XLVIII

The election ~~of [illegible]~~ [illegible] put him in a position to end for good & all the cause of the Rebellion

~~Mr~~ Lincoln had now reached the point where he was ready to end the cause of the war –

~~He had his weapon in hand~~ & while Grant ended the war he was ready to destroy the cause of it – slavery.

~~It was the first~~

Emancipation so to pursue as to save the Union had been his first concern – What ~~he~~ he did about slavery etc – ~~first~~ It was putting the Union first that had kindled the abolit- [illegible] fire in front & in rear – the So. disputed his right to preserve against their wishes – the radicals his right to preserve it ~~against~~ abolition slavery. They accused him of lukewarmness – the first was of political ~~ends~~ – meaning – the slavery men not here – the second was. ~~He~~ He needed it to a weapon to be used as he needed it to win the war – to be used according to the ~~[illegible]~~ rules of the game – ~~the~~ He had played an open & fair game from the start. ~~His first [illegible] assumed the So~~

1022.25 2.

Congress in Aug '61 put the first weapon in his hand when it passed an act confiscating "property used for insurrectionary purposes" this included Negroes & at once vast numbers were thrown onto the North. It was to take care of these that Lincoln first asked 20 land for colonization - But his plan for colonization was one which never [illegible] in mind. He hoped to persuade the Border states to sell their slaves to the U.S. - this done he would colonize them with those freed under the act of Congress as well as with those who escaped in the war - McLean seen him

He pushed his plan the harder as the demand for immediate & universal emancipation grew insistent. To emancipate was to lose the war in his judgment - it would drive the Border states into the Confederacy & this would be a combination too strong for the North - [illegible].

The radicals were bitter and insolent - but he would not yield until the war proved it would be a weapon alone to

an argument – they met with scorn & contempt
Its "tenderness" & once called it – Stevens
an unholy alliance with slave – holders
~~Stevens contempt~~ was used against Lincoln
through out the period of – as a fact it was
a high order of statesmanship – & was
marked in the Border States
Quote as much as possible 233

save the North. He tried Emancipation in the seceded states — not outside not in his own having authority to use it save as a ~~war weapon~~ penalty of their insurrection and it was ~~as~~ this p~~artial~~ restricted use of Emancipation — this rigid effort to be constitutional that kept the heaviest artillery of the radicals against them. Lincoln handling of the slavery problem

~~The course~~ His course from the time of the Proc. of Em. at Jan 1 63 up to his reelection ~~in~~ in Nov 64 was marked by many tough struggles ^

The Proc. using them as troops. They had begun by using them at laborers (p 212 L & S. paying them in the seceded states & putting them to work — on wages — but the E. P. carried the idea that they be used in the U. S. service (p 285) It was one of those issues as I well knew which might very well be "the rock" on which 40 other troublesome questions would be

4 – 1 (?)

A.L. rec'd colored men freely – ~~see~~ his
plea to them to accept colonization
an able paper – latter one of his
best – The individual of race better than union
he was chiefly associated was F.D.
see Rice p 185 – 192
went to see L in regard to status of colored troops
at home – came – see Reminis

~~2.~~
~~as yet:~~
~~But did Lincoln change the object~~
~~of the war in ~~xxx~~ proclaiming eman-~~
~~cipation –~~

Rhodes p 35-6

The arming of the slaves was looked on in many friendly quarters with dismay. It was believed the negro armed would cut- his old masters throat in revenge. - saw many massacre & insurrection

Mercy - Fort Pillow Massacre

Lee Letters p 24-25 Vol 2

3

they be punished? If they were taken prisoners should ~~they be regarded~~ ~~far as a crime~~ ~~~~ as ~~white men~~ & the enemy be required to treat them as white prisoners of war were treated.

All of these questions came indeed in with the first attempt to arm the negro. Mr L. was particularly concerned ~~about the attitude of the Southern~~ ~~but the Con-~~ ~~commanders. It was to be expected~~ ~~but they~~ ~~would treat them with~~ ~~suffer~~ over the fierce drive the Southern ~~soldier~~ troops made on the negro regiments; It was to be expected he thought that they make special efforts to destroy colored troops & since that was so why ~~be~~ it was the business of the Northern officers to ~~make~~ be especially vigilant about preserving them. This was his warning to his Generals. Guard them it is business as it is the enemy's to destroy them.

But the

- Northern officers fancy negro with arms 532.
obliged to protect [illegible] from themselves
forming into service p 638 - Feb 65

In confederate army p 662 - Excellent - lack
of desire to be seen - [illegible] notice,

p. 562
Democratic strategy required colored troops to be
disbanded - this in mind when we vote the
men -

Labor question - p 524 How can Chicago
do it.

Disloyalty his motive - 562 - President he had
charged yet -

13 - e

13th amendment - [illegible] - Rice
Trumbull -

Border states all free by their own volition
yrs when -
natural result - of policy
Tenn. Md - Ky - La & etc -

New words cleared for Constitution Amend -
of war ended Prol. wid - see Rhodes [illegible]
p ~~470 - 472~~ 473 474
Constitut amend - before end of 63 - p 474
2/64 - Trumbull's vol - indisputable we may pass a
resolution to amend Constitution so as to abolish
slavery

"are & henceforward forever shall be"
The proclamation made all slaves, free in
seceded states & Govt of U. S pledged to
"recognise & maintain freedom"
see Trumbull - p 473 Rhodes [illegible]

L 2 8 4

hated it" (p 285) but ~~since~~ and I was quite to say it – L (298) "now that we have it – (the Proclamation) I bear all its disadvantages of it (as we do bear some in certain quarters) we must also take some benefit from it, if practicable – Wonder now about garrisoning Ft. Monroe & Yorktown with colored troops? ~~[illegible]~~ there are volunteer army officers for colored regiments – there are ~~Genl~~ the Hon D. O with 2 or 300 other gentlemen as officers

letter to
see Banks 318

Ideas ~~no arming~~ of some of the numbers halted with arming of negroes was the vindication of slavery – 520 (platform) of 80 ~~[illegible]~~ p 321 – caution – p 378 order of retaliation – give protection – [illegible] ~~orders~~ for A. L. Ft Pillow – 573. must protect – quote this

~~f~~ see Douglass – Rice p 185 –

Amend-
Ends all contr- p 529 L 2 & 5 quote.
412 – 4th par of Dec Message '64

Looking ahead – must get requisite 2/3 for Ratification – tells Border States for freedom support amendment – Kansas in –

Passage – Jan 31 – Serenade – p 633 see McClure

Ratification by states

Getting Nevada in p 592 L. 2. & Oct 31. 64

Preparing ground to stand on – strong enough to hold what he had gained – as little violent friction as possible

Negro -

Page 524 of L 2 L. Later question -
Christian attitude Consider
later - Bully letter - Use -

Use in Mercy - next article

Last of this letter -

This was a matter of
religion — this labor question
Couldn't square with Bible any
more than with Dec. of Ind

See letter of May 64 to
Baptists. Important
in labor ideas.

p. 524.

Use with slavery
fac simile

Chapter XLVIII

When A. L. was re-elected to the presidency in Nov. of '64 – the ~~[illegible]~~ Em. Pro. had had a trial of some ~~22~~ months. It had ~~been, as we have seen)~~ proved (and as A. L. ~~& had the~~ had ~~foreseen~~ said a troublesome matter) a nest in which (40) other troublesome questions would be hatched" One of the first of these – now as we have seen – ~~had been~~ a vehement outcry against ~~shifting~~ shifted the end ~~of the war~~ from ~~one to~~ saving the Union to freeing negroes – It had cost the administration many supporters both in & out of the army & had given the political opponents of the Republicans their chief ammunition aside from the ~~failure~~ failure on the ~~fields~~ battle field. Of another trouble hatched came from arming the negroes – It will be remembered that the Administration provided that they should be received into the U. S. army to garrison forts, positions, stations & other places & to man vessels of all sorts. Imagine the outcry – North as well as South! They would not fight – ~~&~~ white men would not fight ~~xxx~~ by them or are they to ~~[illegible]~~ under them – The latter would be exasperated to outrages & the negroes incited to massacre

But the possibility of all these things did not deter L from urging the enlisting & training of colored soldiers. Their officers were first lacking at least would be officers. They numbered by the hundreds & captains commanding in Southern territory received hundreds into their ranks. The first effect probably was a prejudice against them from the enemy. And L. watchful cautioned particularly against Recruiting was ~~[illegible]~~ pushed everywhere & with the formation of companies came all sort of questions — that is the ~~[illegible]~~ one troublesome question hatched from the E. P. nest immediately became a nest for 40 of its own progeny — so prolific is trouble! How should they be uniformed? Not like the regular army of course abolitionists cried. Never cried the Copperhead.

What should they be paid? ~~Reg~~ Regular same as white soldiers of course! Never retorted the opposition.

If they performed deeds of valor should

they be promoted? If they were captured should the enemy be warned that the U.S. expected & demanded the same treatment for them that it did for white soldiers & if they did not secure it would retaliate - a truth remembering that by the time these papers were drawn ~~to Presid~~ up for answer, the surgeon of '63 ~~to Lincoln~~ negroes in public by often were tried counsel - ~~whose~~ with whom ~~voice was sufficiently powerful to be listened to~~ - He had encouraged their volunteer - particularly when he ~~seeing them~~ had hopes of successful colonization ~~feared them they~~ and always talked sensibly & frankly with them - ~~there was nothing of~~ emphasizing ~~the facts~~ in their case & their duty to accept the truth cut from where they stood - nothing could have been better than his remarks in Aug. of '62 when he urged colonization on them

See p. 223 & 225.

4

It was now [illegible] - the ~~[illegible]~~ about the
most active colored friend of his race
in U.S. struggle. This was Fr. Douglass
~~Born a slave of~~ — 40 yrs was born in Md
of Md ~~negro~~ [illegible] of a white father
b 1817³ 4 f years old
negro - a man
~~just - slept~~ He had taught himself
to read & at ran away
a number
- For years he worked along the
New Bedford wharves - using every hour
of leisure he could command for
studying. He had begun to speak
His first speech before a white -
audience in 1841 ~~[illegible]~~ the ~~[illegible]~~ led to his ~~[illegible]~~ anti-
being drafted into anti-slavery - Slavery
work - even to Eng in
He went for a ~~abroad~~
as "a graduate of the peculiar institution
with his diploma written on his back".
~~to~~ a powerful oratory - eaten - northern stir
~~Of~~ When the Em. Pro proposed arming negros
D. began recruiting - the 54th Mas
of which R. G. Shaw was Col. being
largely his work

5
D distrusted him all these question
also — & finally except L. He became
aft an account of the violence
afraid of a Pres & at once re-as-
sured him — at home (quote) Rice
p. 185
The satisfaction it got —

In spite of this L. did write in
July 63 an order of Retaliation
which seemed clearly firm —
but he could not be gotten to
enforce it — would yield — Constant —
constant weakness —
Ft Pillow Massacre — never satis-
faction —
~~In spite — of Butler~~ — Good repu-
~~In spite~~ crisis Heeded — passed L & S.
Dec 43 message — p 484 L & S.
The original ~~opponents~~ of Mr. Pres. were ~~silenced~~ of not either
~~yet no longer to be feared~~.
While one class of difficulties were
safely — over — another class had

developed
the Pres't was being attacked for
issuing a procl. ~~While~~
~~the~~

Those who had attacked the E. P.
because it went too far ~~now~~ were
seconded by a new group had arisen
since who felt that it did not
go far enough. They wanted immediate
emancipation of ~~all~~ slaves – in &
~~[illegible]~~ out of the Conf. ~~[illegible]~~ &
would not attempt. They accused
~~any~~ tenderness to Border States – the
order of putting political above
humanitarian consideration – of
betraying his anti-slavery supporters –
& the recent outbreaks ~~of those who~~
of the impatient & rebellion ~~[illegible] unwilling~~
They jeered at the P. as useless – that
not even nothing prevented the federal ~~Union~~
~~Border~~ gathering up slaves again –
The state could not be interfered.

7

To be sure the gvt- was pledged
in the Pro- to "recognize & [illegible]
maintain" the freedom [illegible] the
[illegible] [illegible] it would be
impossible to enforce it - it was
a ~~bull~~ "Pope's bull against the
comet" - Slavery had survived
in the earlier stages of the war
in the [illegible] of
[illegible] Lincoln. but
every day showed ~~[illegible]~~ the situation -
the war had changed the minds of
men - ~~[illegible]~~ thinking in the Pro- ~~off~~ slavery
all classes. He saw never be had
had. ~~He knew~~ - as an ultimatum
laid it down as an ultimatum
that the States could only return
to the Union by abandoning slavery
This was all right as long as
he was in power - ~~as long~~ as
but suppose that he died. was

L. believed this rebel in law - "Those who shall have taken actual freedom 2 believe can never be slaves or quasi slaves again"

July 31 - 63 - to Hurlbut

Answer law a no law he would never do it - quote Blaine I-35

8.

defeated - someone might succeed who would ~~abandon~~ drop that ~~cl~~ ~~lu~~ ~~in~~ clause from the peace terms - who would abandon the promise to recognize & maintain. It was not enough - he knew it - & when his radical critics began to talk of an amendment to the constitution ~~ca~~ making freedom national he ~~gave his~~ welcomed the plan - what they most of them did not recognize was that it was because of his patient policy in past months - his careful handling of the B. States which had gradually converted them to freedom & that had ~~made~~ produced a Congress in which there was a 2/3 for the majority an amendment. &

In Dec of 9 63 that the matter was
brought up in the Senate Congress by Mr Ashley of
Ohio - to amend the Constitution -

See Blaine 505

failed
But - not - done until - by Jan Senate -
took it - up 2 ~~in~~ Lyman T -
reported from com - chairman -
~~&~~ there end -

Note that - last article - the
platform contained - clause - quote:
this - forced in by
Congressional action -

there
1st - What done in House
2d passed by Senate -
defeated in House
to reconsider -
Appeal to people - ~~so~~ Suggests it properly
L knew value of it - ~~so~~ N Y Herald

10

urged that it go in platform 529 9/ms

~~with fav it get backing in Congr~~

Action in securing vote of admission of

Nevada in Oct — 1864

Instead of dealing with B.S. for which he

Action in developing B.S. had been so belabored

no stronger proof of ~~[illegible]~~ gentle of deter-

mination to have done for good & all

than what happened in B.S. —

Louisiana Ark. Tenn. & La. all ~~[illegible]~~ in section

the playing — petting — coaxing to —

the radicals had begun to tell —

with the growth of Union sentiment — &

it fed on war & with the unceasing ~~the~~ deepest etc

slavery as cause of war — with

increasing strength of anti-slavery men

in politics & the remuneration of slavery

by slave-holders — as B. at Baltimore

it became evident that in time — there ~~[illegible]~~ had

be a respectable support for an ~~an~~ abolishing

~~amendment in these states~~

slavery — there was ~~no~~ — ark — ~~[illegible]~~ & it had

~~[illegible]~~ triumphantly & after winning repeated

A convention was called in Jan 64

representing but about half 22 out of the counties

but it organized -

adopted an amended Constitution

N. 2 H. p 415 - Vol 8.

Slavery immediately & unconditionally

done with. Before Baltimore Conv

There was La - a new Union govt then

& an amended Arnd Constitution

abolishing slavery - adopted July 64

Tenn which in reconstruction - was fairly certain to accept

war -

4th ~~June~~ Sept 64 - Maryland adopted a constitution = an article

declaring that hereafter in this state there

shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude

adopted in Oct by popular vote - Squeaked

through -

12.

Soil prepared for an amendment -
When L came to his message after
re-election - p 812

Doubtful - anxiety - see Hart p 421
p 538

See p. 84. N. 2 H.
" Julian.

Speech

Did not live to see it ratified
but enough to be sure -

93

119 - 58

93 177
45 43 11
158 13
52 2/3 10 5-1/2
2