three; Moral Nature of Slavery, two; Colonization of Negroes, seven; Economic Aspects of Slavery, two; and one each for Extension of Slavery, Abolitionism, Slaveholders, Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes, Population, Negro, Thirteenth Amendment, Treatment of Slaves, and Insurrections, Negro.

Volume VI revealed 53 items, of which 19 dealt with Emancipation, 24 with Negroes as Soldiers, three with Extension of Slavery, two with Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes and one each for Fugitive Slaves,

¹Ibid., V, 330.
Slave Trade, Legal Status of Slaves, Colonization of Negroes, and Insurrections, Negro. Lincoln released the head of his army, General McClellan, and performed the tasks that usually fall on military men only. He directed the army until he found a competent general in the person of General Grant. The preliminary Emancipation Proclamation was issued by Lincoln in 1862, and it made provisions for the issuance of another one on January 1, 1863, declaring slaves free in all states still in rebellion against the Union.

The seventh volume contained statements dating from the latter part of 1863 through 1864. It revealed 63 units of reference, of which 26 referred to Negroes as Soldiers, 17 referred to Emancipation, four to Legal Status of Slaves, three each for Colonization of Negroes and Economic Aspects of Slavery; there were two references to politics and Suffrage for Negroes, the Thirteenth Amendment and the Slave Trade. There were four themes with one reference: Extension of Slavery, Moral Nature of Slavery, Slaveholders, and Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes.

Lincoln made his famous Gettysburg Address in November of 1863, dedicating the Gettysburg battlefield as a national cemetery.

Volume VIII contained 29 items of reference to 10 themes. These were: Extension of Slavery, one item; Emancipation, seven items; Negroes as Soldiers, five items; Slave Trade, one item; Legal Status of Slaves, four items; Economic Aspects of Slavery, two items; Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes, two items; Politics and Suffrage for Negroes, one item; Population, Negro, two items; and Thirteenth Amendment, four items.

Lincoln was elected to a second term as President and was inaugurated on the fourth of March, 1865. A little more than a month afterwards he was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth.
A Quantitative Analysis of Attitudes Toward Slavery as Revealed in Lincoln's Statements

This part of the paper reports a quantitative count of Lincoln's attitudes as revealed through specific statements relating to the 21 themes. For example, if one of his statements regarding the theme, Treatment of Slaves, was rated favorable, it indicated that Lincoln had made a statement of a favorable nature toward the Negro and was not meant to imply that he favored harsh treatment of the Negro. Similarly, a rating of favorable assigned to the theme, Slave Trade, did not indicate that Lincoln was favorably disposed toward the slave trade but that he opposed it since opposition to it was an attitude favorable to the Negro. A rating of unfavorable to any theme indicated an unfavorable attitude toward the Negro; and a neutral rating indicated that no pro or con attitude was discernible.

(1) Extension of Slavery.—Usually, Lincoln displayed firm opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories of the West but during the second debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Freeport, Illinois, he expressed one of the few unfavorable attitudes checked for this theme. In reply to a question posed by the Chicago Times attempting to determine his position on the admission of more slave states, Lincoln stated:

I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave states into the Union.¹

More frequently, however, Lincoln's attitude was summed up by such statements as the following which was made to William H. Seward:

¹Ibid., III, 40.
I say now, however, as I have all the while said, that on the territorial question - that is, the question of extending slavery under the national auspices, I am inflexible. I am for no compromise which assists or permits the extension of the institution on soil owned by the nation. And any trick by which the nation is to acquire territory, and then allow some local authority to spread slavery over it, is as obnoxious as any other.¹

Falling into this category were 112 items, the largest number of any theme. It composed roughly 17 per cent of all items from Lincoln's works. Eighty of these statements were favorable, three were unfavorable, and 29 were neutral.

(2) Emancipation.—This theme refers to the Emancipation Proclamation and any general statement referring to the liberation of slaves through more or less legitimate and legal processes. In a message to Congress Lincoln remarked:

Fellow citizens of the Senate, and House of Representatives,

I recommend the adoption of a Joint Resolution by your honorable bodies which shall be substantially as follows:

"Resolved that the United States ought to co-operate with any state which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences public and private, produced by such change of system."²

In another situation Lincoln did not appear amenable to the liberation of the slave. He revoked a proclamation of emancipation issued by General Hunter on May 9, 1862, by declaring:

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, proclaim and declare, that the government of the United States, had no knowledge, information or belief, of an intention on the part of General Hunter to issue such a proclamation;

¹Ibid., IV, 103.

²Ibid., IV, 144.
nor has it yet, any authentic information that the document is genuine. And further, that neither General Hunter, nor any other commander, or person, had been authorized by the government of the United States, to make proclamations declaring the slaves of any state free ...."\(^1\)

Ninety-one, or roughly 14 per cent of the items found in Lincoln's works, were discovered under this theme. Sixty-six favored emancipation, three were unfavorable and 22 were neutral.

(3) **Negroes as Soldiers.**—Negroes were used extensively as soldiers during the latter stages of the Civil War. The statement below reflects the tone of Lincoln's statements regarding this category:

> There will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they strove to hinder it.\(^2\)

Some of the references made to this category were of a neutral character, such as this statement:

> The Governor of Kansas is here, asking that Lieut. Col. J. M. Williams, of a colored regiment there, shall be removed \(^3\).

Despite the praise Lincoln heaped on the Negro soldiers after they had proven their abilities as soldiers, he harbored deep reservations about their use and was admittedly opposed to their use at one period of time. As a newspaper contemporary with Lincoln reported:

> A deputation of Western gentlemen waited upon the President this morning to offer two colored regiments from the

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, V, 222.


\(^3\) *Ibid.*, VI, 188.
state of Indiana ... The President received them courteously, but stated to them that he was not prepared to go to the length of enlisting Negroes as soldiers ....

Almost 80 per cent of Lincoln's statements with reference to Negro soldiers were favorable. There were 48 favorable statements, three negative and 11 neutral.

(4) Abolitionism.--Theme number four related primarily to the anti-slavery sentiments which became crystallized in the form of societies and organizations for the abolition of slavery prior to the Civil War. Such individuals as William Lord Garrison, Elijah P. Lovejoy, John Brown and the doctrines they fostered typified this theme. Only a few of Lincoln's statements regarding this theme were positive. One of the favorable themes was obtained from a newspaper account of one of his speeches at Springfield, Illinois. As the September 11, 1854 edition of the Illinois State Register reported:

The whole tenor of his discussion was to satisfy the Whig portion of his audience that affiliation with abolitionism was the only salvation of their country, and (Heaven save the mark!) of the country!

Generally, the statements were of a neutral nature, much as this statement is neutral:

The Republicans were charged with being responsible for the John Brown raid, yet a committee of Congress, with unlimited powers, had failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise.

In one of the few remarks rated unfavorable in tone Lincoln said of Stephen A. Douglas:

1Ibid., V, 356-357.
2Ibid., II, 229.
3Ibid., III, 553.
He knows that we are before an audience, having strong sympathies southward by relationship, place of birth, and so on. He desires to place me in an extremely Abolition attitude.  

The search among Lincoln's documented statements revealed 43 references to the theme of Abolitionism. Six of these were favorable, seven were unfavorable and 30 were neutral. This represented approximately seven per cent of the total of the 21 themes combined. Statements in regard to Abolitionism ranked fourth in frequency of occurrence.

(5) Slave Trade.--Primarily, this theme referred to the foreign slave trade, or the importation of Negroes from Africa to America. It referred also, to a much lesser extent, to slave trade within the confines of the United States. Lincoln was roundly critical and unsympathetic to the slave trade as exemplified by this remark:

For myself, I have no doubt of the power and duty of the Executive, under the laws of nations, to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States. If Congress should think that proceedings in such cases lack the authority of law, or ought to be further regulated by it, I recommend that provision be made for effectually preventing foreign slave traders from acquiring domicile and facilities for their criminal occupation in our country.  

Senator Douglas posed a question to Lincoln at one time which inquired as to Lincoln's attitude regarding the prohibition of slave trade between the different states. Lincoln replied:

I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States.  

1Ibid., III, 496.  
2Ibid., VIII, 140.  
3Ibid., III, 40.
This was not a typical attitude of Lincoln regarding slave trade, but was made, perhaps, to pacify a partisan Douglas audience. Neutral items consisted of such expressions as this:

There was no place spoken of where slaves could be got. There was no provision made in the Constitution, that the African slave trade should ever be suppressed—that it should be repealed. There was a total silence on that question. There is a misunderstanding with some people on this subject.¹

Among the 41 statements about the slave trade, 30 were favorable, two were unfavorable and nine were neutral. This theme ranked fifth in the frequency of occurrence.

(6) Fugitive Slaves.—Statements relative to the Fugitive Slave Law, a measure providing for the return to their masters of escaped slaves, composed the bulk of this theme. In this category Lincoln received a rating of unfavorable for a majority of the units identified. He believed strongly in carrying out the provisions of the Constitution and since the Constitution provided for the return of fugitives, Lincoln was steadfast in his insistence that runaways should be returned to their owners. The Illinois State Journal reported about Lincoln in a favorable tone:

Mr. Lincoln then stated, somewhat in detail, the early action of the General Government upon the question—in relation to the foreign slave trade, the basis of Federal representation, and the prohibition of slavery in the Federal territories; the Fugitive Slave clause in the Constitution, and insisted that, plainly that early policy, was based on the idea of slavery being wrong; and tolerating it so far, and only so far, as the necessity of its actual presence required.²

¹Ibid., III, 464.
²Ibid., III, 498.
Other statements were more unfavorable in tone:

We profess to have no taste for running and catching niggers ... at least I profess no taste for that job at all. Why then do I yield support to a fugitive slave law? Because I do not understand that the Constitution, which guarantees that right, can be supported without it.¹

A sizeable number of neutral themes, illustrated below, were found. In reference to Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln exclaimed:

I will not answer questions one after another unless he reciprocates, but as he made this inquiry and I have answered it before, he has got it without my getting anything in return. He has got my answer on the Fugitive Slave Law.²

The study uncovered 40 items, or roughly six per cent of the total number of items causing this theme to rank sixth in terms of frequency of occurrence. Nine items were favorable, 18 were unfavorable and 13 were neutral.

(7) Legal Status of Slaves.—This category was used to include such items as the legal rights of slaves generally, but was used also to include references to the legal rights of Negroes regardless of whether free or slave. Constitutional questions regarding the legality of slavery as an institution were included also. In one of the few unfavorable items located, Lincoln said in correspondence to Elihu B. Washburn:

I have just received your brother's speech sent me by yourself. I had read it before; and you will oblige me by presenting him with my respects, and telling him I doubly thank him for making it—first, because the points are so just and well put; and next, because it is so well timed. We needed, from some one who can get the public attention, just such a

¹Ibid., III, 317.
²Ibid., III, 16.
speech just at this time. His objection to the Oregon constitution because it excludes free negroes, *sic*, is the only thing I wish he had omitted.  

In referring to the Dred Scott Decision, Lincoln stated positively:

> By every principle of law, ever held by any court, North or South, every negro taken to Kansas is free; yet in utter disregard of this ... that beautiful Legislature gravely passes a law to hang men who shall venture to inform a negro of his legal rights.  

Thirty-eight items were recorded in this category. The theme ranked seventh numerically, and revealed 25 favorable items, four unfavorable and nine neutral.

(8) Racial Equality.—Comprised in this theme are Lincoln's attitudes with regard to the equality of whites and Negroes. Lincoln asserted repeatedly the equality of man as an abstract principle. Few of his remarks were unfavorable. This is one of the exceptions, referring to those who upheld the Dred Scott Decision:

> Sustain these men and negro equality will be abundant, as every white laborer will have occasion to regret when he is elbows from his plow or his anvil by slave niggers.  

A majority of Lincoln's statements, however, were of a positive nature. Following is an example of one of his statements rated favorable:

> It is equally impossible to not see that that common object is to subject, in the public mind, and in practical administration, our old and only standard of free government, that "all men are created equal," and to substitute for it some different standard. What that substitute is to be is not difficult to perceive.

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1. Ibid., III, 351.
2. Ibid., II, 321.
3. Ibid., II, 78.
It is to deny the equality of men, and to assert the natural, moral and religious right of one class to enslave another.\footnote{Ibid., III, 205.}

In eight of the items designated favorable the tone was generally positive. However, Lincoln qualified his assertions by defining in what ways he felt that Negroes and whites were equal; he accepted that Negroes were equal to whites in terms of their natural rights but he did not accept that they were equal in all respects. To illustrate this, an example is given:

Judge Douglas took his ground that negroes \textit{/sic/} were not included in the Declaration of Independence ... I think the authors of that noble instrument intended to include all \textit{/italics his/} men, but they did not mean to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what they did consider all men created equal—equal in certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.\footnote{Ibid., III, 301.}

Thirty-seven items were located. Twenty-five items were favorable, five were unfavorable and seven were neutral.

\textbf{(9) Moral Nature of Slavery.—}This category was comprised of items referring to slavery as an unjustifiable and morally indefensible institution. Lincoln made most of his statements of this nature during the "Debates" but also made similar statements at other times. Following is a favorable item:

Mr. Douglas takes it for granted that slavery is not a moral wrong. To him it is a matter of indifference whether it is "voted up or voted down." Of course, then, if he makes any pretense to morality, he considers that no moral question is involved.\footnote{Ibid., III, 483.}
The one neutral item consisted of an article in a newspaper referring to one of Lincoln's speeches:

After quoting an article from the Richmond Enquirer to prove that the democracy, to be consistent, should endorse slavery as morally right, that the constitution would afford no protection to slavery in the States unless this ground was assumed—he proceeded to state the gist of the issue in the present canvas. That issue was the intervention of Congress to prohibit the extension of slavery—shall slavery be extended, or shall its extension be prohibited by a law of Congress.¹

It was discovered that there were 27 units in this category. Twenty-six of the remarks were favorable and one was neutral. There were no negative statements. The favorable statements comprise more than 96 per cent of the items of the category.

(10) Colonization of Negroes.—This theme referred primarily to Lincoln's opinions concerning the colonization of freed Negroes in Liberia and Central America. He favored such an endeavor until a small colony of Negroes sent to a part of Central America met with unforeseen disaster. Lincoln dispatched a ship to bring the remaining members of the colony back to the United States. His attitude toward colonization was expressed early in his political career:

If all earthly powers were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land.²

Lincoln's neutral statements were usually of a routine nature, such as a statement to the Senate in 1864:

¹Ibid., II, 369.
²Ibid., III, 15.
I herewith communicate a report from the Secretary of the Interior, in response to the resolution of the Senate of the 25th of March last, from which it will be perceived that all the official information possessed by the Department on the subject of colonization has already been communicated to the Senate.¹

Of the 23 statements dealing with Colonization of Negroes, 16 were favorable and seven were neutral; none were unfavorable.

(11) Slaveholders.—Lincoln was not opposed to all slaveholders since some of his close acquaintances owned slaves. He spoke favorably of Henry Clay, a slave owner, and one of his political models:

I am unwilling to close without referring more particularly to Mr. Clay's views and conduct in regard to it. He ever was, on principle, and in feeling, opposed to slavery. The very earliest, and one of the latest public efforts of his life, separated by a period of more than fifty years, were both made in favor of gradual emancipation of the slaves in Kentucky. He did not perceive, that on a question of human right, the negroes were to be excepted from the human race. And yet Mr. Clay was the owner of slaves. Cast into life where slavery was already widely spread and deeply seated, he did not perceive, as I think no wise man has perceived, how it could be at once eradicated, without producing a greater evil, even to the cause of human liberty itself ...²

But there was another slave owning type that Lincoln spoke of only in negative terms:

You have amongst you, a sneaking individual, of the class of native tyrants, known as the "Slave-Dealer." He watches your necessities, and crawls up to buy your slave, at a speculating price. If you cannot help it, you sell to him; but if you can help it, you drive him from your door. You despise him utterly. You do not recognize him as a friend, or even as an honest man. Your children must not play with his; they may rollick freely with the little negroes, but not with the "slave-dealers" children. If you are obliged to deal with him, you try to get through the job without so

¹Ibid., II, 130.
²Ibid., II, 264.
much as touching him. It is common with you to join hands with the men you meet; but with the slave-dealer you avoid the ceremony—instinctively shrinking from the snaky contact. If he grows rich and retires from business, you still remember him, and still keep up the ban of non-intercourse upon him and his family. Now why is this? You do not so treat the man who deals in corn, cattle or tobacco .... 1

One of the neutral items in this category follows:

You say if Kansas fairly votes herself a free state, as a christian you will rather rejoice at it. All decent slave-holders talk that way; and I do not doubt their candor. But they never vote that way. 2

Twenty-three units were discovered of which five were favorable, six unfavorable and 12 were neutral.

(12) Economic Aspects of Slavery.—This theme dealt with statements referring to the general cost of maintaining slavery and the value of the slave. It did not deal with compensated emancipation, which is dealt with under the theme Emancipation. Following is an example of a favorable theme:

There are 400,000 free negroes in the United States. All the race came to this country as slaves. How came these negroes free? At $500 each, their value is $2,000,000. Can you find two million dollars worth of any other kind of property running about without an owner? These negroes are free because their owners, in some way and at some time, felt satisfied that the creatures had mind, feeling, souls, family affections, hopes, joys, sorrows; something that made them more than hogs or horses. 3

More than one half of the statements were neutral:

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1 Ibid., II, 264.
2 Ibid., III, 322.
3 Ibid., II, 245-246.
One-sixth, and a little more, of the population of the United States are slaves—looked upon as property, as nothing but property. The cash value of these slaves, at a moderate estimate, is $2,000,000,000.\(^1\)

The investigation resulted in the identification of 19 items relating to Economic Aspects of Slavery. Nine, or a little less than one-half per cent, were favorable, and 12, or a little more than one-half per cent, were neutral. There were no unfavorable statements.

(13) Miscegenation.—Lincoln, as revealed in his documented works, was almost unanimously opposed to intermarriage between whites and Negroes. One statement only was found that was favorable in tone:

Judge Douglas received a copy of my speech some two weeks before his return to Illinois. He had ample time to examine and reply to it if he chose to do so. He did examine it, and he did reply to it, but he wholly overlooked the body of my argument, and said nothing about the "conspiracy charge," as he terms it. He made up his speech of complaints against and tendencies to negro equality and amalgamation.\(^2\)

During the debate with Douglas at Charleston, Illinois, Lincoln stated:

I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been ... in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people...\(^3\)

An equally large number of items pertaining to this theme were neutral, much as the item below:

Douglas pretends to be horrified at amalgamation, yet had he not opened the way for slavery in Kansas, could there have been any amalgamation there?\(^4\)

\(^1\)Ibid., IV, 9.
\(^2\)Ibid., II, 539.
\(^3\)Ibid., III, 145.
\(^4\)Ibid., III, 80.
One item was favorable, nine items were unfavorable and 10 were neutral.
The bulk of these statements were made during the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

(14) Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes.—Matters pertaining to housing, education, general living conditions, work, et cetera, were treated under this theme. Lincoln was favorably disposed to welfare and other similar measures for Negroes.

And while she is at it, I think it would not be objectionable for her to adopt some practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of their old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for young blacks should be included in the plan.¹

One favorable statement regarding this theme was located. In his autobiography Lincoln reported that he and Allen Gentry, coming from New Orleans:

... were attacked by seven negroes with intent to kill and rob them. They were hurt some in the melee, but succeeded in driving the negroes from the boat, and then "cut cable" "weighed anchor" and left.²

Eleven items were favorable, one was unfavorable and three were neutral.

(15) Politics and Suffrage for Negroes.—Items included in this area referred primarily to the franchise for Negroes. To a lesser extent it referred to Negroes holding public offices. In arguing the point of the Negro's right to the franchise, Lincoln stated:

These colored persons were not only included in the body of 'the people of the United States'; by which the Constitution was ordained and established; but in at least five of the States they had the power to act, and, doubtless, did act, by their suffrages, upon the question of its adoption.³

¹Ibid., VI, 365.
²Ibid., IV, 62.
³Ibid., II, 403.
On a few occasions Lincoln made statements of an unfavorable nature regarding the Negro's right to hold political offices:

I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been ... in favor of making jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office ....

The Sangamo Journal reported on one of Lincoln's speeches, presenting one of his neutral statements:

He then reviewed the political course of Mr. Van Buren, and especially his votes in the New York Convention in allowing Free Negroes the right to suffrage ....

There were 13 items composed of seven favorable, three unfavorable and three neutral statements.

(16) Population, Negro.—Items comprising this theme referred to the number of slaves in all the states or large masses of Negroes and slaves. Neutral items, such as the one following, composed the majority of the items of this category:

There are in the United States and Territories, including the District of Columbia, 433,643 free blacks.

Thirteen items were located pertaining to this theme. There were two favorable items and 11 neutral items. There were no unfavorable comments.

(17) Slavery and the Bible.—There were those who attempted to justify slavery on religious grounds, stating it was sanctioned by God and the Bible. This theme relates primarily to Lincoln's comments on these attempts at justifying slavery. An example follows:

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1Ibid., III, 145.
2Ibid., I, 210.
3Ibid., II, 265.
The sum of pro-slavery theology seems to be this: "Slavery is not universally right, nor yet universally wrong; it is better for some people to be slaves; and, in such cases, it is the will of God that they be such." Thirteen items were discovered. Eleven were favorable and two were neutral. There were no unfavorable statements.

(18) Thirteenth Amendment.--The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolished slavery as an American institution. It was ratified only after Lincoln's death, but Lincoln made the recommendation for the creation of such an amendment:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United State of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of both houses concurring), that the following article be proposed to the legislatures of several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said Constitution, namely: Article XIII. Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime ....

Seven units only were found that referred to this theme. They were all favorable.

(19) Treatment of Slaves.--This theme related to Lincoln's comments regarding the harsh treatment dealt out to the slave. Lincoln sent a letter to Miss Mary Speed of Louisville, Kentucky, on September 27, 1841, describing a sight he had seen on board a ship at St. Louis:

A gentleman had purchased 12 negroes in different parts of Kentucky and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one at a convenient distance from, the

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1 Ibid., III, 204.

2 Ibid., VIII, 253.
others; so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and sisters and brothers, and many of them, from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where....

In a speech to a Massachusetts delegation on March 13, 1862 Lincoln stated in a more neutral fashion:

But as we meet here socially, let us not think only of shipping rebels, or to those who seem to think only of whipping negroes, but of those pleasant days which it is to be hoped are in store for us.2

The investigation revealed seven units. Four of them were favorable and three were neutral. No unfavorable items were represented.

(20) Insurrections, Negro.--One of two themes containing just six items, this theme refers to armed risings by slaves against their masters. Lincoln made only neutral statements pertaining to the topic. An example is below:

Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican party was organized.3

(21) Mulattoes.--This category contained items with reference to children of mixed marriages, usually identified by the terms mulattoes, quadroons, octaroons, et cetera. Following is a statement that was rated favorable:

Turn, then, to that horror striking scene at St. Louis. A single victim only was sacrificed there. His story is very short; and is, perhaps, the most highly tragic, of anything of its length, that has ever been witnessed in

1 Ibid., I, 260.
2 Ibid., V, 158.
3 Ibid., III, 540.
real life. A mulatto man, by the name of McIntosh, was seized in the street, dragged to the suburbs of the city, chained to a tree, and actually burned to death; and all within a single hour from the time he had been a freedman, attending his own business, and at peace with the world.\(^1\)

One statement in this category was favorable and five statements were neutral in tone.

The combined number of favorable items numbered 389, or about 59 per cent; the combined unfavorable items numbered 64, or about 10 per cent. The total number of neutral items numbered 205, or about 31 per cent. All categories combined totaled 658 items. Table 2 illustrates the treatment of the themes.

**Frequency of Occurrence of 21 Themes in Biographical Materials about Lincoln**

One of the initial hypotheses on which this paper was based was that in biographical materials written about Abraham Lincoln, the writers tended to attribute to Lincoln favorable attitudes about the Negro and slavery that were disproportionate to what could be proven through a comparison with his documented works. That is, it was felt a more favorable image of Lincoln was presented through biographical materials than in his documented works.

Three types of biographical materials were employed in this thesis. They consisted of adult biographies, juvenile biographies and magazine articles. Ten adult biographies were used. The adult biographies included Lord Charnwood's *Abraham Lincoln*,\(^2\) William Herndon's *Life of*

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, I, 110.

# Table 2

## Treatment of the Themes in Lincoln's Documented Works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>(1) Extension of Slavery</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>112</td>
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<td>(2) Emancipation</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>91</td>
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<td>(3) Negroes as Soldiers</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>62</td>
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<td>(4) Abolitionism</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21) Mulattoes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>389</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Per Cent</strong></td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abraham Lincoln, 1 Emanuel Hertz's Lincoln Talks, 2 Stefan Lorant's The Life of Abraham Lincoln, 3 Emil Ludwig's Lincoln, 4 Carl Sandburg's three volume set, Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years, 5 Robert Dickinson Sheppard's Abraham Lincoln: A Character Sketch, 6 and Benjamin Thomas' Abraham Lincoln. 7

The format of the adult biographies was basically the same in that most of the books gave a complete treatment to Lincoln's life. Carl Sandburg's three volume set was the one exception. The first of the set dealt with Lincoln's childhood and early manhood. The other two volumes dealt with the period of his presidency. Lorant's book had a sizeable number of photos and illustrations. These included most of the known photographs of Abraham Lincoln, pictures of his various homes, his wife and family, his friends, the leading Union generals, his Cabinet, political cartoons and various documents.

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2 Emanuel Hertz, Lincoln Talks (New York: Halycon House, 1941).


5 Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln: The War Years and the Prairie Years (3 volumes; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939).


There were 10 juvenile biographies employed in this study. They included D'Aulair's *Abraham Lincoln*, 1 Foster's *Abraham Lincoln: An Initial Biography*, 2 Foster's *Abraham Lincoln's World*, 3 Gorham's *The Real Book About Abraham Lincoln*, 4 Judson's *Abraham Lincoln: Friend of the People*, 5 Komroff's *Abraham Lincoln*, 6 Le Sueur's *The River Road*, 7 Nicolay's *The Boy's Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 Nolan's *Abraham Lincoln*, 9 and North's *Abraham Lincoln*. 10

Each of the juvenile biographies gave a complete account of Lincoln's life with the exception of Le Sueur, who presented only the childhood of


Lincoln; and D'Aulair, who presented Lincoln's early life in picture-book form. Most of the volumes were profusely illustrated.


1 John Coleman Adams, "Lincoln's Place in History," The Century Magazine, XXV (February, 1894), 590-596.
5 William E. Dodd, "Lincoln or Lee," The Century Magazine, XCI, No. 6 (April, 1927), 661-173.
11 Ratcliffe Hicks, "Abraham Lincoln as An Advocate," The Century Magazine, XXV (February, 1894), 638.

The magazine articles were selected from both scholarly periodicals and popular magazines and were all published prior to 1941. The earliest article, by Bancroft, was written in 1865, the year of Lincoln's death.

In order to approximate the chronological treatment given to Lincoln's documented works in the biographical material, Lincoln's statements were


3 "The Negro Problem in Foreign Eyes," The Nation, February 18, 1909, 158.


9 Clarence True Wilson, "Bishop Matthew Simpson, the Man Who Inspired the Emancipation Proclamation," Current History (October, 1929), 99-106.
divided into time periods. A scheme consisting of three categories was devised. These categories were labeled "Early Childhood," "Lawyer and Congressman," and "President." These time periods were adequately delineated in the biographical materials most of the time so as to give a good idea of the time period to which each theme belonged.

In the adult biographies it was discovered that the greatest number of references fell into the category "Lawyer and Congressman," with 321 statements. A number only slightly smaller, 319, fell into the category "President" and the remaining 48 statements were assigned to the category "Early Childhood." The themes that were most prominent included Extension of Slavery, with 68 units; Emancipation, with 119 units of reference to the themes; Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes, with 56 references; Legal Status of Slaves, with 53 references.

The juvenile biographies were slightly different from the adult biographies in that there were relatively and actually more themes falling into the "Early Childhood" bracket. This is understandable in light of the fact that the books were designed for a juvenile audience that would be interested in Abraham Lincoln's boyhood. The other two time categories were similar to the adult biographies in that they were nearly identical in terms of the number of references in each. The category "Lawyer and Congressman" contained 78 references and the category "President" contained 77 items.

The magazine articles used in this study dealt basically with the adult phase of Lincoln's life. The references to him are those that would be categorized as belonging to the period when he was President. The one exception, perhaps, would be the article by Hay, which presents
TABLE 3
FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF 21 THEMES IN BIOGRAPHICAL PUBLICATIONS ABOUT ABRAHAM LINCOLN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Frequency of Occurrence</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adult Biographies</td>
<td>Juvenile Biographies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Emancipation</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Extension of Slavery</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Abolitionism</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Legal Status of Slaves</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Moral Nature of Slavery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14) Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Racial Equality</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19) Treatment of Slaves</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Slaveholders</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Negroes as Soldiers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Fugitive Slaves</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Slave Trade</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) Colonization of Negroes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21) Mulattoes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) Economic Aspects of Slavery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16) Population, Negro</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15) Politics and Suffrage for Negroes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13) Miscegenation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20) Insurrections, Negro</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17) Slavery and the Bible</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18) Thirteenth Amendment</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a complete history of Lincoln's life. The length of the articles generally precluded a complete treatment of his life. There were 60 items.

Treatment of Themes in Biographical Materials

Adult Biographies

(2) Emancipation.—The theme, Emancipation, with 119 items, ranked in the first position among the themes for adult biographies. In each adult biography this theme ranked first. Hertz alone accounted for nearly one-fourth of the items in this category. One of the favorable items from his book stated:

A memorial was presented to the President from the children and young people of Concord, Massachusetts, petitioning for the freedom of all slave children. In reply, he wrote:

"Tell those little people I am very glad their young hearts are so full of just and generous sympathy, and that while I have not the power to grant all they ask, I trust they will remember that God has; and that it seems He wills to do it."1

A number of the references were neutral, merely giving some anecdote of Lincoln:

A distinguished public officer, in an interview with the President, introduced the question of emancipation.

"Well, you see," said Mr. Lincoln, "we've got to be very cautious how we manage the negro [sic] question. If we're not we shall be like the barber out in Illinois, who was shaving a fellow with a hatchet face and lantern jaws like mine. The barber stuck his finger into his customer's mouth to make his cheek stick out, but while shaving away he cut through the fellow's cheek and cut off his own fingers. If we are not very very careful we shall do as the barber did."2

Lorant contained two items of this theme that rated unfavorable. One of the statements declared:

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1Hertz, op. cit., pp. 329-330.

2Ibid., p. 331.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Adult Biographies</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favorable</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)  Emancipation</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1)  Extension of Slavery</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)  Abolitionism</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)  Legal Status of Slaves</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)  Moral Nature of Slavery</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)  Negroes as Soldiers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)  Racial Equality</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)  Fugitive Slaves</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19)  Treatment of Slaves</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)  Slaveholders</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)  Slave Trade</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)  Colonization of Negroes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21)  Mulattoes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15)  Politics and Suffrage for Negroes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16)  Population, Negro</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13)  Miscegenation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12)  Economic Aspects of Slavery</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20)  Insurrections, Negro</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18)  Thirteenth Amendment</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17)  Slavery and the Bible</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>412</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>206</strong></td>
<td><strong>688</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The abolitionists were still fuming with anger because a few weeks earlier the President had revoked General Freemont's proclamation which gave freedom to the slaves in the territory under his command. Senator Charles Sumner derided Lincoln as a dictator, "but how vain to have the power of a God and not use it godlike." He was assailed not only by anti-slavery men; censure came even from his erstwhile political supporters, and thus hurt him deeply.  

This theme, in addition to having the largest count of the 21 themes, also had the greatest number of favorable units. There were 85 favorable references. Five references were unfavorable and 29 were neutral (see Table 4).

(1) Extension of Slavery.—This theme contained 68 items of which 48 were favorable, 20 were neutral; there were no unfavorable items. Thomas, in referring to Lincoln's attitude relative to this theme, characterized him in this fashion:

Opposed to unnecessary agitation to the slavery question, Lincoln remained silent during the discordant debates that shook the House. But he voted consistently for legislation designed to establish free governments in California and New Mexico and would claim later he voted for the Wilmot Proviso in one form or another no less than forty times.  

The Proviso of David Wilmot never passed Congress. If it had, it would have been instrumental in containing slavery in the states where it existed, preventing it to spread. One of the decisive questions asked during the Lincoln-Douglas Debates was posed to Douglas by Lincoln:

"Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way against the wishes of citizens of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" ...  

This famous question looked very innocent in a casual reading ... Mr. Douglas gave himself away completely on that occasion, and fell into Lincoln's trap, rendering his election to the Presidency impossible ....

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1 Lorant, op. cit., p. 147.
2 Thomas, op. cit., pp. 126-127.
3 Hertz, op. cit., pp. 144-147.
This theme was classed as neutral.

(4) Abolitionism.—Theme number four, contained 18 favorable items, 15 unfavorable items, and 23 neutral items. Charnwood, who generally spoke favorably of Lincoln, related that:

His one recorded speech of this period ... a harsh reference to Abolitionists serves to disguise the fact that the whole speech is animated by antagonism to slavery. The occasion and the subject are used with rather disagreeable subtlety to insinuate opposition to slavery into the minds of a cautious audience.¹

Thomas, however, did not venture to throw favorable light on Lincoln concerning the theme:

Except for three temperance speeches, Lincoln took no part in the manifold social and reform movements that swept the country in the forties. Neither the Liberty Party, the political manifestation of the abolition movement, nor the extreme anti-slavery doctrines of such agitators as William Lloyd Garrison held any appeal for him. The abolitionists, to his way of thinking, were doing more harm than good. Had not the Whig abolitionists of New York State brought about the defeat of Henry Clay and thus made certain the annexation of Texas, another slave state, by voting for James G. Birney, the Liberty Party candidate?²

Thomas also managed to show the noncommittal attitude Lincoln took of the subject when he was not verbally attacking the abolitionists.

Following is an example:

Lincoln ... did mention anti-abolition disorder specifically when he said: 'There is no grievance that is a fit subject of redress by mob law. In any case that arises, as for instance, the promulgation of abolitionism, one of two positions is necessarily true; that is, the thing is right within itself, and therefore deserves the protection of all law and all good citizens; or it is wrong, and therefore proper to be prohibited

¹Charnwood, op. cit., p. 111.

²Thomas, op. cit., pp. 111-112.
by legal enactments; and in neither case, is the interposition of mob law, either necessary, justifiable, or excusable."

This statement was made by Lincoln after the mob violence at Alton, Illinois, in which Elijah P. Lovejoy, the abolitionist, was killed.

(14) Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes.—Frequent references were made in the adult biographies to Lincoln's attitudes toward Negro individuals, many in need of assistance. Below are examples of these attitudes as expressed in the adult biographies:

The President had singular ways with checks. He once drew another for five dollars payable to "colored man with one leg," a sufficient identification for the most careful teller at the meticulous Riggs Bank.\

It must have been with great relief that he (Lincoln) read letters of good will like that from William Florville, a colored barber whom he had known at New Salem and Springfield.

This attitude was especially pronounced during the later stages of Lincoln's life as President. Lincoln was especially aware of the particular needs of the emancipated Negroes. Thomas bears out this point:

In a letter to General Banks in Louisiana four months before, Lincoln had expressed the hope that the people, in establishing a new state government, would adopt some practical system whereby whites and blacks "could gradually live themselves out of their old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for young blacks should be included in the plan." As a man of Southern origins, Lincoln understood that racial adjustments would take time and careful planning.

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1Ibid., p. 72.
2Ibid., p. 483.
3Ibid., p. 485.
deep-seated prejudices must be acknowledged as realities to be dealt with, because "a universal feeling, whether well or ill founded," he once said, "cannot be safely disregarded." The main thing was to make a start. If a new state government would recognize the permanent freedom of the Negroes and take measures to prepare them for their new status, Lincoln would not object to temporary restrictions made necessary by their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class. Providing certain over-riding principles were respected, he would allow the Southern people to solve their own race problems.¹

Sandburg spoke of Lincoln generally in a favorable or neutral tone. Some of the items rated unfavorable in his biography of Lincoln were treated so because of the absence of favorable comment to justify what might otherwise be an unfavorable item. That is, he reported incidents of an ostensibly negative nature without adding comments. Therefore, the item was rated purely on the basis of the incident, the attitude being drawn from the context. An example is Sandburg's description of Lincoln's involvement with marauding Negroes during one of his trips down the Mississippi River:

Below Baton Rouge, on the "Sugar Coast," they tied up at the plantation of Madame Duchesne one evening, put their boat in order, and dropped off to sleep. They woke to find seven Negroes on board trying to steal the cargo and kill the crew; the swift and long-armed Lincoln swung a crab-tree club, knocked some into the river, and with Allen Gentry chased the others into the woods, both coming back to the boat bleeding. Lincoln laid a bandana on a gash over his right eye that left a scar for life as it healed. Then they cut loose the boat and moved down the river.²

It is interesting how this experience was related in Sheppard. Contrary to the Sandburg item, it was rated favorable:

¹Ibid., pp. 406-407.
²Sandburg, op. cit., p. 46.
Abe was tired of his home, as a son of Thomas Lincoln might be, without disparagement to his filial piety; and he was glad to get off with a neighbor on a commercial trip down the river to New Orleans. The trip was successful in a small way, and Abe soon after repeated it with other companions. In the first trip the great emancipator came in contact with the Negro in a way that did not seem likely to prepossess him in favor of the race. The boat was boarded by Negro robbers, who were repulsed only after a fray in which Abe got a scar which he carried to the grave. But he saw slaves manacled and whipped at New Orleans; and though his sympathies were not far-reaching, the actual sight of suffering never failed to make an impression on his mind.¹

Falling into this category were 56 statements of which 35 were favorable, three were unfavorable and 18 were neutral.

(7) Legal Status of Slaves.—Theme number seven contained 53 units of reference to Lincoln's remarks regarding slavery. This number was comprised of 19 favorable, 11 unfavorable and 23 neutral references. Lincoln maintained, through most of his public life, the Southerners' rights under the Constitution to hold slaves. He wanted to stress this in his first Inaugural speech:

Unrolling his manuscript and adjusting his spectacles, Lincoln faced the anxious crowd. His first words offered reassurance to the South. "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists," he declared. "I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Just before adjournment Congress had passed a thirteenth amendment to the constitution, forever guaranteeing slavery in the states from Federal interference, and Lincoln, having made a last-minute insertion in his manuscript, promised his support to this amendment. Since he thought such a guarantee was already implied in the constitution he said, "I have no objection to its being made express, and irrevocable." He would respect the constitutional provision for the capture and return of fugitive slaves.²

¹Sheppard, op. cit., p. 122.
²Thomas, op. cit., p. 246.
Moral Nature of Slavery.--Lincoln was revealed as having accepted slavery as an immoral institution even though it had constitutional protection. He never once stated slavery to be morally acceptable. His first recorded public disapproval of slavery occurred in the Illinois Legislature:

Granting that slavery had become a sectional question, how could the issue be resolved he asked. Only by one side or the other yielding. Who should yield? There could be only one answer. The side that was normally wrong. Right could never yield to wrong.

Yet Lincoln blamed the South for the existence of slavery no more than he blamed the North. Slavery was a national evil.¹

Forty-nine statements pertaining to theme nine were located. Forty-six of these were favorable and three were neutral.

Negroes as Soldiers.--There were 40 references to this theme of which 29 were favorable, three were unfavorable and eight were neutral. Thomas captured the essence of Lincoln's attitude regarding the theme with the following statement:

Besides those persons who were dissatisfied that he did not bring peace, Lincoln continued, there were others who disapproved of his actions respecting the negro. Many declared that they would not fight for the negro. Lincoln did not ask them to, he said, he asked them to fight for the Union. But the negro, to whatever extent he could aid the Union cause, left so much the less that white soldiers must do ... they must be given an incentive. "Why should they do anything for us, if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive--even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept."

"... And then, there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consumation; while I fear there will be some white ones, unable to forget that with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they have strove to hinder it.

¹Ibid., p. 169.
"Still, let us not be over sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result."

Picturesquely eloquent, Lincoln's letter revealed a man chastened by responsibility, trusting in the intelligence of the people and in God.¹

(8) Racial Equality.--Theme eight consisted of 36 statements. Twenty-six of these themes were favorable, four were unfavorable and six were neutral. Lincoln consistently maintained that - in the abstract - the Negro was equal to the whites. He believed firmly in the Jefferson dictum:

Lincoln often let his mind dwell on Jefferson and those other earnest patriots who met at Independence Hall and brought new hope to all mankind with the avowal that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness."²

A neutral representation of the same theme is quoted below:

Once in 1858 Lincoln wrote a meditation he didn't use in any of the debates. It was a private affair between him and his conscience:

Yet I have never failed--do not now fail--to remember that in the republican cause there is a higher aim than that of mere office. I have not allowed myself to forget that the abolition of the Slave-trade by Great Britain was agitated a hundred years before it was a final success; that the measure had its open fire-eating opponents; its stealthy "don't care" opponents; its dollar and cent opponents; its inferior race opponents; its negro equality opponents ....³

(6) Fugitive Slaves.--Theme six contained 33 statements. Of these, 12 were favorable, nine were unfavorable and 12 were neutral. Theme

¹Ibid., p. 397.
²Ibid., p. 267.
³Sandburg, op. cit., p. 252.
six is another example of Lincoln's strong adherence to the specifications of the Constitution. An example of an unfavorable statement follows:

He counseled Chase that the plank in the Ohio platform calling for repeal of the fugitive slave law endangered the party's fortunes in more conservative regions and must by all means be kept out of the national convention.1

During the latter stages of the Civil War Lincoln changed a long standing attitude regarding fugitives and encouraged his commanders to refuse to return fugitives to their owners. Prior to this time he accepted fugitive slaves with an attitude of resignation of indifference. He complied with the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law since it had the weight of the Constitution behind it. Below is an example of this attitude:

Lincoln quickly made up his mind. To all inquiries he gave essentially the same response: as to fugitive slaves, slavery in the District of Columbia, the internal slave trade, and "whatever springs of necessity from the fact that the institution is amongst us," he cared but little.2

(19) Treatment of Slaves.--This theme contained 28 statements. Twenty-one were favorable, one was unfavorable and six were neutral. The following statement was rated favorable:

"John Hanks said that on his second visit to New Orleans, Lincoln was so distressed by a slave auction that he declared: 'If I ever get a chance to hit that thing, I'll hit it hard. But Hank's testimony is questionable because he left the party at St. Louis. ... Doubtless what he saw of slavery repelled him, but

---

1 Thomas, op. cit., p. 196.

2 Ibid., p. 229.
we must doubt that he gave such dramatic expression to his distaste at this time of life.\textsuperscript{1}

The following was rated neutral:

Near the capitol, "Lincoln saw the sort of negro livery stable" where, as he remarked, "droves of negroes were collected, temporarily kept and finally taken to Southern markets, precisely like droves of horses."\textsuperscript{2}

(11) Slaveholders.--There were 28 references to this theme of which 14 were favorable, four were unfavorable and 10 were neutral. A favorable example follows:

"Your children," exclaimed Lincoln, "may play with the little black children, but they must not play with his"--the slave dealer's, or the slave driver's, or the slave hunter's. By that fact alone, as he bittingly but unanswerably insisted, the whole decent society of the South condemned the foundation on which it rested.\textsuperscript{3}

This statement was rated neutral:

Referring to the divisions upon the Missouri Compromise, Mr. Lincoln once said: "It used to amuse me to hear the slave-holders talk about wanting more territory, because they had not enough room for their slaves....\textsuperscript{4}

(5) Slave Trade.--This theme contained 18 statements of which nine were favorable and nine were neutral. A favorable statement, taken from Hertz, follows:

A slave-trader languished in a Massachusetts prison-serving out a five years' sentence and still confined from inability to procure the thousand dollars to pay a

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., p. 24.

\textsuperscript{2}Hertz, op. cit., p. 135.

\textsuperscript{3}Charnwood, op. cit., p. 59.

\textsuperscript{4}Hertz, op. cit., p. 135.
superimposed fine. Mr. Alley, Congressman of Lynn, laid
the unfortunate's petition before President Lincoln.
(Lincoln said:)
"My friend, this is a touching appeal to my feelings.
You know that my weakness is to be, if possible, too easily
moved by appeals to mercy, and if this man were guilty of
the foulest murder that the arm of man could perpetrate I
might forgive him on such an appeal. But the man who
could go to Africa, and rob her of her children, 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. No! He may rot in jail before
he shall have liberty by any act of mine!"1

The statement following represents a neutral item:

In New Orleans, Lincoln could read advertisements of
traders, one giving notice: "I will at all times pay
the highest cash prices for Negroes of every description,
and will also attend to the sale of Negroes on commission,
having a jail and yard fitted up expressly for boarding
them."2

(10) Colonization of Negroes.--Sixteen references were found for
this theme. Thirteen of these were of a favorable nature, one was
unfavorable and two were neutral. Lincoln presented a resolution to
the Congress for compensated emancipation and colonization, two pro-
posals he highly favored. The following refers to Lincoln's issuance
of the proposal:

Lincoln, affixing his signature on April 16 wrote:
"I have never doubted the constitutional authority of
Congress to abolish slavery in this District; and I have
ever desired to see the national capitol freed from the
institution in some satisfactory way. Hence there had
never been in my mind any question upon the subject except
the one of expediency, arising in view of all the cir-
cumstances. I am gratified that the two principles of
compensation and colonization are both recognized and
practically applied in the act."3

---

1Ibid., pp. 330-331.
2Sandburg, op. cit., p. 52.
3Thomas, op. cit., pp. 311-312.
Below is an example of one of the two neutral statements:

A dramatic, history-making figure rose out of Missouri affairs, ready to embroil Lincoln in a fiery episode ... Frank Blair, Jr. ... advocated compensated emancipation and colonization of the Negroes five years before Lincoln brought those issues to Congress.1

(21) Mulattoes.--This theme contained 16 statements. Eleven of the statements were favorable and five were neutral.

Lincoln's Mississippi River experiences composed, perhaps, the most frequently referred to incidents of Lincoln's life. In one form or another, the adult biographies treated this set of experiences. Following is an example - rated as favorable - taken from Hertz:

In New Orleans, for the first time, Lincoln beheld the true horrors of human slavery. No doubt, as one of his companions has said: "Slavery ran the iron into him then and there."

One morning in his rambles over the city the trio passed a slave auction. A vigorous and comely mulatto girl was being sold. She underwent a thorough examination at the hands of the bidders: they pinched her flesh and made her trot up and down the room like a horse, to show how she moved, and in order, as the auctioneer said, that "bidders might satisfy themselves" whether the article they were offering to buy was sound or not.

The whole thing was so revolting that Lincoln moved away from the scene with a deep feeling of "unconquerable hate." Bidding his companions to follow him he said: "Boys, let's get away from this. If ever I get a chance to hit that thing, I'll hit it hard!"2

(15) Politics and Suffrage for Negroes.--This theme contained 15 statements. Ten of these were favorable, two were unfavorable and three were neutral. Lincoln was amenable to the franchise being given to Negroes who had served as soldiers in the war and to those of a higher

1Sandburg, op. cit., p. 512.
2Hertz, op. cit., p. 15.
intelligence. Below is a quotation from a letter Lincoln sent to the new free-state Governor of Louisiana:

Lincoln, it may be noted had suggested to Louisiana that "it would be well to frame some plan by which the best educated of the Negroes should be admitted to the franchise."

Sandburg contained one of the statements rated as unfavorable, which is as follows:

On December 18 the President had met Monty Blair and General Banks in a White House hall and called them into his office. "They immediately began to talk about Ashley's bill," wrote Hay. The bill included recognition of the new state government of Louisiana. "The President had been reading it carefully and said that he liked it with the exception of one or two things which he thought rather calculated to conceal a feature which might be objectionable to some. The first was that under the provisions of that bill negroes would be made jurors and voters under the temporary government." Banks observed: "Yes, that is to be stricken out ... It would simply throw the Government into the hands of the blacks, as the white people under that arrangement would refuse to vote."2

(16) Population. Negro.--It was discovered that the theme contained 14 units of which five were favorable and nine were neutral. One of the neutral statements follows in the example below:

After his Cooper Union lecture, Lincoln visited his eldest son, Robert, who was studying at Phillips Academy in New Hampshire's Exeter. He could stay with his son only for a short time; the demands for speeches were heavy ... the main theme of his speeches was slavery. In Hartford he said "One-sixth and a little more of the population of the United States are slaves looked upon as property, as nothing but property. The cash value of these slaves, at a moderate estimate, is $2,000,000,000."3

1Charnwood, op. cit., p. 363.
2Sandburg, op. cit., III, 762.
3Lorant, op. cit., p. 82.
(13) **Miscegenation.**—In this category were 13 statements of which one was favorable, 10 were unfavorable and two neutral. One item only could be found in the adult biographies which suggested that Lincoln was agreeable to intermarriage:

Of a law forbidding intermarriage of white and Negroes, he said: "The law means nothing. I shall never marry a Negress, but I have no objection to anyone else doing so. If a white man wants to marry a Negro woman, let him do it, if the Negro woman can stand it. Slavery is doomed--even Judge Douglas admits it to be an evil and an evil can't stand discussion. In discussing it we have taught a great many thousands of people to hate it who had never given it thought before."^1

One of the statements that was unfavorable to the theme follows:

Lincoln protested the "counterfeit logic" of Douglas's claim that Republicans stood for complete racial equality. Because Lincoln did not want a black woman for a slave, it did not follow that he wanted her for a wife.2

The statement below received a rating of neutral:

Lincoln ... mentioned Douglas being horrified at the thought of mixing blood by the white and black races," and commented, "In 1850 there were in the United States, 506,523 mulattoes. Very few of these are the offspring of whites and free blacks; nearly all have sprung from black slaves and white masters...3

(12) **Economic Aspects of Slavery.**—This theme contained 12 statements of which two were favorable, one was unfavorable and nine were neutral.

A favorable statement follows:

Lincoln expounded on the opportunities for advancement offered by a system of free labor and subtly pointed out

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1Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
2Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175.
3Sandburg, *op. cit.*, I, 227.
that a compliant attitude of mind toward slavery might eventually lead to the enslavement of all working men, white as well as black.¹

(20) Insurrections, Negro.--Seven statements were located for the theme. There were two favorable statements and five neutral statements. The following statement was given a favorable rating:

Although a slave revolt would have paralyzed the Confederacy and might have ended the war, Lincoln took care that no such barbarism should scourge the South. He enjoined the black men to abstain from unnecessary violence and to labor faithfully for wages. Such as chose to serve would be received in to armed forces of the United States. And upon this act, .... Lincoln invoked "the considerate judgment of mankind of the gracious favor of Almighty God."

... Proslavery Northern Democrats saw Lincoln's perfidy unmasked; after wheedling them into supporting a war for the Union, he had turned it against slavery.²

The statement below is an example of a neutral item:

That the year of '63 was coming to an end with not one Negro slave revolt, not one scene of killing and plunder, as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation made the going easier for Lincoln.³

(18) Thirteenth Amendment.--Of the six statements dealing with this theme five were favorable, one was unfavorable and none were neutral.

Following is a favorable item:

Delegates en route to the national convention called on Lincoln to learn his views. He had already suggested to ex-Governor Edwin D. Morgan of New York--that the platform should advocate a thirteenth amendment to the constitution, abolishing slavery. Such an amendment... would also mark the doom of slavery by ending it in the border states.⁴

¹ Thomas, op. cit., p. 196.
² Ibid., p. 359.
³ Sandburg, op. cit., II, 424.
⁴ Thomas, op. cit., p. 427.
(17) Slavery and the Bible.—There were five statements for this category of which one was favorable and four were neutral. The following statement is an example of a neutral item:

The first thing that must have struck him was that in this part of the world there were no white servants, and very few whites engaged in any kind of servile occupation. The "black man" (who was not always black, being sometimes of a shade of brown hard to distinguish from the sun-tanned whites) had been subjugated and did not revolt against his servile lot. Who among the masters could be expected to renounce the advantages of a commanding position, simply on moral grounds? Had not the men of God excellent reasons with which to justify the enslavement of the Negroes? The sons of Esau, they said, must pay for their father's greed. Esau had sold his birthright, and now a few million Africans in America must atone for the weakness of a Jewish herdman in Palestine, who had lusted after a mess of pottage.¹

Juvenile Biographies

The total number of statements located in the juvenile biographies was 214. These were composed of 146 favorable statements, 15 unfavorable and 53 neutral statements. The themes follow in the order of the frequency of occurrence of statements in the juvenile biographies (see Table 5).

(2) Emancipation.—This theme consisted of 35 references of which 33 were favorable and two were neutral. A sample statement follows:

The Southerners came to bargain. Their first proposal was that the Union must treat with the Confederate states as an independent nation.

"Oh, no, gentlemen! Lincoln said, and he added that he could not countenance any agreement which compromised the very principles for which the war had been waged.

If the Confederacy would submit to the Union rejoining it and viewing the emancipation of slaves as an accomplished fact--then the various terms of peace could easily be settled.²

¹Ludwig, op. cit., p. 30.
²Nolan, op. cit., p. 162.
(1) **Extension of Slavery.**—Theme number one was comprised of 27 statements. Twenty-three of these were favorable, four were neutral and there were no unfavorable representations. An illustration of this theme follows:

"A man can buy Indianny land from the government for two dollars the acre, Dennis," Tom said, "Cheap, eh? No crowds there and no slavery; they've got a law that keeps it out. When Indianny's voted into the Union it'll be a free state. I don't like slavery... The Lincolns were Quakers way back. Quakers are agin slavery. And so am I!"  

(4) **Abolitionism.**—Theme number four contained 22 statements of which nine were favorable, seven were unfavorable and six were neutral. Following is a representative statement:

... He had nothing good to say about the Abolitionists. His faith was in the Constitution.  

(19) **Treatment of Slaves.**—In the juvenile biographies this theme consisted of 12 favorable statements, one unfavorable statement and eight neutral statements. This totals 21 for the theme. A sample statement of this theme follows:

He saw that every bale, barrel and burden was carried on the head and shoulders of black slaves. They ran up the gangways and down again. They moved along the wharves chained together, pacing their movement by their sorrowful song ... A bearded driver, a big white man, waved a rawhide whip, and snapped it around their bare chests as he barked at them like a maniacal dog ...  

Sixteen of this number were comprised of favorable statements and two were neutral. Following is an example of the theme:

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3 LeSueur, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
As a nation we began by declaring that "All men are created equal." We now practically read it "All men are created equal, except Negroes." When the know-nothings get control, it will read "All men are created equal, except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics."\(^1\)

(7) Legal Status of Slaves.—Seventeen statements were found in this category. Seven items favored the theme, three were unfavorable and seven were neutral. An example follows:

Foreign affairs were not neglected either. The President recognized the Negro governments of Haiti and Liberia and developed the friendship with Russia which made it possible for the United States to buy Alaska five years later.\(^2\)

(14) Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes.—This theme contained 16 statements with reference to Lincoln. Ten of these were favorable, one was rated unfavorable and five were rated neutral. Below is an example of this theme:

As he spoke to them of the things he wanted to do for the South ... a voice wailed stridently from the White House lawn.

Lincoln looked out and saw a Negro woman being turned away by a sentry. He opened the door: "What is it, sentry?"
"This woman, sir. She says she's got to talk to you."
"Let her in, please."
The woman knelt at his feet.
"No, don't kneel to me," he said. "Kneel only to God. After which, Lincoln discovered the woman to be in dire need. Her husband was a soldier, but she had not heard from him in some time. Lincoln said, he would investigate, see that she gets her husband's pay.\(^3\)

(11) Slaveholders.—Nine statements were located. They consisted of three favorable statements, one unfavorable statement and five neutral statements. Following is an example of the theme:

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\(^1\) Gorham, op. cit., p. 172.
\(^2\) Judson, op. cit., p. 184.
\(^3\) Nolan, op. cit., pp. 169-170.
As soon as the slave-owning states knew that Abe had won, they knew their power over the government had ended. There had been so much talk of violence and so much hatred against Abe by those who were slaveowners or friends of slaveowners.¹

(9) Moral Nature of Slavery.--There were 18 statements located in this category of which 17 were favorable and one was neutral. A representative statement follows:

"Well, I don't know the right of slavery," Abe said, "but I think the pro-slavery arguments are thin as soup made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that has starved to death. I know this much clear and simple--I wouldn't want to be a slave."²

(6) Fugitive Slaves.--Theme six contained six items of which three were favorable, one unfavorable and two were neutral. Below is a representative statement:

Only one thing I go again you, ma'm, yore fam'ly is slave catchers. I don't hold to that.

(21) Mulattoes.--Contained in this category were four statements with three favoring mulattoes and one neutral statement. Below is a statement referring to Lincoln's impressions of a slave auction at which a mulatto girl was being sold:

They floated to the Illinois River, to the Mississippi, and down to New Orleans. While Offutt sold his cargo and the boat, Abe revisited the city. He saw a slave girl on the auction block--a sight that stayed with him always, and marred his pleasure in the city.⁴

¹Gorham, op. cit., p. 134.
²LeSueur, op. cit., p. 47.
³Ibid., p. 78.
⁴Judson, op. cit., p. 74.
(16) Population, Negro.—Four items were located. Two of the statements were favorable and two were neutral. According to the account given in Gorham, Lincoln was approached by a group of "radicals" who urged him to free the slaves. Lincoln hesitated initially, but had a change of mind some time afterwards:

After two years of war, he decided he needed the four million Negro slaves as allies.¹

(20) Insurrections, Negro.—There were three statements located that pertained to the theme. Two of the statements were favorable and one was unfavorable. The statement referred to below was made by Lincoln after he had issued the Emancipation:

He asked "freed persons" to refrain from violence and to work for fair wages....²

(10) Colonization of Negroes.—Located in this category were three statements. They favored colonization of the Negro. An example follows:

"While his friends talked (about slavery) Abe Lincoln brooded, seeking an answer to the question, an answer which would exactly agree with his own conscience. He detested the theory that human beings could be held in bondage, bought and sold like cattle. It was absurd, illogical--wicked! But weren't the Abolitionists too radical, too hasty?" Lincoln then reflected on the possibility of sending Negroes to Africa.³

(5) Slave Trade.—Three statements were discovered that referred to the theme. Two were favorable and one was neutral. Below is an example of the internal slave trade:

¹Gorham, op. cit., p. 154.
²Judson, op. cit., p. 178.
³Nolan, op. cit., p. 59.
### Table 5

**TREATMENT OF 21 THEMES IN JUVENILE BIOGRAPHIES ABOUT ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Juvenile Biographies</th>
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<tr>
<td>(8) Racial Equality</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>(11) Slaveholders</td>
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<td>(7) Legal Status of Slaves</td>
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<td>(3) Negroes as Soldiers</td>
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<td>(15) Politics and Suffrage for Negroes</td>
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<td>(18) Thirteenth Amendment</td>
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<td>(13) Miscegenation</td>
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<td>146</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>53</td>
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Abe stayed in New Orleans a month ... He saw auctioneers selling people just as if they were cattle, or furniture, or machinery.¹

(12) Economic Aspects of Slavery.—Three neutral statements were located. Below is an example:

Many people who were known as radicals had been urging Abe to win all the slaves to the Union side by setting them free. At first Abe said no. For one thing, the slave-owners had invested about three billion dollars in slaves, and some of these men lived in states which had not seceded ... Abe hoped to keep their friendship for the Union side.²

Periodical Articles

Sixty different statements were discovered among the magazine articles. Thirty-nine were favorable, 13 were unfavorable and eight were neutral (see Table 6). The themes, in their rank order, were:

(2) Emancipation.—Theme two revealed a total of 17 statements. This consisted of 13 favorable statements, two unfavorable and two neutral statements. Following is an example of this theme:

The measure by which Abraham Lincoln takes his place, not in American history only, but in universal history, is his proclamation on January 1, 1863, emancipating all slaves within the insurgent states.³

(1) Extension of Slavery.—Six items were discovered in this category. This number consisted of five favorable and one unfavorable reference. An example of this theme is below:

Lincoln said that he voted for the Wilmot Proviso "as good as forty times... Later he carried the case against

¹Gorham, op. cit., p. 65.
²Ibid., p. 153.
³Bancroft, op. cit., p. 764.
the extension of slavery into the East in the famous Cooper Union address. In brief, he became the spokesman of the moral sentiment of the North against the extension of slavery into the territory where it had not been already established by law.1

(3) Negroes as Soldiers.—Theme three was comprised of four statements of which three were favorable and one was unfavorable. An example follows:

Lincoln's proclamation ... took from the public enemy one or two millions of bondsmen, and placed between one and two hundred thousand brave and gallant troops in arms on the side of the Union.2

(8) Racial Equality.—Theme nine consisted of four statements of which one was favorable, two were unfavorable and one was neutral. Wesley3 stated that Lincoln "is thought of, popularly always, as the champion of the race's equality."

(11) Slaveholders.—Four statements were located in this category. These consisted of three unfavorable and one neutral statement. Strunsky stated that:

Lincoln, who was against the large capitalist, as he was against the landed aristocracy represented by the slaveholder, was not opposed to the giving of land grants and subsidies to railroads....4

(19) Treatment of Slaves.—This theme consisted of four statements, all favorable. Writing to Joshua Speed about one of his trips down the Mississippi, Lincoln said:

1Herrick, op. cit., p. 183.
2Bancroft, op. cit., p. 764.
3Wesley, op. cit., p. 8.
4Strunsky, op. cit., p. 591.
### TABLE 6

TREATMENT OF 21 THEMES IN PERIODICAL ARTICLES ABOUT ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Periodical Articles</th>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me, and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio or any other slave border. It is not fair for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which has, and which continually exercises, the power of making me miserable.

(12) Economic Aspects of Slavery.--Four statements were revealed in this category. Three of the statements were favorable and one was rated neutral. Gilder stated that Lincoln felt that slavery was "inimical to the interests of free labor...."

(6) Fugitive Slaves.--Contained in this category were three statements. There was one statement each for favorable, unfavorable and neutral ratings. In the article by DeVoto it was stated that Lincoln "had seen slaves dispatched along the Underground Railroad at night." This statement was rated neutral.

(7) Legal Status of Slaves.--The theme contained three references. They were rated favorable, unfavorable and neutral, respectively. The statement below illustrates the theme:

Lincoln's views of slavery were, from the first, not unlike Washington's and that of the other founders of the Republic... He looked upon the institution as... something to be thwarted, diminished, and ultimately made to cease by just, constitutional and reasonable means.

(14) Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes.--There were three favorable statements located for the theme. Wesley stated that Lincoln

\[\text{Footnotes:}\]
1 Nicolay, op. cit., p. 36.
2 Gilder, op. cit., p. 503.
3 DeVoto, op. cit., p. 333.
has become not only the Great Emancipator but the Great Lover of the Negro and promoter of his welfare. ¹

(9) Moral Nature of Slavery.--Three statements of a favorable nature were discovered. One of the items illustrative of the attitude ascribed to Lincoln relative to the theme stated that "Lincoln from his youth up hated slavery with all the strength of his moral nature."²

(15) Politics and Suffrage for Negroes.--Two favorable statements were found that pertained to the theme. One of these stated:

In the steady filching of the Negro's political rights, we tend to revert to that condition of half-slave, half-free which Lincoln declared to be intolerable.³

(4) Abolitionism.--There was one statement pertaining to this theme.

It follows below:

The weight of all the Abolitionists' advice was that Lincoln must abolish slavery or he would be forever undone. Lincoln was not eager to follow the radicals and their advice.⁴

(10) Colonization of Negroes.--One unit was discovered that dealt with the theme:

Although Lincoln believed in the destruction of slavery, he desired the complete separation of the whites and blacks... It was his plan to colonize them in some foreign land.⁵

(16) Population, Negro.--One statement was found that referred to this theme. Bancroft, in discussing the Emancipation Proclamation stated "it took from the public enemy one or two millions of bondsmen...."⁶

¹Wesley, op. cit., p. 8.
²Wilson, op. cit., p. 100.
³The Negro Problem, op. cit., p. 158.
⁴Dodd, op. cit., p. 664.
⁵Wesley, op. cit., p. 8.
⁶Bancroft, op. cit., p. 764.
No statements were discovered for the themes Slavery and the Bible; Insurrections, Negro; Miscegenation; Mulattoes; Slave Trade and Thirteenth Amendment.

A Comparison of Documented Statements of Abraham Lincoln With Biographical Materials

Biographical materials have flooded the book market in the last few decades and Abraham Lincoln has been one of the historical figures frequently treated. It has been asserted that writings regarding Lincoln have presented a favorable image of him, perhaps to the point of being idolatrous. The major aim of this thesis, then, was to test, within defined limits, the validity of this assertion. More specifically, it was hoped that this study would reveal the correlation between the manifest contents of Abraham Lincoln's documented works with reference to slavery, and the way in which this subject was depicted in biographical materials.

The search revealed that 658 statements referring to 21 themes were located among Lincoln's documented works. Of this number 389, or about 59 per cent were favorable; 64, or about 10 per cent were unfavorable and 205, or about 31 per cent, were neutral. The biographical materials contained 962 statements. Considered in terms of treatment this consisted of 597 favorable statements, or about 62 per cent; 98 unfavorable statements, or about 10 per cent; and 267 neutral statements, or about 28 per cent. It is evident, therefore, that there is no vast difference

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1 Lowenthall, op. cit.
2 Randall, op. cit.
TABLE 7
A COMPARISON OF DOCUMENTED STATEMENTS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN WITH BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Lincoln's Statements</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Biographies</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Extension of Slavery</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>101</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) Emancipation</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>171</td>
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<tr>
<td>(3) Negroes as Soldiers</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Abolitionism</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>79</td>
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<tr>
<td>(5) Slave Trade</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Fugitive Slaves</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>(7) Legal Status of Slaves</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>69</td>
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<tr>
<td>(8) Racial Equality</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>58</td>
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<tr>
<td>(9) Moral Nature of Slavery</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>69</td>
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<td>(10) Colonization of Negroes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>(11) Slaveholders</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>(12) Economic Aspects of Slavery</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>(13) Miscegenation</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>(14) Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>(15) Politics and Suffrage for Negroes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>(16) Population, Negro</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>(17) Slavery and the Bible</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>(18) Thirteenth Amendment</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>(19) Treatment of Slaves</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>(20) Insurrections Negro</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21) Mulattoes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
between Lincoln's works and biographical materials when viewed from the point of view of overall treatment. Favorable statements located in Lincoln's works accounted for 59 per cent of the total number of statements; and in the biographical materials the favorable items accounted for 62 per cent of the total number of items. The percentages of unfavorable statements were 10 in both Lincoln's documented works and the biographical materials. Thirty-one per cent of the statements in Lincoln's works were neutral as compared with 28 per cent in the biographical materials. This means that, when compared with the biographies, there was found among Lincoln's documented statements a slightly lower representation of favorable statements and a slightly higher representation of neutral statements. The number of unfavorable statements in both cases was identical.

While the percentages are very similar for the overall treatment of Lincoln's documented works and the biographies, they do not reveal the variations of emphasis among the individual themes. Different emphasis was placed on corresponding themes in the works of Lincoln and the biographies. For example, the theme holding the first rank order among the themes in Lincoln's works was Extension of Slavery; the theme occupying the second position was Emancipation. Among the biographical materials the exact reverse was true, with Emancipation being in the first position and Extension of Slavery being in the second position. From this it was concluded that in biographical materials the theme treated most frequently with regard to Lincoln and slavery was Emancipation. In terms of percentages, reference was made to the theme Extension of Slavery 17 per cent and 10.5 per cent of the time in Lincoln's works.
and biographical materials respectively; and reference was made to the theme Emancipation 13.8 per cent and 17.8 per cent of the time in Lincoln's works and biographical materials respectively.

None of the themes shared the same numerical or rank order, with the exception of the theme Population, Negro, which was the sixteenth theme (see Table 7). The themes found in the biographies tended to fall in a general range with those of the documented works of Abraham Lincoln. That is, the themes that fell in the top 11 positions among Lincoln's works tended to fall into the top 11 positions among the biographical materials; and the themes that fell in the bottom 10 positions among works of Lincoln tended to fall, generally, in a similar group among the biographical materials; however, there were exceptions. The theme Moral and Social Conditions of Negroes ranked sixth in the biographies with seven per cent of the statements; but ranked fourteenth among the themes located in Lincoln's works with only 2.8 per cent of the statements. It might be stated that the theme was very disproportionately represented and emphasized in the biographical materials. It presented a picture of Lincoln as having been more concerned about the general social conditions of Negroes than his documented works can substantiate.

Theme 19 among the documented works of Lincoln was Treatment of Slaves with one per cent of the total number of statements. The same theme ranked eighth among the biographies with 5.5 per cent of the emphasis, the majority of it being classified as favorable. The inference to be drawn here is in keeping with the claim made by Randall.\(^1\)

\(^1\)Randall, op. cit., p. 289.
that the image projected of Lincoln in literature is one of a beneficent and magnanimous person. Such impressions cannot be firmly based on the few remarks Lincoln made with reference to the treatment of slaves.

One of the themes that ranked very high in the documented works of Lincoln ranked much below that in the biographies. The theme Negroes as Soldiers ranked in the third order with 9.4 per cent of the emphasis among Lincoln's works; it ranked in the tenth order with 4.7 per cent of the emphasis in the biographies. In his remarks with reference to this theme Lincoln might be said to have been very favorably disposed toward the Negro. It was surprising that this theme did not receive more emphasis. One might say with firm grounds that Lincoln was magnanimous in his attitude toward the Negro soldiers of the Civil War.

The theme Slave Trade had dissimilar emphasis placed on it in the two areas of comparison. Among Lincoln's works it ranked fifth with 6.1 per cent of the statements and in the biographical material it ranked twelfth with only 2.1 per cent of the statements.

Although the treatment was not identical, there were close parallels between the emphasis given in Lincoln's works and the emphasis given in the biographies to the theme Racial Equality. In the biographies the theme accounted for six per cent of the statements and in Lincoln's works 5.6 per cent. The degree of favorable treatment was slightly higher among the biographies, the degree of unfavorable treatment lower. Nearly 75 per cent of the remarks made in the biographies were favorable and only about 64 per cent of the statements in the documented works of Lincoln.
Less stress was given to the theme Miscegenation in the biographies than in Lincoln's works. The percentages were 1.4 and three per cent respectively. The biographies did present, however, the same tenor of opinion as existed in the documented works of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was portrayed as being opposed to intermarriage in both areas of comparison. For further comparisons of the themes see Table 7.

Abraham Lincoln manifested a dislike for slavery during the greater part of his public life. He performed numerous acts, private and official, to halt the spread and perpetuation of the slavery institution. It is not to be drawn from this that if he hated slavery he loved the Negro. Nevertheless, the Negro and slavery were bound into an inextricable unity; what affected one affected the other also.

Lincoln showed a reserve toward the Negro most of his life. He never made a statement to imply he would have accepted Negroes as social equals. He never really sanctioned marriage between the races. He did think that certain Negroes should be given the suffrage, and especially the Negro soldiers whom he respected for their gallantry and cooperation in the war.

Many of Lincoln's official acts that may have been opposed to the interests of Negroes were based on the fact that he was a strong constitutionalist. He accepted as a fact that slaveowners could reclaim their fugitive slaves most of his life. The Constitution provided for the return of runaways to their owners. During the Civil War Lincoln altered his long standing attitude toward the return of fugitives by declaring that fugitive slaves seeking asylum behind Union lines would be granted it. His thinking was still couched in constitutional terms, and he interpreted the Constitution as giving him this authority during
an act of rebellion by the slaveholding states. He issued the Emancipation Proclamation on the same grounds.

There are many prospects of research in the area of Lincoln study. Other themes dealing with Abraham Lincoln's life and ideas might be approached through the use of the content analysis technique.
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