

Chapter XLI - A new weapon.

"The haporn was in the monster" as Lincoln
^{after the Emancipation Proclamation was signed}
said, but as he added in the same
health, "We must look out how we steer or
mill-me flop of our tail he will send us
all into eternity." It was a misunderstand-
ing, wilful a ignorant, of the ^{what he} Emancipa-
tion Proclamation intended to do - That
caused the most dangerous "step". It
changed the object of the war, people cried.
Lincoln had "gone over" to the abolitionists.
"Some back in the Union officers, soldiers,
congressmen, civilians declared they
would not fight a war to free negroes.
Tens of thousands of ^{voices} officers & civilians
stepped out of Lincoln's ears and acted on
their ^{own} field & election. The political
and military chaos stealing through
the fall & early winter of 1862 saw
more instead of better and none of
the advantages hoped since their heads

- because L. had made it run against slavery instead of against secession.

But L. of course had done nothing of the kind. That is now as just as in August of '63 he had million Horace Greeley. What he did "about" slavery and the colored race, he did because he believed it would help save the Union. The proclamation was "a fit and necessary war measure" it attracted popular proof slams of insurgents not because they were slams & slavery was helpful to Union but because they were popular & to destroy the property of an enemy in war was a right recognized by the Constitution & by all nations.

Another fault of the Proclamation which those who mislaid it charged was the nature of the war involved. Was it that it did not free any slave outside of insurgent territory - no negro was freed in the Border States, none in

those countries of Louisiana & Virginia
which had come ~~under~~ ^{back into the} Union, ~~was~~ ^{me} ~~not~~ ^{not}.

But in a month more ~~part~~ ^{me} of Lincoln
& almost-daily letters was explain-
ing what the Emancipation Proclam-
ation did - ~~where~~ ^{where} I did not do - Why
it did not change the object of
the war and why he thought he had
a right to issue it: He seems never
to have resented these repeated calls
on his time & strength. People must
be made to understand - that
could only be done by line upon
line, precept upon precept of teaching
There is a striking similarity between
his ~~attitude towards~~ ^{attitude towards} his Pro-
clam. ~~method~~ ^{method} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~clandestine~~ ^{clandestine} ~~now~~ ^{now} ~~I~~ ^I ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~method~~ ^{method}
of developing his argument against
the extension of slavery in 1858. That
is the same bluntness for clarity -
& simplicity. A ~~less~~ ^{less} ~~understanding~~ ^{understanding}
one less convinced of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~that~~ ^{that}.

the same conclusion that - you could
not - take too much trouble to be
understood. Obedient to go over
his argument explain & defend as
he was he seems never to have
grown stale, or perfunctory. Indeed
~~the~~ ^{his final} ~~best~~ expression of his reason
for the Proclamation ~~has been made~~
~~was~~ ^{made} 8 months after he signed it -
- ~~it is~~ ^{it is the one with} the greatest clarity & firmness

in a letter sent to a mass meeting
of unconditional Union men held in
Springfield Ill. In this letter he addresses
"those who are dissatisfied with me" - meeting
their criticism among other that of the
Proclamation

"You dislike the Emancipation Proclamation, & perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional, & Smith differently. I think the Constitution wrote its command in chief with the law of war in time of war. The next that can be said - if

so much - is that Slaves are property. Is there -
has there ever been any question that - by the law
of war, property, both of enemies and friends,
may be taken when needed? and is it not -
needed whenever taking it helps us or hurts
the enemy? Armies, the United States, destroy
enemies' property when they cannot use it; and
even destroy their own to keep it from their
enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their
power to help themselves, or hurt the enemy,
except a few things regarded as barbarous
or cruel.

"But the proclamation as law, ^{either} is valid or is
not valid. If it is not valid, it needs NO
retraction. If it is valid, it cannot be re-
tracted any more than the dead can be
brought up life. Some of you prefer to believe
that its retraction would operate favorably
for the Union. Why better after the retraction
than before the issue? There was more than
a year & a half of trial to suppress the re-
bellion before the proclamation issued; the
last 100 days of which passed under an
explicit notice that it was coming, unless
arrested by those in revolt returning to their

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to their allegiance. The War has certainly pro-
gressed as favorably for us since the issue
of the proclamation as before. I know as
fully as one can know the opinions of many
that some of the commanders-in-chief of
our armies in the field, who have given
us our most important successes, believe
the emancipation proclamation & the
use of the colored troops constitute the
heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion,
& that at least one of these important
successes could not have been achieved
when it was but for the aid of such
soldiers. Among the commanders holding
these views are some who have never had
any affinity with what is called
abolitionism, or with Republican party
politics, but who hold them purely as
military opinions; I submit these opinions

"You say you will not fight to free
negroes. Some of them seem willing to
fight for you; but no matter. Fight you
then, exclusively, to save the Union. I
issued the proclamation on purpose to aid
you in saving the Union. Whenever you

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shall have conquered all resistance to
the Union, if I shall urge you to continue
figuring, it will be an apt time though
you to declare you will not fight the
negroes"

In these dark & doubtful ^{days} ~~the~~
~~characterized these~~ days" were his
position ^{now} but somehow in spite of the
turmoil and calm and public con-
tempt he found time to interest
himself in ~~the~~ ^{public} needs and am-
bitions of all sort of people. Many
of his own burdens were crushing;
he lightened them, forgot them, in
listening to the needs of others.
On the very day that he signed
the Emancipation Proclamation
he was ^{so} distracted by the difficulties of
an ~~elderly~~ ^{aged} old lady ~~was~~ ^{gentle appearance} ~~was~~
his ^{Washington} boarding house that he had
dinner and more secret slavery
in her behalf. The lady had read

a common ^{war-time} ~~camp~~ experience. She had
 filled up a ~~building~~, had braiders in;
 often "including members of Congress". Suggested
 and the war power had decided she
 must leave. She must stay to the
 President for help. And here he was
 on this most eventful of days
 expressing her cause.

He captured Geyser's cause, often
~~moderate~~ - warlike this time shirking
 so his official family picture stayed
 and by his interest & good will
 frequently making muddles for
 this a great department to strengthen
 out. ^{Special} ~~His~~ ^{exhaustless} curiosity - ~~about~~
 novelties, devices, natural phenomena
 had made him listen to people with
 "ideas" and ~~devices~~ & "discoveries" & "patents"
 long after they had been turned out
 of the department. Frequently
 in the end he had to drive them

away in self protection. There was a
 "weather man" ~~there to~~ ^{to} whose assu-
 rance that he could predict rain &
 shine & he had given attention.
 but the "Weather Man" was ^{over} per-
 sistent & the L. ended his as the
 welcome he had been giving time
 by writing on his card: -

"It seems to me McCaper knows nothing
 about the weather in advance. He told me
 ③ days ago that it would not rain again
 till the 30th of April or 1st of May. It is
 raining now" ("now" was April 28) and has
 been for 10 hours. I cannot spare any
 more time to Mr Caper"

Which was an unusually crushing
 endorsement for Mr Lincolns.

Sometimes he ended a long

• He could be crushing however, when
 his patience & interest in schemes was
 abused, as ③ men who had a

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day and still he could not remember
 either #2 will give you one more day
 on this lesson", but when told him &
 if you don't ~~remember~~ know these names
 then all yours you"

~~But~~ - The next day when he came
 to recite the question was asked,

"Now were put with the fairy music"
 "He" said the boy "he come those (3)
 infernal ones - for since the devil had
 them"

He was not troubled further by
 the gutters.

His interest

239 ~~He~~ seems now and then to
 have gotten ^{him} in deeper than in these
 cases. His tales have much to
 say in his story of his annoyance
 with Lincoln ~~slight~~ ^{from} ~~given~~ the
 mixture of a new gun-powder &
 sudden promise of \$100.00 if it
 proved effective ~~than~~ the president had

no authority - for such a premise there was
 no appropriation in the Navy Department
 from which the money could be paid
 "The President" he ^{even for} ~~set down~~ "has a propen-
 sity to engage in matters of this kind
 and is liable to be imposed upon by
 sharpers and adventurers. Finding the
 heads of Departments opposed to these
 schemes, the President felt weak kind
 them as in this instance, & subordinates
 encouraged by flattered by his notice him".

It was ~~and~~ ^{contrary to} ordinary procedure,
 no doubt - but - the harassed President
 found so much division in con-
 sidering the various devices kept
 him & no doubt - in those who kept
 them & as we saw also he was
 so capable of ^{taking care of} ~~defending~~ himself
 when imposed upon that one ought
 not to ~~hesitate~~ ^{hesitate} to be watchful
 for that in these hard months

His propensity - to listen to people
made even their opinions perverted
even deeper - sometimes against
his will in factional & personal
quarrels in both the civil &
military establishments. All the
states - if the North were more
more or less by factional fight.
but in none there they were more
persistent, bitter & noisy than in
Missouri. From the beginning of
the war the ministers of the state
were in a continual dispute. The leaders
~~wouldly appealing~~ ~~nothing~~ ~~The leaders~~
~~fidelity they could get~~ ~~Lincoln's~~
~~eat~~ By the spring of '63 matters
were more than ever and the
leaders were making & making Lincoln

hoping to enlist his sympathy & in-
 justice. Rarely do we find him
 more impartial, nor blunt in his
 disapproval than with these mis-
 sionary factions. "I have stoutly tried
 to keep out of the quarrel & so mean to do"
 he told one of them who had asked
 to be "sustained." But it was too much
 for him, ~~and he wrote~~ "It is very painful to
 me" ~~that~~ he wrote in May of ~~that~~ - you
 just in the heels of the defeat of
 the Army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville so ~~at~~ ^{close} did troubles dor-
 tail in these days - dispute for his
 attention. "It is very painful to me that
 you in Missouri cannot or will not
 settle your factional quarrel among
 yourselves. I have been tormented ~~with~~
 by it beyond ^{endurance} months by both sides.
 Neither side pays the least respect to my
 appeals to join reason. I am now

compelled to take heed of the case"

As the factions had headed off
in the Governor, ~~of the state~~ ^{Gov. Gamble,} in the
Commander of the Missouri Division
and as he ~~repeatedly~~ ^{repeatedly} argued
with whom whom he respected and
neither of whom he held responsible
for the position in which they found
themselves he decided to consult the
commanding officer Genl S. R. Curtis.
He didn't like to do it - Curtis he con-
sidered "honest, capable, faithful & patriotic"
but just as he considered Gamble
"honest & true" but in spite of all this
hears to them to "confer", "act together",
"agree". They had been ^{un}able to quell the
disturbances & "almost as a matter of
personal self defense" he had somewhere
to head up the state of things in
Missouri - so he replaced Curtis by

Genl John M. Schofield. His advice to Schofield on handling the situation is a precious bit of wisdom born of experience! - "If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right; Beware of being assailed by one, and paired by the other."

These personal quarrels between supporters were more trying than the ~~open & to be expected~~ hostility of his out- & - out enemies. ~~At the~~ particularly dreaded them in the army between generals so ^{hamper-} ~~long~~ ^{as} they had be found them ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ military undertakings. He was Mr Cleveland - determined to put a quarrel with Hall at Lincoln set out to stop the thing at the beginning. "I have too many ^{familiar} controversies to speak, already on my hands voluntarily or so long as I can avoid it; Take up

another. You are doing well - well for the country, & well for yourself - much better than you could possibly be if engaged in open war with General Halleck. Allow me to beg that for your sake, for my sake, & for the country's sake, you give your whole attention to the latter work.

There was Rosecrans, fussing about rank. "Milk to speak" Lincoln wrote him "I do not appreciate this matter of rank on paper as you officers do. The world will not forget that you fought the battle of Stone River, and it will never care a fig whether you rank General Grant on paper or be so ranked you".

None of his letters to military men in this period compare with those to General ^{Joseph} Hooker whom he had put at the head of the Army of the Potomac, when it became necessary in January to remove Genl Burnside.

Lincoln was "not quite satisfied" with ^{how} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ making the appointment. ~~He~~ ^{He} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~a~~ ^a ~~number~~ ^{number} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~officers~~ ^{officers} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~Burnside's~~ ^{Burnside's} ~~army~~ ^{army} ~~that~~ ^{that}

"You have lately counsel of your subscribers & I trusted him (Genl Burnside) as much as you could" -- "I have heard in such a way as to believe of your recently saying that 'with the army & the government I need a dictator' -- I much fear that the spirit you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticizing their commander & undermining confidence from him will now turn upon you."

~~He~~ ^{He} ~~said~~ ^{said} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~because~~ ^{because} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~these~~ ^{these} ~~things~~ ^{things}, ~~but~~ ^{but} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~spite~~ ^{spite} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~them~~ ^{them} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~placed~~ ^{placed} ~~himself~~ ^{himself} ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~head~~ ^{head} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~army~~ ^{army} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~commanded~~ ^{commanded}, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~after~~ ^{after} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~dictator~~ ^{dictator} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~would~~ ^{would} ~~use~~ ^{use} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~dictatorship~~ ^{dictatorship} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~"only~~ ^{"only} ~~some~~ ^{some} ~~generals~~ ^{generals} ~~who~~ ^{who} ~~can~~ ^{can} ~~set~~ ^{set} ~~up~~ ^{up} ~~dictators~~ ^{dictators}" ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~closed~~ ^{closed} ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~letter~~ ^{letter} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~fine~~ ^{fine} ~~affirmation~~ ^{affirmation} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~rashness~~ ^{rashness} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~but~~ ^{but} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~energy~~ ^{energy}

sleepless vigilance go forward & go in as netmen"
 # Taking their letter to Hooker all in all
 it is one of the best - he was ~~was~~ standing
 easily & think in his greatest - dozen -
 a very great dozen indeed!

From the time of the appointment
 - Jan 24 1863 - to the ~~the~~ P kept up his
 fatherly & paternal letters to the general.
 Some of them they are full of sound
 military sense - the kind of directness
 & ~~the~~ straight thinking that characterized
 his letters to McClellan - He easily

and in them are found several of his
 happiest homely illustrations as when he
 told ~~the~~ ^{Hooker} general who faced Lee, the Rappa-
 hannock between them: -

"I would not take any risk of being en-
 tangled upon the river, like an ox jumped
 over a fence and liable to be torn by
 dogs front and rear without a fair chance
 to go one way or kick the other" or this
 equally vivid piece of military wisdom: -
 "If the head of our army is at Martinsburg and
 the tail of it on the plank road between Freder-
 icksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal
 must be strangled somewhere. Could you not
 break him?"

(20) ^{with the president making him so familiar}
~~under the circumstances~~

21- was natural enough that Hooker
 should have fallen into the habit of
 communicating his plans & sending this
 information directly ^{to the} ~~to the President~~
 instead of to Halleck the general-in-
 chief of all the armies, and military
 etiquette & discipline being what it
 is it was inevitable that Halleck
^{should finally} become irritated at what he felt was
 a disrespect on Hooker's part. Before many
 months ~~and that he~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~so~~ ^{so} ~~far~~ ^{far} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~dis-~~ ^{dis-}
 persevere finally convinced Hooker that
 the major-general commanding had
 withdrawn his confidence and let so
 note to the president - that a sense of
 human relations ^{thereby} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~put~~ ^{put} ~~his~~ ^{his}
 finger so immediately on the real dif-
 ficulty: -

"I believe Halleck is dissatisfied with
 you in this spirit only". ^{or he} ~~there~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~hooker~~ ^{hooker}
 "that - he knows that you write and telegraph
 (report he calls it) to me. I think he is

wrong to find fault with this; but I do not
 think he will receive any support from you
 on account of it: If you and he would
 use the same frankness to me another
 and to me, that I use to write of you, there
 would be no difficulty: I need & must
 have the professional skill of write & yet -
 these suspicions tend to deprive me of write^r
 - - - All I ask is that you will be in such
 mood that we can get into our action
 the best cordial judgment of yourself &
 General Halleck, with my poor mile -
 added, if indeed he & you shall think
 it entitled to any consideration at all"

Failure was following Hooker as
 it had McClellan & Burnside. In
 May Lincoln came the defeat
 at Chancellorsville - early in June
 Lee's escape from his position on the
 Rappahannock & his race for Pamunkey.
 Van Dorn after him. Here did
 Lincoln feel himself a greater failure

Indeed things all these ^{diastemi} months
since the issuing of the Proclam-
ation he had felt so keenly that
he was not saving the Union.

possibly was not-keeping ~~the~~ enough pop-
ular confidence from to save it
that he had cast about for some
way in which he could add the
degenerati- to whom popular
sympathy seemed to be swinging
to save it when they came into
power. He was quite ready to
turn his influence for ^{next best of the} the presiden-
cy to any demand ^{was} would it
seemed to him that when Horatio
Seymour was elected governor ^{place}
himself at the head of a co-alition
union party. ^{of new rule} that he
might be the man and he sent for
Thurlow Weed. Weed found the

President in a black mood. "Everything
 goes wrong" he complained. "The rebel
 armies loved their own; Grant is wander-
 ing around in Mississippi; Burnside
 manages to keep ahead of Lee; Seymour
 has carried New York; and, of his party-
 carries and loses many of the Northern
 States, we shall have to give up the fight
 for we can never conquer the quarters of
 our countrymen, scattered in front, back,
 & rear - - -

"Or Seymour could do more for our
 cause than any other man living".
 He went on, "If he would come to
 the front he could control his partisans
 and give a new impulse to the war.
 Go to him. Tell him I do not wish
 to be President again, and that the
 leader of the new party, provided it is in
 favor of a vigorous war against the
 rebellion should take my place. If he
 will, as he easily can, place himself

at the head of a great union party, I will gladly stand aside & help to put him in the Executive Chair. All we want is to have the Rebellion put down."

Ward wrote the message to Gov Seymour who was apparently agreed but as Ward said in telling the story "Seymour's feeling was always right - but his head was generally wrong" When the message came far from being an appeal to save the Union, it was an arraignment of the efforts the Republicans were making to save it -

Lincoln tried again, this time sending word to McClellan whose popularity with his party seems to have ^{been} increased by his removal from the command of the Army of the Potomac. "Tell him" ordered Lincoln "that if he will come forward & put himself at the head of a Union-Democratic party & ~~thrust~~ push forward the Union cause, I will gladly

step aside and do all I can to secure his
election in 1864." Signed F. H.

McClain ~~skipped~~ ^{professed to be} eager to do all he could to put down the rebellion & agreed to preside at a Union-Democratic mass meeting to be held ~~in~~ ¹⁴⁻⁶³ Union Square, New York. 3 days before the meeting he withdrew. His letter of declination was warm in its assurance that ~~as was all~~ ^{as he} he believed "the war must be prosecuted to save the Union & the Government at whatever cost of time & treasure & blood" but apparently he feared saying that at a coalition meeting might encourage the Republicans.

Soldiers must have felt sometimes
 that no patriotism lived before the
 Union.

Everything failed. - There was mess and
pythian mitfint-victories of note; ~~there was~~
~~general~~ ^{envy} & quarrelling between
generals; Soldiers deserting because.

24.

of the Emancipatory Proclamation; division
in his own party because of it; England
^{still} hostile because of the blockade &
wrecking the navy with privateers;
even his Democratic opponents refused
his offer to withdraw in exchange
for a vigorous prosecution of the war!

Yet - as long as he was responsible
he would yield not an inch of
his policy, ~~do he would~~ ^{he would} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~stand~~ ^{stand}.

He must do the thing
as he saw it - and must to God let
show him his error, ^{How much} ~~correct~~ ^{of}
of his struggle, his despair & his faith
~~show us~~ ^{show us} can be read in all of his

the National Fast Day his proclamation
setting aside April 30 (1863) as a

"And whereas it is the duty of nations as
well as of men to own their dependence upon the
overruling power of God; to confess their sins &
transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured

hope that-genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon; & to recognize the sublime truths announced in the Holy Scriptures & proven by all history, that-these nations may be blessed where God is the Lord:

and inasmuch as we know that by this divine law nations, like individuals, are subjected to punishment & chastisement in this world, may we not justly fear that-the awful calamity-of fire and war which now desolates the land may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins, to the needful end of our national reformation as a whole people? We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven. We have been preserved, these many years, in peace & prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth and power, as no other nation has ever grown: but we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, & multiplied & enriched & strengthened us; & we have vainly imagined in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that-all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom & virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become

to self-sufficient to feel the necessity of
redeeming & preserving grace. Two purposes
may be the God that made us:

"21" before us, then, to humble ourselves
before the offended Power, to confess our
national sins, & to pray for clemency &
forgiveness."

This Proclamation of the spring of 1863 has
come from the inner life of the nation
no preliminary, state document. It is the
of the march incessant meditation in the
hard days upon the meaning behind the
struggle: God allowed it - Why? Among
his published papers in this paper - before
to September 22 - the month when he
issued the preliminary Emancipation Pro-
clamation & ^{very suggestive} 2 shows where
^{the} his mind had been.

"The will of God prevails. In great conflicts
each party claims to act in accordance
with the will of God. Both may be, & one
must be, wrong. God cannot be for &
against the same thing at the same
time. In the present civil war it is

quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party; & yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, one of the best adaptations to effect his purpose. I am always ready to say that this is probably true; that God will this contest & still that it shall not end yet. By his mere great power on the minds of the now contestants, he could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest; yet the contest began. And having begun he could give the final victory to either side any day. And yet the contest proceeds.

And so he meddled while men raged around and at him. He was a dictator - a cruel dictator, destroying the liberties of men - for it was not only defeat and influence with slavery that kept citizens & made up of him in these days. It was his

