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A DEFENCE OF LINCOLN'S MOTHER, CONVERSION AND CREED

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Being an open letter to the author of

"The Soul of Abraham Lincoln"

By

JAMES M. MARTIN

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Nancy Hanks

THE days of the distaff, the skillet, the Dutch oven, the open fireplace with its iron crane, are no longer, but homemaking is still the finest of the fine arts. Nancy Hanks was touched with the divine attitudes of the fireside. Loved and honored for her wit, geniality and intelligence, she justified an ancestry reaching beyond the seas, represented by the notable names of Hanks, Shipley, Boone, Evans and Morris. To her was entrusted the task of training a giant, in whose childhood memories she was hallowed. Of her he said, "My earliest recollection of my mother is sitting at her feet with my sister, drinking in the tales and legends that were related to us." To him on her deathbed she said, "I am going away from you, Abraham, and I shall not return. I know that you will be a good boy; that you will be kind to Sarah and to your father. I want you to live as I have taught you, and to love your Heavenly Father." "All that I am or hope to be I owe to my angel mother." *(Abraham Lincoln.)*

(From the inscription on inside wall of the granite building erected in Hardin County, Kentucky, on the site of, and housing, the log cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born.)

Open Letter

Minneapolis, Minnesota, January 28, 1921.

Rev. William E. Barton,
Oak Park, Illinois.

Dear Sir: I have read with interest your book entitled, "The Soul of Abraham Lincoln." The subject has been one of absorbing interest to me from my boyhood.

Reared in a Christian home, where the speeches, debates, every message, proclamation, and item of personal news of our great President was anxiously awaited and carefully read and studied by an ardent Whig-Republican with real and genuine interest, no subsequent environment has caused me to forget those early lessons—my reverence of the soul of Abraham Lincoln has grown with my age, and my love of him and of every true word written about him increases as the years go by.

(I must crave pardon for this personal tone which seems necessary to set forth my interest in the subject.)

I learned in those years, when scarcely ten years of age, at my father's fireside, that a mighty leader, an incorruptible statesman, had arisen in the land. The precept of that home was that Lincoln had come to his place in answer to the prayers of God's people, white and black, for generations past, and every utterance of his, that revealed his own soul, showed his Christian belief, or disclosed his faith in an over-ruling Providence or dependence upon the God of our nation as his personal God, was eagerly noted, and thanks given therefore at the family altar.

The keen sadness of that serious day in April, 1865, has never faded from my memory; I recall my father's tears as I, then not quite fourteen, draped my horse in black and rode in the solemn funeral procession to listen to a funeral oration by the best talent that the neighborhood afforded. It was a sad, sad day to those who loved Abraham Lincoln as our family truly loved him. So I am interested in the subject you selected for the title of your work.

That the soul of Abraham Lincoln was true, honest, sincere, loving, devout, free from selfishness, prejudice and bias, we then believed, and my father, I know, had, from his diligent study of his every utterance available, and from testimony of contemporary witnesses — now dust — determined that Abraham Lincoln was a true, devout, praying Christian, that he loved the Lord his God with all his heart, soul, mind and strength, and his neighbor as himself, and would, I know, have subscribed to the estimate of Reverend Chiniquy, Lincoln's client and fast friend, whom you have quoted appropriately in connection with a remarkable interview at the White House, when he said:

> "I found in him the most perfect type of Christianity I ever met. Professedly, he was neither a strict Presbyterian, nor a Baptist, nor a Methodist; but he was the embodiment of all which is more perfect and Christian in them. His religion was the very essence of what God wants in man."

What more could be said except to add the testimony of another who knew him, and deliberately stated in an oration:

> "I present Mr. Lincoln as the best specimen of Christian man I have ever encountered in public life."

No microscope can add to either of these.

In your book you have, with the tradition of suppressed editions, but for the purpose of argument, of course, reprinted the objectionable paragraphs in the works of Herndon and Lamon, the two familiar friends, wherein they each strove, without success, to make his Master appear such a one as he himself was, an infidel—and by your definition of "infidel," and the many interesting illustrations gleaned from your personal experiences in the environment of the wilderness (though probably more than fifty years after Lincoln had come out of it), you have, I am sure, explained away the mistaken charge of infidelity, and shown that neither of the friends really meant what he said. The reprinting of the charges will, of course, not hurt Lincoln any more than the many campaign slanders really hurt; though they pained him, they did no injury to the pure soul of their object.

When I took up your volume, I noticed with joy your statement that "This book attempts to be a digest of *all* the available evidence concerning the religious faith of Abraham Lincoln. It undertakes also to weigh the evidence and to pass judgment, the author's own judgment, concerning it. If the reader's judgment agrees with the author's, the author will be glad; but if not, at least *the facts are here set forth* in their *full* essential content." (The italics are, of course, my own.)

This promise, I soon found with regret, was very far from being kept. Many facts and much evidence, first hand and proven by indisputable testimony, is clearly omitted. This appears most noticeably in regard to the character, beliefs and influence of Mr. Lincoln's mother.

When a lawyer has promised the production of certain testimony, and then omits to introduce it, the conjecture is that his case has not developed just as he had planned it. But lawyers are usually frankly partisan.

In my humble opinion, you have done injustice to your subject by the manner of your treatment of the mother of Abraham Lincoln.

The Religious Influence of Lincoln's Mother

You give a chapter of thirty-two pages to "The environment of Lincoln's boyhood," and scarcely a line, surely not a full paragraph without detraction, to the character, teaching or influence of his mother.

In effect, you say you have learned from reading Buckle's History of Civilization, that the development of an individual or a nation is profoundly influenced by environment. I have not read Buckle. Does he show a single authentic case where environment has swept away the firmly fixed spiritual anchor of an individual? Does your cited authority reverse the judgment of Solomon rendered and formulated in an injunction three thousand years ago?*

Environment, of course, should be studied. Environment may warp or develop, may profoundly influence an individual life; but if the anchor is shown to have been firmly fixed, as in Lincoln's case, I venture to say no en-

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*NOTE—Froude, in his Essay on *The Science of History,* pays Mr. Buckle the highest compliments for persuasive eloquence, diligence and persistency, but fails to endorse his theories as to the irresistible influence of environment upon mankind, or upon nations.

Mr. Buckle maintained that "The Northern nations are hardy and industrious because they must till the earth if they would eat the fruits of it, and because the temperature is too low to make an idle life enjoyable. In the South the soil is more productive, while less food is wanted, and fewer clothes, and in the exquisite air exertion is not needed to make the sense of existence delightful. Therefore, in the South we find men lazy and indolent."

vironment, such as his is known to have been, has ever been shown to sweep that anchor away from the rock of truth.

There may be drifting and tossing, slacking and straining of the cable, darkness and storms may for years hide the rock, but the anchor holds, and the bark will not depart. So said the wise man, and so the religious life of Lincoln illustrated.

Have you not laid unprofitable stress upon the "character of the preaching which Abraham Lincoln heard in his boyhood" and forgotten his mother's Bible, and his mother's prayers?

You, no doubt, say truly that the prevailing and almost the sole type of preaching in that part of Indiana during Lincoln's boyhood "was a very unprogressive type" and *"against it the boy, Abe Lincoln, rebelled."* Why? Was it not the influence of his mother's teaching?

In attempting to set forth "The True Story of Lincoln's Spiritual Life and Convictions," as the advertisement of your book expresses it, can Lincoln's mother, her faith, her religion, her teachings, be ignored? Can one properly learn the secret of a tree's development and ignore its root?

Mr. Froude mildly remarks that "There are difficulties in these views, the home of the languid Italian was the home also of the sternest race of whom the story of mankind retains a record. And, again when we are told that the Spaniards are superstitious because Spain is a country of earthquakes, we remember Japan, the spot in all the World where earthquakes are most frequent, and where at the same time there is the most serene disbelief in any supernatural agency whatsoever.

"Moreover, if men grow into what they are by natural laws, they can not help being what they are, and if they can not help being what they are, a good deal will have to be altered in our general view of human obligations and responsibilities."

In my humble opinion, it was very much more important to study the mother's religion, who held constant communion with the boy until he was nearly ten years of age, than to study the environments of either that mother or that boy during that period, or to inquire closely into the particular kind of a church that she joined with her husband, in a wilderness where churches were scarce, or the kind of preaching that the boy heard in those days or even the preaching that he heard, or failed to hear, in after years, but of course this is only my opinion.

When I say religion, I mean, not the particular creed or doctrine of any church that she may have joined, but what was her girlhood religion, her woman's faith, her belief in God and about God, and her love of her boy.

Lincoln himself has not left the question of his mother's influence in doubt. Probably few prominent men of fifty-six have left such indisputable evidence as to the character and influence of his mother, and where and *by whom* his spiritual anchor was fixed.

I do not find that you have quoted any of these items of evidence in your book of upwards of 400 pages, and this is one of the omissions that I complain of.

J. G. Holland, as you know, in 1865, after the assassination, wrote a life of Lincoln, and in the preparation thereof went into the neighborhoods of all three of the states where Lincoln had lived, and where there were at that time many still living who knew personally Nancy Hanks Lincoln, the President's mother, and personally gathered the evidence as to both mother and son.

That Holland was not lacking in "training in or inclination toward historical investigation" (as you say Bishop Fowler was) must be admitted, and after such investigation he deliberately placed on record the facts that

he found, and the conclusions that he came to, as follow

"Mrs. Lincoln, the mother, was evidently a woman out of place among those primitive surroundings. She was five feet, five inches high, a slender, pale, sad and sensitive woman, with much in her nature that was truly heroic, and much that shrank from the rude life around her. A great man never drew his infant life from a purer or more womanly bosom than her own; and *Mr. Lincoln always looked back to her with an unspeakable affection.* Long after her sensitive heart and weary hands had crumbled into dust, and had climbed to life again in forest flowers, he said to a friend, with tears in his eyes: *'All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother—blessings on her memory'.**

"His character was planted in this Christian mother's life. Its roots were fed by this Christian mother's love; and those that have wondered at the truthfulness and earnestness of his mature character have only to remember that the *tree was true to the soil from which it sprang.*"

Even Herndon, who lifted up his heel against the son—mistakenly, no doubt—left on record a loving tribute to that mother, and he quotes from a friend, present at her deathbed, on October 5, 1818:

"The mother knew she was going to die, and called her children (Abe and Sarah) to her bedside. She was very weak, and the children leaned over while she gave her last message. Placing her feeble hand on little Abe's head, she told him to be kind and good to his father and sister; to both she said, 'Be good to one another,' expressing a hope that they might live *as they*

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*See Appendix II.

had been taught by her, to love their kindred and worship God."

Holland, again quoting from the White House, in Lincoln's dark days, when he had buried his little Willie, says that after the funeral, when the Christian nurse expressed sympathy for him, Lincoln replied:

"I wish I had that childlike faith you speak of, and I trust He will give it to me."

And then he spoke of his mother, whom so many years before he had committed to the dust among the wilds of Indiana. In this hour of his great trial, the memory of her who had held him upon her bosom, and soothed his childish griefs, came back to him with tenderest recollections.

"I remember her prayers," said he, *"and they have always followed me. They have clung to me all my life."*

Isaac N. Arnold, Esq., was an intelligent, credible witness, an intimate friend, an attorney, and member of Congress, and had exceptional opportunities to know whereof he testified, and he says:

"No more reverent Christian than he ever sat in the executive chair, not excepting Washington. . . . From the time he left Springfield to his death he not only himself continually prayed for divine assistance, but continually asked the prayers of his friends for himself and his country. . . . Doubtless, like others, he passed through periods of doubt and perplexity, but *his faith in a Divine Providence began at his mother's knee,* and ran through all the changes of his life."

There is at least one more direct witness from whom you have quoted a remarkable incident*—Father Chini-

*See Appendix III.

quy—"The Apostle of Temperance of Canada." After describing his own deliverance from a criminal charge, based on perjured testimony before the court at Urbana, Illinois, in May 1856, in which, after the adjournment of court at ten o'clock at night, the first day of the trial, his attorney, Lincoln, informed him that unless he could establish an alibi, he would be convicted in the morning, and added: "The only way to be sure of a favorable verdict tomorrow is that Almighty God would take our part, and show your innocence. *Go to Him and pray,* for He alone can save you," and when, at three o'clock, an unknown witness came and he was saved, that in Lincoln's talk with him in the morning, he said:

> "The way you have been saved from their hand, the appearance of that young and intelligent Miss Moffat, who was really sent by God in the very hour of need, when, I confess it again, I thought everything was nearly lost, is one of the most extraordinary occurrences I ever saw. It makes me remember what I have too often forgotten, and *what my mother often told me when young—that our God is a prayer-hearing God. This good thought sown into my young heart by that dear mother's hand, was just in my mind when I told you, 'Go and pray, God alone can save you.'* But I confess to you that I had not faith enough to believe that your prayer would be so quickly and so marvelously answered by the sudden appearance of that interesting young lady last night."

I repeat, I know of no man of prominence, who has not written his own autobiography, who has left more unimpeachable evidence as to where his spiritual anchor was fixed, and *who it was* that placed it. Neither his mother's character, nor her religious faith can be ignored in any proper study of the spiritual life of Abraham Lincoln.

It is true that you have not omitted entire reference to the mother. On page 86, when describing the opportunities of the bleak environment, you say, "Herndon tells us of the fondness of the Hanks girls for camp-meetings, and describes one in which Nancy appears to have participated, a little time before her marriage. We have no reason to believe that was her last camp-meeting."

The facts that Herndon has left on record, are:

"The Hanks girls were great at camp-meetings."

"The Hanks girls were the finest singers and shouters in our county."

But even he seemed to hesitate to assert that it was Nancy Hanks that participated in the scene, at a certain Kentucky *camp-meeting*, fantastically described by his informant, an outsider, who, with his girl, stood upon a bench in order to look over into the altar, and to laugh at the shouting.

Notwithstanding this reference to camp-meetings, you had deliberately asserted, at the top of page 48: "It is a remarkable fact that the Lincoln family appears, never at any time in its history, to have been strongly under the influence of Methodism."

Was it the Presbyterians or the hard shell Baptists that conducted camp-meetings in Kentucky during the first decade of 1800? I am somewhat in the dark, never having taught school in that state, even in the 80's, and not being specially educated in historical investigations.

To emphasize the fact that you make the statement deliberately, you add a note: "I do not forget that Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married by Reverend Jesse Head, who was a Methodist preacher, but I do not find evidence that Mr. Head asserted any

marked influence over them. Mr. Head was not only a minister, but a Justice of the Peace, and anti-slavery man, and a person of strong and righteous character. I am not sure whether the fact that he performed the marriage is not due in some measure to the fact that he was about the court house, and a convenient minister to find."

This insinuation of a hasty marriage is unworthy, and of course unfounded and false. The record shows that the marriage bond was formally executed and filed two days before the wedding, and that the marriage was celebrated at the home of Richard Berry, and the infare at the home of her guardian, to both of which all the neighbors came, etc.

Is there any evidence that the active circuit rider, Rev. Jesse Head, "Deacon of the Methodist Episcopal Church" (as he signed himself), was in the habit of loafing around the court house? Where was this court house located?

At another place in your work, you admit that:

> "I am inclined to think that the Hanks family had Methodist antecedents. Thomas and Nancy Lincoln were married by a Methodist preacher, Rev. Jesse Head. He is known to have been a foe of slavery, and there is some reason to think that the Lincoln family derived some part of its love of freedom from him."

There is no question of the correctness of these tardily admitted facts, and I am inclined to think that investigation would show that the hymns that Nancy Hanks sung were those of Charles Wesley, and that at the camp-meetings there were many sermons preached on Free Grace, and "Whosoever will," in short, that she was an ardent, devout, active Methodist.

Whether she was a Methodist or not is, in my view, unimportant. She was, as the histories show, a loving, sincere, earnest, praying mother, who trained her boy in the way he should go, and any attempt to take from her her rightful crown of glory, and give it to any preacher, or group of preachers, or cast it upon environment, will and should fail. Justice is due to her memory.

You have not written into any line the name of the denomination to which you belong, or the specific creed or doctrine to which you adhere. As a historian, of course, your personal views are entirely immaterial. A historian is expected to give all the facts without permitting his own views to influence the record by omissions or otherwise. When a man undertakes, however, to record his own personal judgment, it is important to know what his personal beliefs are, as even unconsciously his mind may be warped thereby.

I have no reason for leaving anything to be read between the lines, and frankly say that I am a Methodist—a layman—and do not believe that my mind has been greatly warped by reading theology. It is not, however, my aim, and if you can comprehend it, it is not my wish or desire to prove that Lincoln was a Methodist.

I think Father Chiniquy came nearer the truth when he said that Lincoln was the embodiment of all which is more perfect and Christian in more than one denomination.

Personally, I believe that Lincoln's belief embodied more that was distinctively Methodist than Calvinist and I do resent the slight you have attempted to place upon his mother.

Rev. Col. J. F. Jaquess—Conversion

I respectfully submit that in your book you did injustice to my friend and former pastor, Rev. Edward L. Watson, D. D., now of Baltimore, in that you charge him with having reported hearsay details as direct testimony, and have done wrong to the memory of Rev. Col. Jaquess in your assertion of the questionableness of the story as told by him, and wrong to the memory of Mr. Lincoln, in repeatedly asserting that his life, after 1847 (or even 1839), was not consistent with the truth of the events recited by Colonel Jaquess.

You have given over two pages to a subhead, "Was Abraham Lincoln a Methodist?"

Who did you ever know to claim that Lincoln was a Methodist?

In your book you say:

(1) "This question would seem to require no answer, yet it is one that should receive an answer, for claims have been made, and are still current, which *imply* that Lincoln was actually converted in the Methodist church, whose *doctrine* he accepted because Calvinism was repugnant to him; and that while he *continued* to attend the Presbyterian church, he was essentially a Methodist."

(2) "At a reunion of the Seventy-third Illinois Volunteers held in Springfield on September 28 and 29, 1897, the colonel of that regiment, Rev. James F. Jaquess, D. D., related an incident in which he stated that while he was serving a Methodist church in Springfield *in 1839,* Mr. Lincoln attended *a series of revival services* held in that church, and was converted."

(3) "Twelve years later, in 1909, in connection with the Centenary Celebration of the birth of Lincoln, the

story was reprinted, *with certain added details obtained* from the brother of Colonel Jaquess.

The death of Colonel Jaquess *and the additions made* by his brother give this incident its permanent form in the Christian Advocate article of November 11, 1909." (See appendix.)

(4) "That the story as told by Colonel Jaquess must have some element of truth I think beyond question; that it occurred exactly as he related it, I greatly doubt. The years between 1839 and 1897 numbered fifty-eight, and that is more than ample time for a man's memory to magnify and color incidents almost beyond recognition."

"The story as it is thus told lacks confirmatory evidence. *If* Lincoln was converted in a Methodist church in 1839 *and remained converted,* a considerable number of events which occurred in subsequent years might reasonably have been expected to have been otherwise than they really were. Each reader must judge for himself in the light of all that we know of Abraham Lincoln how much or how little of this story is to be accepted as literal fact. The present writer cannot say that he is convinced by the story."

(In Note)—"It is a story which it is *impossible to fit into* the life of Lincoln. In Latest Light on Lincoln, Page 396, Chapman says, 'There is every reason for giving this remarkable story unquestioning credence.' *On the contrary,* there is every good reason for questioning it at every essential point, and the questions do not evoke satisfactory answers."

After thus attempting to discount the story, and discredit both Dr. Watson and Colonel Jaquess, you published in full Dr. Watson's article of November 11, 1909, in the Appendix to your volume.

A careful reading of the article, even if not sympathetic, will show the many errors in your attempted repudiation of its truth. Dates are sometimes important, and every lawyer knows that testimony from memory as to dates is very unreliable, and usually practically worthless. It behooves *a historian,* therefore, to check up the dates, unless they are based specifically upon record.

The date that Rev. Jaquess preached the sermon upon "Ye must be born again"—which Mr. Lincoln listened to, and afterwards went to the parsonage where Mr. Jaquess and his wife prayed with him, was in May, 1847, not in 1839. I give simply the proper date, and will hereafter give the evidence that sustains it.

Mr. Jaquess' own story, as told by himself at the Eleventh Annual Reunion of the Survivors of the Seventy-third Regiment, held September 28 and 29, 1897, and which Dr. Watson correctly copied into his article of November 11, 1909, is as follows:

> "Very soon after my second year's work as a minister in the Illinois conference, I was sent to Springfield. . . . It was one Sunday morning, a beautiful morning in May . . . the church happened to be filled that morning. It was a good sized church, but on that day all the seats were filled. I had chosen for my text the words, 'Ye must be born again,' and during the course of my sermon I laid particular stress on the word '*must.*' Mr. Lincoln came in the church after the services had commenced, and there being no vacant seats, chairs were put in the altar in front of the pulpit and Mr. Lincoln and Governor French and wife sat in the altar during the entire services, Mr. Lincoln on my left and Governor French on my right, and I noticed that Mr. Lincoln appeared to be deeply interested in the sermon. A few days after that Sunday Mr. Lincoln

called on me and informed me that he had been greatly impressed with my remarks on Sunday and that he had come to talk to me further on the matter. I invited him in, and my wife and I talked and prayed with him for hours. Now, I have seen many persons converted; I have seen hundreds brought to Christ, and if ever a person was converted, Abraham Lincoln was converted that night in my house. His wife was a Presbyterian, but from remarks he made to me he could not accept Calvinism. He never joined my church, but I will always believe that since that night Abraham Lincoln lived and died a Christian gentleman."

Now, what is there in this story that is improbable, false, or inconsistent with the future life, habits and actions of Mr. Lincoln? What did he do after May, 1847, that was inconsistent with the most critical construction of Colonel Jaquess' statement?

Dr. Watson, in his article in the Christian Advocate, quoted this statement, word for word. He added nothing to it, except his own expression of pleasure that he was able to prove that Methodism had a hand in the making of the greatest American.

If you had read with care the first part of Dr. Watson's article, you would have seen that he was giving from memory the narrative told him personally by Colonel Jaquess twelve years before. There is not one syllable in the narrative admitted by Dr. Watson, to be "added details obtained from the brother of Colonel Jaquess," and your repeated assertion that Dr. Watson had reported "additions made by his brother" is wrong, and a wrong on your part to Dr. Watson.

That Dr. Watson had carried in his mind for twelve years without memoranda the narrative as clearly as

stated, is really remarkable. He wrote it out in 1909 without having before him, very evidently, any memoranda of the incident—not even the garbled accounts printed in the Minneapolis newspapers in May, 1897.

It appears that after Colonel Jaquess had told the incident to Dr. Watson, in May, 1897, that he was invited by him to attend the Minneapolis Ministers' Monday Meeting, which he did, and told to them there the same story that he related in September of the same year, before the soldiers' reunion in Springfield.

Dr. Watson having apparently partially prepared his article of 1909, discovered, after doing so, that the record was in the minutes of the proceedings of the reunion of the Regiment of 1897, and instead of rewriting his own memory report, he says: "The narrative as told thus far is *as my memory recalls it*. Since writing it, the same, as told by Colonel Jaquess has recently been discovered by me in the minutes of the proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Reunion Survivors Seventy-third Regiment, Illinois Infantry Volunteers, page 30, a copy of which is before me," and he then quotes the record, both of which are before me.

As to the dates given by Dr. Watson from memory, there are three, only one of them is important—1894—the date that he came to Minneapolis, is correct; 1896, the date when he met Colonel Jaquess, should be 1897; and 1839 as the date of Colonel Jaquess' sermon that Lincoln listened to, should be 1847; but only one of them is important—1847.

If you had investigated the question, as a historian, before condemning it, you would have noticed this error in dates, because Colonel Jaquess was not a minister of the gospel in 1839. You will note that Colonel Jaquess

says that the date that he came to Springfield was "very soon after my second year's work as a minister." Methodist ministers were appointed annually, but never more than three years to the same place, and seldom more than two.

The year book of Depauw University—1884—gives Colonel Jaquess as an alumnus, with the following: "Graduated 1845, entered Illinois Conference; 1845 appointed to Shawneetown Circuit; 1846 Petersburg; 1847-48 Springfield; 1849 President Female College, Jackson; 1855 Paris Station; 1856 President College, Quincy, Illinois; . . . Address: London, England."

Hon. Augustus C. French was Governor of Illinois from December 9, 1846 to 1852, an irregular term, caused by the Constitution being amended during his first term.

Lincoln was in Springfield in May, 1847, and until November, when he was absent for two years in Washington, D. C., in Congress.

This record does not contradict, but corroborates the story of Colonel Jaquess that in May, soon after his second year in the ministry, he had the opportunity of preaching a sermon to which Abraham Lincoln and Governor French and his wife might have listened. Did he? Who is the witness? Was he credible?

Let us look for a moment at your discounts:

(1) You assert that it is *implied* that Lincoln was actually converted in the Methodist church, whose *doctrine* he accepted, and that while he *continued* to attend the Presbyterian church, he was essentially a Methodist.

The record does not disclose any discussion of a distinctive "doctrine," accepted or otherwise. It was the necessity of a new birth that interested Lincoln. There

was no *continuing* to attend the Presbyterian church, because Lincoln had not commenced in 1847, much less in 1839, according to your own record, to attend that church with his wife. It was not until after February 1, 1850, that he even became acquainted with Dr. James Smith, of Sacred Memory.

(2) You are wrong in asserting that, in 1897, before his comrades in Springfield, Rev. James F. Jaquess, D.D., related an incident in which he stated that "while he was serving a Methodist church in Springfield *in 1839,* Mr. Lincoln attended his service," etc. Colonel Jaquess pointed out the correct date, and a historian should not have perpetuated the erroneous date, given expressly from memory of a narrator, not claiming to have been especially "trained in historical research."

(3) You are doubly wrong in asserting that "The story was reprinted *with certain added details obtained from the brother of Colonel Jaquess.*"

The brother added not a syllable, and even much less than a sympathetic reading of the article of November 11, 1909, would have shown this clearly, and that your assertions were a direct reflection on Dr. Watson.

(4) Your grounds for discrediting the story is the assumption that Colonel Jaquess had magnified and colored the incident almost beyond recognition during the fifty years that elapsed between the incident and the telling.

Stories grow by retelling. There is no evidence that Colonel Jaquess repeated the story more than three times, once to Dr. Watson, once to the Minneapolis ministers, and once to his comrades at their reunion.

Your questioning reflects on the character of Colonel

Jaquess, and calls for a showing of the kind of man he really was, which I will aim to touch on hereafter.

Why Colonel Jaquess did not repeat this story over and over again during the fifty years, so that others who had written about Lincoln should have learned of it before 1897, is explained by the fact that Colonel Jaquess was not living in America at the time the questions were being raised as to the religious beliefs of Abraham Lincoln.

At the close of the war in 1866, he went into the Freedmen's Bureau, and until 1875 was engaged there and in work of restoration in the South. He then became interested in business which took him to England, and for over twenty years he resided abroad.

The record only shows that he was able to attend two of the reunions of his regiment, at both of which he made the annual address.

In 1889 he came from London, expressly to attend that meeting, and after traveling 4,000 miles and meeting his comrades at their reunion, he stayed but twenty-four hours, and returned to meet pressing engagements in England.

The other time that he met with the regiment was in September, 1897, when he not only made the annual address, but related the incident in regard to Mr. Lincoln, which Dr. Watson quoted.

Bishop Fowler's oration, to which he referred, and which recalled the incident to his mind, was delivered first in Minneapolis in 1894, *not in 1904,* as you give the date on page 111. I had heard that admirable oration twice before 1904, and do not accept your attempted detractions. The Bishop, even if not having "had any training in or inclination toward historical investigation," had the

advantage of being personally acquainted with Lincoln, and with many of his advisors.

Whether Dr. Jaquess had heard of the life of Lincoln by Herndon, or by Lamon, does not appear, but he had heard of Bishop Fowler's lecture, and as he says that that lecture reminded him that, "I happen to know something on that subject (Lincoln's religion) that very few persons know. My wife, who has been dead nearly two years, was the only witness of what I am going to state to you as having occurred," and then he narrates the occurrence to his comrades.

Your next statement is that the story, as it is thus told, lacks confirmatory evidence. The character of Dr. Jaquess, then in his seventy-seventh year, would seem to be sufficient in itself; but you say that a considerable number of events which occurred in subsequent years might reasonably have been expected to have been otherwise than they really were, if Lincoln had been converted in a Methodist church.

What are those events? Is a definition of "conversion," as well as a definition of "infidelity," required?

You will note the language of Dr. Jaquess: "Now, I have seen many persons converted. I have seen hundreds brought to Christ, and if ever a person was converted, Abraham Lincoln was converted that night in my house. He never joined my church, but I will always believe that since that night Abraham Lincoln lived and died a Christian gentleman."

Was not this last true? In fact, is it not corroborated in every known event which occurred in Lincoln's life in subsequent years?

When Lincoln returned from Washington in 1849, Colonel Jaquess had gone from Springfield.* Who his successor was I have not inquired.

Lincoln with his logical mind was not liable to attend church where the preaching was poor, and I know of no evidence that he attended any church after his return from Washington, until after February, 1850, when his wife attended, and in 1852 joined the Presbyterian church. He went with her to hear Dr. Smith, who was an able preacher. Dr. Smith did not claim, so far as your records show, that Mr. Lincoln was converted under his preaching, or in his church (he never joined it), and the most that can be claimed is that he enjoyed Dr. Smith's preaching—that he was helped by it, and that Dr. Smith with his book "The Christian's Defense," helped Lincoln to dissolve his doubts; he found the arguments "unanswerable."

It was a question of intellect and mind. Conversion rather is a matter of heart, I take it.

I have heard that Satan often comes back with old or new doubts after conversion. Lincoln seems to have been so assailed again in 1862, and it was an Episcopal rector who helped him. (Johnson on Lincoln the Christian, pp. 30-34.)

It seems to me that the story, as told by Colonel Jaquess, does fit into the life of Lincoln, and that there is no good reason for questioning any essential point of Colonel Jaquess' narrative.

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*NOTE—W. G. Jaquess, "The Drummer Boy of Chickamauga," now Superintendent of Schools of Tunica County, Mississippi, in a letter to his cousin, Miss Fannie M. Jaquess, said, "In a conversation with Senator Cullom, of Illinois, several years ago, in discussing old times, father's name was mentioned quite often, and he remarked that he and Mr. Lincoln frequently went to hear father preach, and that they both enjoyed his sermons very much." He further said: "I have not seen Mr. Barton's book."

You call New Salem Mr. Lincoln's *Alma Mater*—well and good. Mr. Lincoln came from his Alma Mater on his borrowed horse, with his mother's Bible, Aesop's Fables, and Pilgrim's Progress, but like many another young man, he evidently had been using his intellect and his reason while in that school, and came out with many unsolved doubts. He had, for the time being, gotten away from his mother's prayers, although he carried and read, and had memorized much of his mother's Bible, and the book and preaching of Dr. Smith was what was needed to help him over the doubts.

The evidence seems clear, aside from Colonel Jaquess' report, that somewhere between the time he alighted in front of Joshua Speed's Store, April 15, 1837, and that February day in 1861, when he stood on the platform of the train, there had been a decided change of heart—a new birth—a conversion. His whole life shows it, and I know of no event subsequent to 1847 that contradicts the fact narrated by Colonel Jaquess.

That there was much unbelief in Springfield, as well as in New Salem, is evidenced by the fact that each of the three close friends of Lincoln — Herndon, Lamon and Speed—believed himself to be an infidel.

After twenty-five years of such environment, Mr. Lincoln came forth on his way to the presidency, with his mother's Bible in his hand, a prayer upon his lips, and a firm faith in his heart that there was a prayer-hearing God, and that if the great God who assisted Washington, would be with him and aid him, he would not fail in his allotted task.

Lincoln was converted just as Dr. Jaquess related.

It is interesting to note that Lincoln's closest friend, Joshua Speed, after his conversation with Lincoln in the Summer of 1864, upon belief in the Bible, overcame his skepticism and joined the Methodist Episcopal church.

You have deliberately so reflected upon Colonel Jaquess, "the Fighting Parson," that a slight acquaintance with him should be sought. You lay down as the first question in weighing testimony, "Is the witness credible?"

It is well. What kind of a man was Rev. James Frazier Jaquess, D.D., pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church, Springfield, from the Spring of 1847 until 1849? [Fall of 1846 until 1848.]

Chapter 8, of the History of the "Preacher Regiment," sometimes called "The Methodist Regiment," which was enlisted by Colonel Jaquess, and commanded by him from Shilo to the end of the war, is devoted to the life of its colonel, was written by one who knew him well, and says of him as a preacher and teacher:

> "During his whole career as a preacher and teacher, Mr. Jaquess was a man of strongly marked individuality. His address was polished and winning, his presence magnetic to a marked degree. He influenced all with whom he came in contact, and made friends by the thousands in all parts of the country. He was in great demand in the pulpit and on the platform, his oratory being of the earnest, electric kind, that was popular with all classes of people, from the ripest scholar to the humblest laborer or frontiersman. He was never abashed in any company, and no man ever felt abashed in his. He took a living interest in all public affairs; but in his chosen sphere as a Christian minister he shone to unsurpassed advantage. Whenever it was announced that he was to preach, whether at a city church, a cross-road schoolhouse, or a backwoods camp-meeting, hundreds flocked to hear and went away to praise."

Just the man Lincoln would be expected to wish to hear, and to be willing to pay a quarter to be sure that he might not be bored by a journeyman.

After Shilo, he resigned as chaplain of the Sixth Illinois, and asked the privilege of raising and commanding a "Methodist Regiment" for the war. This regiment was unique, nearly all of the commissioned officers from the colonel down, and twenty of the privates, were licensed Methodist preachers, while something over 600 of the soldiers in the ranks were members of the Methodist Episcopal church. When mustered out, the record showed that it had been in ten battles, and many skirmishes, and of the 972 members, 215 had been killed or died of wounds or disease, while 182 had been discharged on account of wounds or disabilities; that its colonel had two horses killed under him in battle. His son of fourteen years was a drummer boy, captured and escaped, and is the subject of the romance, "The Boy of Chickamauga."

In 1864, when all at home were tired of the war, certain parties from the South were in Canada, at Niagara Falls, talking peace, and Horace Greeley was urging Lincoln to treat with them, and the Peace Party in the North was growing like a snowball upon a descending incline. Lincoln believed it would be desirable, if possible, to sound Jefferson Davis personally, and as he expressed it, "draw his fire."

Colonel Jaquess had proposed undertaking such a trip to General Rosencrans, who wrote to Lincoln, forwarding Jaquess' letter by J. R. Gilmore, the anti-slavery writer and lecturer, of Boston.* Gilmore had three interviews with the President, who, while anxious to obtain the information, said the trip, if made, must be taken on individual, unofficial responsibility, and that it would be dangerous, and finally Lincoln insisted that Gilmore accompany Jaquess. The trip was made.

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*See Appendix IV.

They carried "terms" to be talked *to,* but under no circumstances to be known as dictated by Lincoln. These were characteristic — "Surrender, Union, Emanicipation, — then Amnesty, Compensation for Slaves." Lincoln said, "I know Jaquess will be discreet. Explain to him why I can not see him personally. I don't want to hurt his feelings."

A two-hour conference was had with Mr. Davis and Benjamin, his secretary of state.

A partial report was published in the September and December Atlantic Monthly, 1864, as "Our Visit to Richmond." The balance as "A Suppressed Chapter in History" in the same magazine, April, 1887. The result was that they drew from Davis personally the ultimatum, "We are not fighting for slavery, *we are fighting for independence,*" and Lincoln said to Gilmore, "This may be worth as much to us as a half dozen battles. Jaquess was right, *God's hand is in it.* Publish a card of the result of your visit; get it into the Tribune; everybody is agog to hear your report. It will show the country that I didn't fight shy of Greeley's Niagara business without a reason."

The result of the visit was published all over the North, the Peace Party melted away and Lincoln was triumphantly re-elected.

When Gilmore was urging the President to give Jaquess an official standing for his trip, Lincoln said, "I know Jaquess. He feels that he is acting as God's servant and messenger, and he would recoil from anything like political finesse. We want to draw Davis' fire, but we must do it fairly."

Garfield, Chase, Sumner and Rosencrans all approved of Colonel Jaquess' action, and were with President Lin-

coln delighted with the result as a great service to the country.

Gilmore in his report in 1864, in the Atlantic, said of his companion: "A man more cool, more brave, more self-confident, more self-devoted than this quiet 'Western Parson,' it never was my fortune to encounter."

Now it was just thirty-three years from the time of Colonel Jaquess' return from Richmond with the word that war or disunion was the only terms possible, and the whole country was ringing with his name, that he related to his comrades in arms the story of Lincoln's visit to his parsonage in Springfield in 1847. He was then still vigorous and clear-headed, though in his seventy-seventh year. He was not the man either to magnify or exaggerate. *He was a credible witness,* and I submit that Dr. Chapman was correct when he recorded this incident "with complete assurance of its correctness," and that he was far more correct than you when he wrote in his *Latest Light on Lincoln,* "There is every reason for giving this remarkable story unquestioning credence."

I beg to enclose a copy of the photograph of the witness. I am informed by his niece, Miss Fanny M. Jaquess, Acting Secretary of the Woman's Christian Association of Minneapolis, that she understands the original was taken in 1889, on the occasion of the reunion that year.*

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*NOTE—W. G. Jaquess, Superintendent of Education, Tunica, Miss., writes: "I am sure the address of father at the reunion of the 73rd was correct in every detail. I doubt if father repeated this story often, in fact am sure he did not. I never heard him do so but a very few times. I am sure the facts were so fixed in his mind that he could not have been mistaken." At the request of a Mr. Leslie "I sent the proceedings of the reunion in which father's statement appeared, and was promised a copy of Rev. Barton's book, but have not seen it."

Creed

You have compiled for Abraham Lincoln a "creed" of nine articles. I have no fault to find with any one article taken from his addresses, messages, proclamations, and personal letters, written by himself. Half truths by omission is a fault.

You say in regard to the selections you have made for your purpose:

> "We might go much farther and could find a considerable body of additional material, but this is sufficient and more than sufficient *for our purpose*. In these utterances may be found something of the determinism that was hammered into Lincoln by *the early Baptist preachers* and riveted by James Smith, along with some of the humanitarianism of Parker and Channing, *and much which lay unstratified* in Lincoln's own mind but flowed spontaneously from his pen or dropped from his lips because it was *native* to his thinking and had come to be a component part of his life. Anyone who cares to do so may piece these utterances together and test his success in making a creed out of them. They lend themselves somewhat readily to such an arrangement."

As to the early preaching, you had already recorded that against it, "the boy Abe Lincoln rebelled," and that he only mimicked and ridiculed their hammering.

You have again forgotten his mother, and failed to give her credit for the "*much* which lay unstratified in Lincoln's own mind—which was *native* to his thinking and had come to be a component part of his life."

In your study of fourteen pages of the question of "Why did Lincoln never join the church?" you found yourself compelled to accept Lincoln's own answer, as

established beyond any reasonable doubt, as being his own, and might, it seems to me, have been properly made an article of this constructed creed:

> *"I believe that whosoever loves the Lord, his God, with all his heart and soul, and mind and strength, and his neighbor as himself, is a Christian and should be admitted as a member of the visible church."*

The testimony supporting this article in the reported language of Mr. Lincoln himself is:

> "I have never united myself to any church, because I have found difficulty in giving my assent, without mental reservation, to the long, complicated statements of Christian doctrine which characterize their articles of belief and confessions of faith. When any church will inscribe over its altars, as its sole qualification for membership, the Saviour's condensed statement of the substance of both law and gospel, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church will I join with all my heart and all my soul."

Whether you are right or not in your contention that the fault was not all with the churches, but that "Some share of the responsibility for his failure to unite with the church must belong to Lincoln himself," it would have been much fairer and seemed less partisan to not have omitted from a "creed" thrust upon him in the first person, this article again and again, announced by him and proven beyond a reasonable doubt by three credible witnesses, one of them Rev. Phineas D. Gurley, Presbyterian pastor, of Washington, one Hon. Henry C. Deming, Congressman for Connecticut, who testified to it June 8, 1865, before there was time to permit any growth or exaggeration.

You say "Lincoln lacked some of the finer feelings." He never lacked in scrupulous, conscientious honesty; he never tried to mislead a court or jury by suppressing material testimony. Rather he ran away and washed his hands.

You entirely ignore the teaching of his mother, slight her as he never did, and yet repeat "though a Calvinist in his early training"—"the Calvinism which he inherited and heard through his childhood." Trained by whom? Inherited from whom? Heard where? Not at his mother's knee. I am sure your historical research has found no evidence that any such inheritance, training or teaching came from this mother.

The mother and the mother's influence can not be thus ignored in any "True Story of Lincoln's Life and Convictions."*

The People Called Methodists

Having, on page 48, asserted, for an evident purpose, as a statement of fact, "that the Lincoln family appears never at any time in its history to have been strongly under the influence of Methodism," thus slighting and ignoring entirely the mother, and your own statement on page 36, as to her participation before and after her marriage in camp-meetings in Kentucky, you again, on page 64, make the assertion that Lincoln's "association with Methodists was largely in the political arena, where he crossed swords three times with Peter Cartwright." This statement lacks historical accuracy.

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*NOTE—In the "Outlook" of April 14, 1920, Lyman Abbott, reviewing Dr. Barton's book, says:

"Herndon says he was a fatalist—Barton that he was a Calvinist. He certainly was not a John Calvin Calvinist. John Calvin held that man had lost his freedom in the fall; and Abraham Lincoln's whole understanding of life was based on his belief in the free will, and therefore the moral responsibility of man."

After complimenting the Presiding Elder Cartwright, as a doughty hero of the cross, who exerted a mighty influence for good in early Illinois, you say: "He, Lincoln, could not have failed to respect such men, but it is not altogether certain that he was tempted to love them."

It is not altogether certain just what you mean by "them," but I hold no brief for the Methodists; they need no defense.

I was impelled to write this letter by reason of the glaring injustice and wrong attempted to be done to Abraham Lincoln's mother, and to my friend, Dr. Watson, and the memory of his friend, Dr. Jaquess. Both of these wrongs grated upon my sense of justice.

As to Lincoln's love of Methodists, the history is too full to require citations. They and their influence were ever with his family and with him, in increasing numbers and force, from the cabin in Kentucky to the White House and the tomb, where Bishop Simpson pronounced the funeral oration.

The soul of Abraham Lincoln was too large to admit of prejudice or bickering over sects, doctrines, or dogmas. While he prayed, "God bless the Methodist church," he added, "Bless all the churches," and while at his invitation both Bishop Simpson and Bishop Janes prayed with him in the White House, so did his Quaker lady friend more than once, and he said to her, "I feel helped and strengthened by your prayers."

He also found strength and help from the Episcopal rector, Francis Vinton, D. D., as well as from the prayers of Dr. Smith and Dr. Gurley, the pastors of his wife's Presbyterian churches. He was one of the elect who learned of the doctrine by willing to do the will of his Master, and any attempt to contract that great soul to

promote a dogma is unworthy and unseemly. Neither Dr. Smith nor Dr. Gurley ever made such an attempt, or intimated such a claim.

Bishop Simpson is [the only] one to whom it is known that Lincoln showed his proposed Emancipation Proclamation before he read it to the Cabinet, and he suggested that there ought to be a recognition of God in that important paper, which may have led to Lincoln's accepting and adopting the last sentence in practically the language submitted by a member of his Cabinet.

Dr. Bowman, afterwards Bishop, was chaplain of the Senate during the last year of the war, and tells of Bishop Simpson being sent for by Lincoln on many occasions for consultation upon public matters, and that Lincoln held him in the highest esteem, and attached much importance to his council; never failed to attend upon his ministry, as he preached often in Washington, while Lincoln was in the White House, and Dr. Bowman gives this instance:

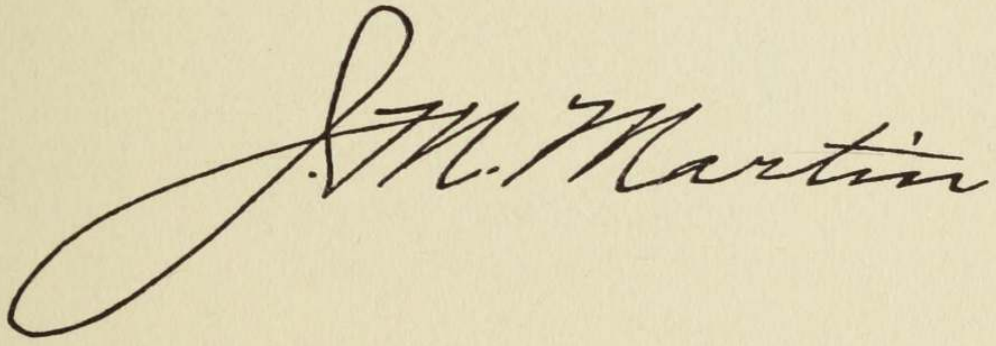
> "On one occasion, with two or three friends, I was conversing with Mr. Lincoln, near the distant window in the 'Blue Room,' when, unexpectedly, the door opened and Bishop Simpson entered. Immediately the President raised both arms, and started for the bishop almost on a run. When he reached him he grasped him with both hands and exclaimed, 'Why, Bishop Simpson, how glad I am to see you!' In a few moments we retired, and left them alone. I afterwards learned that they spent several hours in private, and that this was one of the times when the bishop had been specially asked by the President to come to Washington for such an interview."

The task would be endless to show the many cases where not only Lincoln was influenced by, but where it

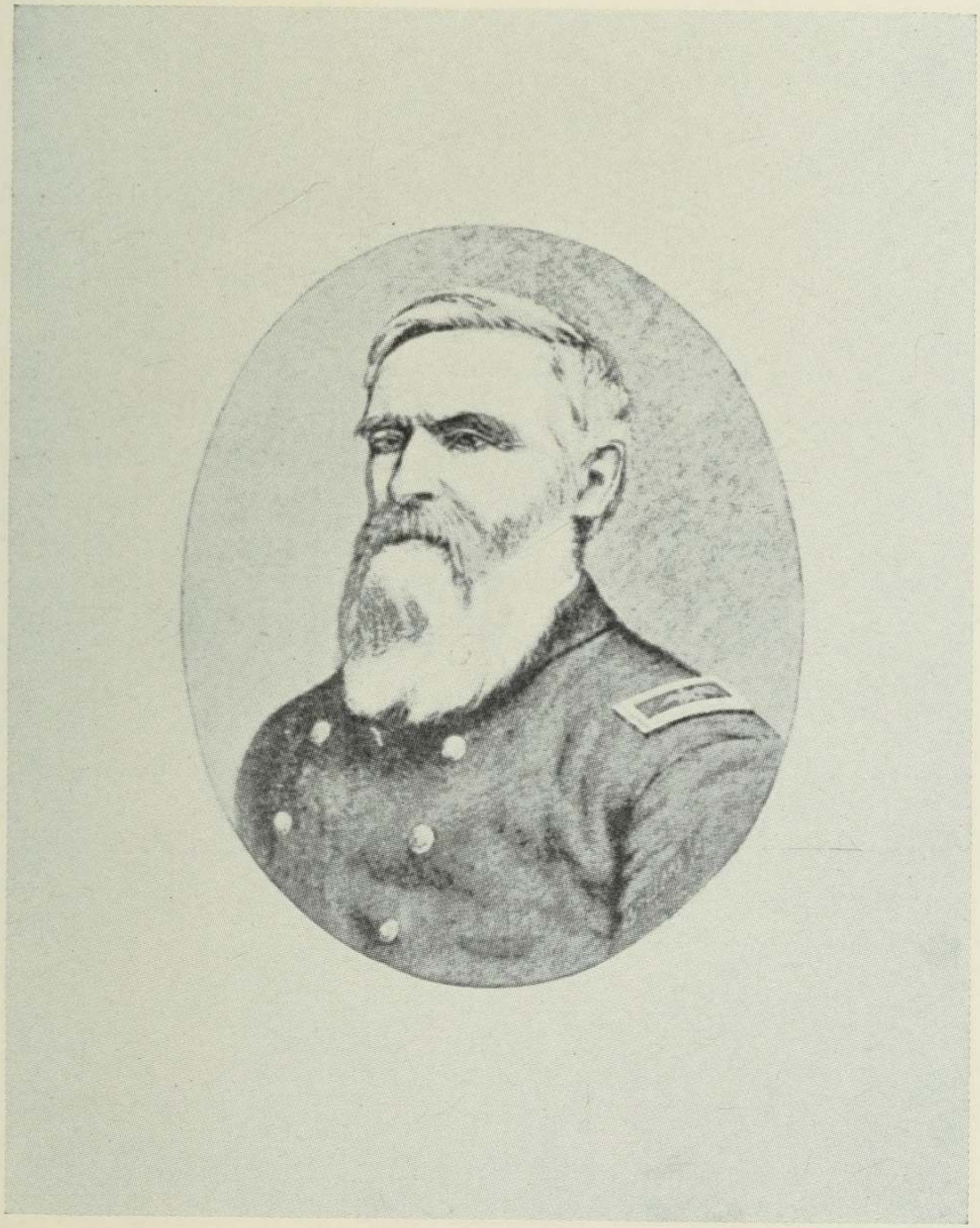
is "altogether certain" that he was not only tempted but that he did love such men — among them Rev. Peter Akers, D. D., at the camp-meetings near the Salem church; Dr. Jaquess, in Springfield; Dr. Bowman, Bishop Janes and Bishop Simpson at Washington—but enough.

As I have said before, I have no desire to prove that Lincoln was a Methodist, nor have I any need to defend the Methodist church or individual Methodists. This letter has been called forth by the injustice attempted to be done to the memory of Lincoln's angel mother, and the slight deliberately attempted to be placed upon my personal friend and former pastor, Dr. Watson, and I am, Sir,

Yours for an unbiased and true story of Lincoln's Spiritual Life and Convictions,



405 Marquette Avenue.



REV. COL. JAMES F. JACQUESS
(In 1889)

Appendix I

THE CONVERSION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By the Rev. Edward L. Watson

The religion of Abraham Lincoln is so much in debate that I feel called upon to give the following narrative of an event of which little seems to be known—and which is of real importance in understanding the man. He has been called an infidel—an unbeliever of varying degrees of blatancy. That he was a Christian in the real sense of the term is plain from his life. That he was converted during a Methodist revival seems not to be a matter of common report. The personal element of this narrative is necessary to unfold the story. In 1894 I was appointed to the pastorate of the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Episcopal church, Minneapolis, Minn., by Bishop Cyrus D. Foss, being transferred from Frederick, Md., a charge in Baltimore Conference. It was in October that we entered the parsonage, which was a double house, the other half being rented by the trustees. Shortly after our occupancy of the church house William B. Jacquess moved into the rented half of the property, and through this fact I became acquainted with Colonel James F. Jacquess, his brother. At this time Colonel Jacquess was an old man of eighty years or more, of commanding presence and wearing a long beard, which was as white as snow. His title grew out of the fact of his being the commanding officer of the Seventy-third Illinois Volunteer Infantry, known as the Preacher Regiment. Its name was given through the publication in the Cincinnati Commercial in September, 1862, of the roster of its officers:

Colonel—Rev. James F. Jacquess, D. D., late president of Quincy College.

Lieutenant Colonel—Rev. Benjamin F. Northcott.

Major—Rev. William A. Presson.

Captains—Company B, Rev. W. B. M. Colt; Company C, Rev. P. McNutt; Company F, Rev. George W. Montgomery; Company H, Rev. James I. Davidson; Company I, Rev. Peter Wallace; Company K, Rev. R. H. Laughlin.

Six or seven of the twenty lieutenants were also licensed Methodist preachers. Henry A. Castle, sergeant major, was the author of the article and a son-in-law, if I mistake not, of Colonel Jacquess.

The history of this regiment is, in brief, as follows: It was organized at the instance of Governor Dick Yates, under Colonel Jacquess, in August, 1862, at Camp Butler, in Illinois, and became part of General Buell's army. It fought nobly at Perryville, and in every battle in which the Army of the Cumberland was engaged, from October, 1862, to the rout of Hood's army at Nashville. Its dead were found at Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, where Colonel Jacquess won especial distinction, and in the succession of battles from Chattanooga to the fall of Atlanta. It was frequently complimented by the commanding generals and was unsurpassed in bravery and endurance. It left the state one of the largest, and returned one of the smallest, having lost two-thirds of its men in its three years' service.

Colonel Jacquess was its only colonel and came home disabled by wounds received at Chickamauga, where two horses were shot under him. He refused to the last (1897) to receive a pension, until in his extreme old age, at the urgent request of the Society of the Survivors of the Seventy-third Illinois, he allowed it to be applied for. He pathetically said: "My grandfathers were Revolutionary soldiers and you could get up a row if you mentioned pen-

sions. My father and my uncles were in the War of 1812, and would take none. I had hoped not to receive one—but I am unable now to do anything, and it has been my desire, and not the fault of the government, that I have never received a pension." These words were spoken in 1897—and not long afterward Colonel Jacquess went to his reward.

Toward the end of the war President Lincoln sent Colonel Jacquess as a secret emissary to arrange for peace and the settlement of the slave question, so as to avert further shedding of blood. His adventures in this role are of thrilling interest. The foregoing is told to show the quality of the man whom it was my privilege to meet in 1896, when he was in extreme old age. The honors conferred upon him by President Lincoln and the confidence reposed in him grew out of events which preceded the war. This was no other than the conversion of Mr. Lincoln under the ministry of the Rev. James F. Jacquess, at Springfield, Illinois, in the year 1839. The Rev. James F. Jacquess was stationed at this new town—then of but a few thousand inhabitants—in 1839, when Lincoln met him during a series of revival services conducted in the Methodist Episcopal church. Lincoln had but recently come to the town—having removed from New Salem, which was in a decadent state. As a member of the legislature, Lincoln had been a chief agent in establishing the state capitol at Springfield, and though in debt and exceedingly poor, he hoped to find friends and practice in the growing town. He was then thirty years of age, and had had few advantages of any sort. It was on a certain night, when the pastor preached from the text, "Ye must be born again," that Lincoln was in attendance and was greatly interested. After the service he came round to the little parsonage, and, like another Nicodemus, asked, "How can these things be?" Mr. Jacquess explained as

best he could the mystery of the new birth, and at Lincoln's request, he and his wife kneeled and prayed with the future President. It was not long before Mr. Lincoln expressed his sense of pardon and arose with peace in his heart.

The narrative, as told thus far, is as my memory recalled it. Since writing it, the same as told by Colonel Jacquess has recently been discovered by me in Minutes of the Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Reunion Survivors Seventy-third Regiment, Illinois Infantry, Volunteers (page 30), a copy of which is before me. This meeting, the last (probably) that Colonel Jacquess attended, was held Tuesday and Wednesday, September 28, 29, 1897, in the Supreme Court room of the State Capitol Building, Springfield, Illinois. To quote Colonel Jacquess: "The mention of Mr. Lincoln's name recalls to my mind an occurrence that perhaps I ought to mention. I notice that a number of lectures are being delivered recently on Abraham Lincoln. Bishop Fowler has a most splendid lecture on Abraham Lincoln, but they all, when they reach one point, run against a stone wall, and that is in reference to Mr. Lincoln's religious sentiments. I happen to know something on that subject that very few persons know. My wife, who has been dead nearly two years, was the only witness of what I am going to state to you as having occurred. Very soon after my second year's work as a minister in the Illinois Conference, I was sent to Springfield. There were ministers in the Illinois Conference who had been laboring for twenty-five years to get to Springfield, the capital of the state. When the legislature met, there were a great many people here, and it was thought to be a matter of great glory among the ministers to be sent to Springfield. But I was not pleased with my assignment. I felt my inability to perform the work. I did not know what to do. I simply talked to the Lord about

it, however, and told Him that unless I had help I was going to run away. I heard a voice saying to me 'Fear not,' and I understood it perfectly. Now I am coming to the point I want to make to you. I was standing at the parsonage door one Sunday morning, a beautiful morning in May, when a little boy came up to me and said: 'Mr. Lincoln sent me around to see if you was going to preach today.' Now, I had met Mr. Lincoln, but I never thought any more of Abe Lincoln than I did of any one else. I said to the boy: 'You go back and tell Mr. Lincoln that if he will come to church he will see whether I am going to preach or not.' The little fellow stood working his fingers and finally said: 'Mr. Lincoln told me he would give me a quarter if I would find out whether you are going to preach.' I did not want to rob the little fellow of his income, so I told him to tell Mr. Lincoln that I was going to try to preach. I was always ready and willing to accept any assistance that came along, and whenever a preacher, or one who had any pretense in that direction, would come along I would thrust him into my pulpit and make him preach, because I felt that anybody could do better than I could.

The church was filled that morning. It was a good-sized church, but on that day all the seats were filled. I had chosen for my text the words: 'Ye must be born again,' and during the course of my sermon I laid particular stress on the word 'must.' Mr. Lincoln came into the church after the services had commenced, and there being no vacant seats, chairs were put in the altar in front of the pulpit, and Mr. Lincoln and Governor French and wife sat in the altar during the entire services, Mr. Lincoln on my left and Governor French on my right, and I noticed that Mr. Lincoln appeared to be deeply interested in the sermon. A few days after that Sunday Mr. Lincoln called on me and informed me that he had been greatly im-

pressed with my remarks on Sunday and that he had come to talk with me further on the matter. I invited him in, and my wife and I talked and prayed with him for hours. Now, I have seen many persons converted; I have seen hundreds brought to Christ, and if ever a person was converted, Abraham Lincoln was converted that night in my house. His wife was a Presbyterian, but from remarks he made to me he could not accept Calvinism. He never joined my church, but I will always believe that since that night Abraham Lincoln lived and died a Christian gentleman."

Here ends the narrative of Colonel Jacquess. Now compare that which my memory preserved for the past thirteen years and the Colonel's own printed account, and the discrepancies are small. It is with pleasure I am able to confirm my memory by the words of the original narrator. It is with no small degree of pleasure that I am able to prove that Methodism had a hand in the making of the greatest American. Colonel James F. Jacquess has gone to his reward, but it is his honor to have been used by his Master to help in the spiritualization of the great man who piloted our national destinies in a time of exceeding peril. It is an honor to him, and through him to the denomination of which he was a distinguished member.

Baltimore, Md.

(The Christian Advocate—November 11, 1909.)

Appendix II

PRECOCITY OF THE BOY LINCOLN

MANHOOD RELIGION

The fact that the death of Abraham Lincoln's mother occurred before he was quite ten years of age has apparently led certain writers, who failed to appreciate the precocity of the child and boy, to refer to his manhood memory of that mother and of that sad event, as "but a tender memory," and thus to ignore or minimize the influence of his mother upon his character or speak of that influence as comparatively slight. To combat such views as entirely erroneous was the main purpose of the Open Letter.

Abraham Lincoln was born in the now glorified cabin in Kentucky, February 12, 1809. The family removed to Indiana in the fall of 1816 or 1817, when Abraham was 7½ or 8½ years old. His mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, died in the Indiana cabin October 5, 1818, when Abraham was 9 years, 7 months and 21 days old. How much would an average boy of that age remember of such a sad event in his life, and how much of the loving mother's many precepts and teachings would be, by the very fact of that death, that sad mysterious leave-taking in the lonely wilderness, crystallized and fixed for ever in the mind and heart of the average boy?

This question each reader can answer or attempt to answer for himself.

Abraham Lincoln was, however, never an *average* child, boy or man. He was always large of body, and precocious of mind and heart. When scarcely 7 years of age he was larger than most boys of 14, and acquired his height of 6 feet 4 while still in his teens, and as said by

his boyhood playmate and chum, Austin Gollaher, he "was smarter than many older people, was always doing and saying something that astonished them, his solemn wit was refreshing to those who understood it, and his philosophy and wisdom frequently beyond belief." *"The Boyhood of Abraham Lincoln,"* by J. Rogers Gore.

Quoting again from Austin Gollaher, the writer of this admirable work, on page 21, says—"Big," he said, raising his hands above his head, "is not the right word to describe Abe either in mind or body. I'll tell you that boy towered! He was nearly a head taller than I, yet I was three years older; and when it came to being smart he was way yonder ahead of me. God did it; God made him big in body and mind so that he could work hard and never tire—so that he would not give up until the job was finished."

On page 114, Mr. Gollaher is reported as quoting from John Hodgen, the miller, when Abraham was probably between *6 and 7 years of age,* but then so large and strong that he weekly toted the family corn to the mill to be ground. "Abraham's mind is more than usual," Mr. Hodgen would say, "it is so full of astonishing things that at times it's uncanny. Why, I would rather listen to him talk than to half the men in the settlement. He always finds something new along the road and tells me about it every time he comes to the mill."

John, the miller, presented Abe with a volume of Aesop's Fables, which his mother, Sarah Hodgen, read to the enrapt boy Abraham, who could soon repeat many of them word for word.

Every careful writer upon the life of Abraham Lincoln testifies to his early and insatiable thirst for knowledge, his serious, solemn, investigating mind, and serious

thought, from earliest boyhood. He thus educated himself.

Charles T. White, of the editorial staff of The New York Tribune, a lover and student of Lincolniana, and the compiler of that inimitable book "Lincoln the Comforter," writes—"Mr. Gore's book throws a veritable flood of light on the precocity of Lincoln for the year or two before he left Kentucky for Southern Indiana. The net result is that Lincoln at 6 or 7 had a highly developed spirituality, as highly developed, I should say, as Whittier or Theodore Parker, or William Cullen Bryant, and much the same general character of temperament. Austin Gollaher in Gore's book, says that he was the size and had the mental capacity of a lad of 14. As he didn't get it from his father, who was just 'average,' for that period, he got it from Nancy Hanks, who, according to Leland and Browne, was *far, far* above the average. Even with his fine start, he was specially raised up by God to save civilization. I like to think of him as a great gift from God. There is nothing in history to strengthen faith in the democracy of love like Lincoln."

Captain Gilbert J. Greene, from whom Mr. White quotes three narratives in *"Lincoln the Comforter,"* was a close friend of Lincoln, was the recipient of his kindness when a young man in 1850, and afterwards making his home in Springfield he became a close personal friend of Lincoln, and after the assassination related the three incidents which Mr. White has preserved in his booklet; the one presents a vivid picture of the lawyer and young printer at the bedside of a dying woman, in a farm house near Springfield. A Will had been prepared and executed. The lawyer has said some words of comfort to the dying woman, and she asks him to read her a few verses out of the Bible. Without opening the book that was handed to

him, he impressively repeated from memory the Twenty-third Psalm, and the first part of the 14th Chapter of John, and as her face lit up with joy and her spirit was about to take its flight, he recited with a tenderness and pathos that enthralled everyone in the room the "Rock of Ages," as she peacefully fell on sleep. As the two journeyed back to Springfield, Lincoln after a long silence solemnly said to his young companion—"God and Eternity and Heaven were very near to me today."

The narrative entitled *"Lincoln's First Pet,"* relates a walk and talk by the two in the late "fifties," when Greene was a journeyman printer in Springfield, and when the fame of Lincoln throughout the State was steadily rising.

"When seeing a family of little pigs, Lincoln remarked, 'I never see a pig that I do not think of my first pet when a boy of *six years old,* while we lived near Hodgenville, Kentucky.' He went over to a neighboring farm and there was given to him a little pig just born, which he carried home, and he then relates how he trained it, how it followed him about through the woods, and grew and grew, and how finally it became a great porker, on whose back he rode and soon there came a day of tragedy, how he tried to save his pet, then a great hog, and when he knew 'there was no hope for my pig, I did not eat any breakfast, but started for the woods. I had not gotten very far into the woods before I heard the pig squeal, and ran faster than ever to get away from the sound. They could not get me to take any of the meat, neither tenderloin nor sausage nor souse, and even months after, when the cured ham came on the table, it made me sad and sick to look at it. To this day, whenever I see a pig like the little fellows we have just met in the woods, it all comes back to me, my pet pig, our rambles in the

woods, the scenes of my boyhood, the old home, and the dear ones there'."

This boy of 6 was the father of the man who, when riding with a group of lawyers upon the Circuit, could not pass the little bird that had fallen from the mother's nest, but braving the jeers of his companions, rode back, picked up the little fledgling, and carefully put it back in the nest; and who, on another occasion, requested the stage in which he was riding to stop and wait while he got out and assisted a little pig out of the mire by the roadside, and of the same man who endorsed the report of many a court martial of a delinquent soldier substantially, "It seems to me that this boy will do us more good above ground than below. Let him return to his regiment. A. Lincoln."

That Lincoln was able to educate himself in spite of his surroundings, so that his speeches and writings were declared by experts to belong to the *fine art* of English prose, and to the best in literature, has always been the wonder of all students. Lincoln himself has not left in doubt the question as to *when* that education began. In his conversation with Rev. Mr. Gulliver, as given on page 65 of *"Abraham Lincoln, Illustrated,"* in answer to the question, "What has your education been?" Mr. Lincoln replied: "Well, as to education, the newspapers are correct. I never went to school more than six months in my life. I can say this—that, among my earliest recollections, I remember how, *when a mere child,* I used to get irritated when anybody talked to me in a way I could not understand. I don't think I ever got so angry at anything else in my life; but that always disturbed my temper, and has ever since. I can remember going to my little bedroom, after hearing the neighbors talk of an evening with my father, and spending no small part of the night walking

up and down, and trying to make out what was the exact meaning of some of their, to me, dark sayings.

I could not sleep, although I often tried to, when I got on such a hunt after an idea, until I had caught it; and, when I thought I had got it, I was not satisfied until I had repeated it over and over; until I had put it in language plain enough, as I thought, for any boy I knew to comprehend. This was a kind of passion with me, and it has stuck by me; for I am never easy now, when I am handling a thought, till I have bounded it north, and bounded it south, and bounded it east, and bounded it west."

We must repeat that with the evidence of the remarkable precocity of the child and boy who received the tender loving care and solicitous training of a Christian mother constantly during the first 9½ years of his life, the character, religion and influence of that mother can not be ignored in any proper "Story of Lincoln's Spiritual Life and Convictions."

MANHOOD RELIGION

Mr. Herndon, in his address, in Springfield, December 12, 1865, said of Mr. Lincoln—

"Honesty was his great polar star."
"He loved and idolized truth for its own sake."

Dr. Holland says that the truthfulness and earnestness of his mature character was but being true to his Mother.

That in his manhood religion he was true to his mother's faith and teaching, stands proven. Her prayers "have clung to me all my life."

"The good thought that our God is a prayer-hearing God, sown into my young heart by my dear mother's

hand, was in my mind when I said to you 'Go and pray, for God alone can save you'."

"All that I am or hope to be I owe to my angel mother."

With Lincoln's *honesty* admitted, and abundantly proven, as it is, the genuineness, depth and sincerity of his manhood religion is overwhelmingly proven by his own writings and speeches.

In addition to these honest, sincere expressions of his mind and heart, we have at least four striking scenes, each witnessed by or personally reported to a mature credible witness, each portraying clearly and with no dim or uncertain line the portrait of a twice-born man: one in the late 40's, in the Methodist parsonage in Springfield, witnessed and reported by Col. Jaquess; one at the bedside in the farm house in the 50's, witnessed and reported by Captain Greene; one in that locked room in the White House during the progress of the Battle of Gettysburg, when upon his knees as a second Tishbite, he "touched the trailing garments of Power," and heard the still small voice of comfort, telling him "things would go all right at Gettysburg," related to and reported by Generals Sickles and Rusling; and the other the remarkable Pisgah interview in the White House in June, 1864, witnessed and reported by the Rev. Charles Chiniquy.

Moreover, there is on record the testimony of a veritable cloud of unimpeachable witnesses, as to serious conversations with them, showing his firm religious beliefs. Among them are Chittenden, Wilson, Arnold, Deming, Munsell, Speed, Fessenden, Whitney, Gilmore, Chiniquy, Gurley, Smith, Miner, Sunderland, Brooks, and others. What other eminent lawyer and politician, not accustomed to attend "class" regularly, has left such abundant testimonies of his religious experience?

It had been more than 30 years since the two feeble attempts to question the firm adherence to his mother's faith had been overwhelmed, with the evidence of their falsity, when Dr. Barton's books appeared.

"Beating the air" is spectacular self exertion, but when, in order to make the opportunity, the long buried ashes of campaign slanders are revamped and baseless false charges are repeated, and when out of print reprinted in detail, for the purpose of argument, however brilliant, true lovers of Lincoln are liable to raise the question as to whether a worthy service has been thereby rendered to his memory? Good taste, of course, is another question, and must be answered individually.

Appendix III

FATHER CHINIQUY AND MR. LINCOLN

Rev. Charles Chiniquy, referred to and quoted in Dr. Barton's book and in the foregoing Open Letter, was in early life a French Roman Catholic Priest in Montreal and Quebec, who earned the title of "The Apostle of Temperance of Canada."

In 1851 he endorsed a project of establishing a colony of French speaking Catholics in the Mississippi Valley. He procured transfer to the Diocese of Chicago; secured a large tract of land in Kankakee County in Illinois and started his Mission Colony.

The Colony was a success, but after over 500 families of French Catholics had settled about him, opposition began to develop. He was too independent, and persistent attempts to drive him away, or destroy his influence, were made. His chapel was burned to the ground, but his people were loyal to him, and it was rebuilt.

Then began a long series of prosecutions in the Criminal Courts. He was twice acquitted, and then upon another charge a change of venue was taken and the case set down in Urbana, requiring him to take his witnesses a long distance at great expense.

In his book—"Fifty Years in the Church of Rome"—he relates how he became acquainted with Abraham Lincoln. A man, unknown to him, met him at the door of the Court House at Kankakee, on November 13, 1855, after the change of venue, and advised him to "try to secure the services of Abraham Lincoln." He replied that he had two lawyers now, but asked "Who is this Abraham Lincoln? I never heard of that man before." The reply

was, "Abraham Lincoln is the best lawyer and the most honest man we have in Illinois."

He asked his lawyers, Messrs. Osgood & Padcock, if they would have any objections if he should ask the services of Abraham Lincoln to help them to defend him at Urbana. They both answered—"Oh, if you can secure the services of Abraham Lincoln, by all means do it. We know him well; he is one of the best lawyers and most honest men we have in our State."

He at once "telegraphed to Abraham Lincoln to ask him if he would defend my honor and my life, (though I was a stranger to him) at the next term at Urbana. About twenty minutes later I received the answer. 'Yes, I will defend your honor and your life at the next term at Urbana. Abraham Lincoln.' My unknown friend then paid the operator, pressed my hand, and said, 'May God bless and help you, Father Chiniquy. Continue to fight fearlessly for truth and righteousness'."

At the trial at Urbana, Lincoln was for the defense, and it was after the first day of that trial that Lincoln said to Father Chiniquy, "The only way to be sure of a favorable verdict tomorrow is that Almighty God will take our part and show your innocence. Go to Him and pray, for He alone can save you," and Father Chiniquy adds—"From 11 P. M. to 3 in the morning I cried to God and raised my supplicating hands to His throne of mercy; but I confess to my confusion, it seemed to me in certain moments that it was useless to pray and to cry, for though innocent, I was doomed to perish. I was in the hands of my enemies. My God had forsaken me.

"But God had not forsaken me. He had again heard my cry and was once more to show me His infinite mercy. At 3 A. M. I heard three knocks on my door, and I

quickly went to open it. Who was there? Abraham Lincoln, with a face beaming with joy.

"I could hardly believe my eyes. But I was not mistaken. It was my noble-hearted friend, the most honest lawyer of Illinois, one of the noblest men heaven has ever given to earth. It was Abraham Lincoln, who had been given me as my Saviour."

"Mr. Lincoln told him to cheer up; that he was saved; that the Chicago extras that night at the close of the trial had announced that Father Chiniquy would certainly be condemned in the morning; and that one of the papers had fallen into the hands of a friend of his, which led to the discovery of two women who were present and overheard the complaining witness promise to give 160 acres of land to his sister if she would accuse him of the crime.

"As one of the women was ill, this friend took the other, a certain Miss Moffat, and by the first train reached Urbana at three o'clock in the morning, where they found Abraham Lincoln ready to hear her story; and then hasten to cheer up his client, saying 'Their diabolical plot is all known, and if they do not fly away before dawn of day they will surely be lynched. Bless the Lord, you are saved.'

"By daylight the witnesses of the prosecution had disappeared, and their attorney, appearing before the Court, said, 'Please the court, allow me to withdraw my prosecution against Mr. Chiniquy. I am now persuaded that he is not guilty of the faults brought against him before this tribunal.'

"Abraham Lincoln, having accepted the reparation of my name, made a short but one of the most admirable speeches I had ever heard."

It was from the talk of Mr. Lincoln with Father Chiniquy, in the morning, that the statement as to his mother's teachings of faith and prayer occurred which was quoted on page 15 of the Open Letter.

If ever a client loved and venerated his attorney, Father Chiniquy did Abraham Lincoln, and when he became President of the United States, this former client made three trips from Illinois to Washington to see his former attorney.

(As Rev. Chiniquy's book is out of print we but follow an illustrious example in giving in this appendix the substance of the remarkable interview of June, 1864.)

His first visit was in August, 1861, when he believed that he had learned of a plot to assassinate Mr. Lincoln. Lincoln received him gladly, heard his story, but replied, "Man must not care where or when he will die, provided he dies at the post of honor and duty," and it was during this visit that Father Chiniquy reports that Lincoln offered him an honorable position with the United States Embassy in France, but he had replied that his conscience told him that he could not give up the preaching of the Gospel to his poor French-Canadian countrymen.

"The President became very solemn, and replied, 'You are right; you are right. There is nothing so great under Heaven as to be the Ambassador of Christ'."

His second trip to Washington was in June, 1862, merely to congratulate his friend and former attorney upon the victory of the Monitor over the Merrimac, and the conquest of New Orleans, and he says "I wanted to unite my feeble voice with that of the whole country to tell him how I blessed God for that glorious success.

"The third and last time I went to pay my respects to the doomed President, and to warn him against the im-

pending dangers which I knew were threatening him, was on the morning of June 8, 1864, when he was absolutely besieged by people who wanted to see him. After a kind and warm shaking of hands, he said:

"I am much pleased to see you again. But it is impossible, today, to say anything more than this. Tomorrow afternoon, I will receive the delegation of the deputies of all the loyal States, sent to officially announce the desire of the country that I should remain the President four years more. I invite you to be present with them at that interesting meeting. You will see some of the most prominent men of our Republic, and I will be glad to introduce you to them. You will not present yourself as a delegate of the people, but only as the guest of the President; and that there may be no trouble, I will give you this card, with a permit to enter with the delegation. But do not leave Washington before I see you again; I have some important matters on which I want to know your mind.

"The next day it was my privilege to have the greatest honor ever received by me. The good President wanted me to stand at his right hand, when he received the delegation, and hear the address presented by Governor Dennison, the President of the convention, to which he replied in his own admirable simplicity and eloquence; finishing by one of his most witty anecdotes, 'I am reminded in this connection of a story of an old Dutch farmer, who remarked to a companion, wisely, 'that it was not best to swap horses when crossing a stream.'

"The next day he kindly took me with him in his carriage, when visiting the 30,000 wounded soldiers picked up on the battlefields of the seven days' battle of the Wilderness, and the thirty days' battle around Richmond, where Grant was just breaking the backbone of the rebel-

lion. On the way to and from the hospitals, I could not talk much. The noise of the carriage rapidly drawn on the pavement was too great. Besides that, my soul was so much distressed, and my heart so much broken by the sight of the horrors of that fracticidal war, that my voice was as stifled. * * *

"He invited me to go with him to his study, and said:

'Though I am very busy, I must rest an hour with you. I am in need of that rest. My head is aching, I feel as crushed under the burden of affairs which are on my shoulders. There are many important things about the plots of the Jesuits that I can learn only from you. Please wait just a moment, I have just received some dispatches from General Grant, to which I must give an answer. My secretary is waiting for me. I go to him. Please amuse yourself with those books during my short absence.'

"Twenty-five minutes later the President had returned with his face flushed with joy.

'Glorious news! General Grant has again beaten Lee, and forced him to retreat towards Richmond, where he will have to surrender before long. Grant is a real hero. But let us come to the question I want to put to you. Have you read the letter of the Pope to Jeff Davis, and what do you think of it?' "

Then Father Chiniquy very earnestly set forth his fears of conspiracy to assassinate the President, and continues:

"The President listened to my words with breathless attention. He replied: * * *

" 'You are not the first to warn me against the dangers of assassination. My ambassadors in Italy, France and England, as well as Professor Morse, have, many times, warned me against the plots of the murderers

whom they have detected in those different countries. But I see no other safeguard against those murderers, but to be always ready to die, as Christ advises it. As we must all die sooner or later, it makes very little difference to me whether I die from a dagger plunged through the heart or from an inflammation of the lungs. Let me tell you that I have, lately, read a passage in the Old Testament which has made a profound, and, I hope, a salutary impression on me. Here is that passage.'

"The President took his Bible, opened it at the third chapter of Deuteronomy, and read from the 22nd to the 28th verse.

" '22. Ye shall not fear them; for the Lord your God shall fight for you.

" '23. And I besought the Lord at that time, saying:

" '24. O Lord God, thou hast begun to show thy servant thy greatness, and thy mighty hand; for what God is there, in heaven or in earth, that can do according to thy words, and according to thy might!

" '25. I pray thee, let me go over and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon.

" '26. But God was wroth with me for your sakes, and would not hear me: and the Lord said unto me, let it suffice thee: speak no more unto me of this matter:

" '27. Get thee up unto the top of Pisgah, and lift up thine eyes westward and northward, and southward and eastward, and behold it with thine eyes: for thou shalt not go over this Jordan.'

"After the President had read these words with great solemnity, he added:

'My Dear Father Chiniquy, let me tell you that I have read these strange and beautiful words several times, these last five or six weeks. The more I read them the more it seems to me that God had written them for me as well as for Moses.

'Has he not taken me from my poor log cabin by the hand, as he did Moses in the reeds of the Nile, to put me at the head of the greatest and the most blessed of modern nations, just as he put that prophet at the head of the most blessed nation of ancient times? Has not God granted me a privilege, which was not granted to any living man, when I broke the fetters of 4,000,000 of men, and made them free? Has not our God given me the most glorious victories over our enemies? Are not the armies of the Confederacy so reduced to a handful of men, when compared to what they were two years ago; that the day is fast approaching when they will have to surrender.

'Now, I see the end of this terrible conflict, with the same joy of Moses, when at the end of his trying forty years in the wilderness; and I pray my God to grant me to see the days of peace and untold prosperity, which will follow this cruel war, as Moses asked God to see the other side of Jordan and enter the Promised Land. But, do you know that I hear in my soul, as the voice of God, giving me the rebuke which was given to Moses?

'Yes! every time that my soul goes to God to ask the favor of seeing the other side of Jordan, and eating the fruits of that peace, after which I am longing with such an unspeakable desire, do you know that there is a still but solemn voice, which tells me that I will see those things only from a long distance, and that I will be among the dead, when the nation, which God granted me to lead through those awful trials, will cross the Jor-

dan, and dwell in that Land of Promise, where peace, industry, happiness and liberty will make everyone happy, and why so? Because he has already given me favors which he never gave, I dare say, to any man in these latter days.

'Why did God Almighty refuse to Moses the favor of crossing the Jordan, and entering the Promised Land? It was on account of his own nation's sins! That law of divine retribution and justice, by which one must suffer for another, is surely a terrible mystery. But it is a fact which no man who has any intelligence and knowledge can deny. Moses, who knew that law, though he probably did not understand it better than we do, calmly says to his people: 'God was wroth with me for your sakes.'

'But, though we do not understand that mysterious and terrible law, we find it written in letters of tears and blood wherever we go. We do not read a single page of history, without finding undeniable traces of its existence.

'Where is the mother who has not shed tears and suffered real tortures, for her children's sake?

'Who is the good king, the worthy emperor, the gifted chieftain, who have not suffered unspeakable mental agonies, or even death, for their people's sake?

'Is not our Christian religion the highest expression of the wisdom, mercy and love of God! But what is Christianity if not the very incarnation of that eternal law of divine justice in our humanity?

'When I look on Moses, alone, silently dying on the Mount Pisgah, I see that law, in one of its most sublime human manifestations, and I am filled with admiration and awe.

'But when I consider that law of justice, and expiation in the death of the Just, the divine Son of Mary, on

the mountain of Calvary, I remain mute in my adoration. The spectacle of the crucified one which is before my eyes, is more than sublime, it is divine! Moses died for his people's sake, but Christ died for the whole world's sake! Both died to fulfill the same eternal law of the divine justice though in a different measure.

'Now, would it not be the greatest of honors and privileges bestowed upon me, if God, in his infinite love, mercy and wisdom, would put me between his faithful servant, Moses, and his eternal Son, Jesus, that I might die as they did, for my nation's sake!

'My God alone knows what I have already suffered for my dear country's sake. But my fear is that the justice of God is not yet paid: When I look upon the rivers of tears and blood drawn by the lashes of the merciless masters from the veins of the very heart of those millions of defenceless slaves, these two hundred years: When I remember the agonies, the cries, the unspeakable tortures of those unfortunate people to which I have, to some extent, connived with so many others, a part of my life, I fear that we are still far from the complete expiation. For the judgments of God are true and righteous." * * *

'But just as the Lord heard no murmur from the lips of Moses, when he told him that he had to die, before crossing the Jordan, for the sins of his people, so I hope and pray that he will hear no murmur from me when I fall for my nation's sake.

'The only two favors I ask of the Lord, are first, that I may die for the sacred cause in which I am engaged, and when I am the standard-bearer of the rights and liberties of my country.

'The second favor I ask from God, is that my dear son, Robert, when I am gone, will be one of those who

lift up that flag of Liberty which will cover my tomb, and carry it with honor and fidelity, to the end of his life, as his father did, surrounded by the millions who will be called with him to fight and die for the defence and honor of our country.'

"Never had I heard such sublime words. Never had I seen a human face so solemn and so prophet-like as the face of the President, when uttering these things. Every sentence had come to me as a hymn from heaven, reverberated by the echoes of the mountains of Pisgah and Calvary. I was beside myself. Bathed in tears, I tried to say something, but I could not utter a word.

"I knew the hour to leave had come, I asked from the President permission to fall on my knees, and pray with him that his life might be spared; and he knelt with me. But I prayed more with my tears and sobs than with my words.

"Then I pressed his hand on my lips and bathed it with my tears, and with a heart filled with an unspeakable desolation, I bade him Adieu! It was for the last time!"

Appendix IV

LINCOLN'S ENDORSEMENT OF COLONEL JAQUESS

J. R. Gilmore, in the article, *"A Suppressed Chapter of History,"* published in the Atlantic Monthly of April, 1887, page 435, under his usual pen name, Edmund Kirke; reports a conference with Mr. Lincoln, in connection with Colonel Jaquess' first application for a furlough and permission to go single-handed into the rebel lines and advocate peace.

From 8:00 o'clock until after midnight, Mr. Gilmore discussed the questions involved. He had come from General Rosencrans' headquarters in Tennessee, with letters from both General Rosencrans and Colonel Jaquess, and Mr. Gilmore asked Lincoln to give Colonel Jaquess some manner of official standing, if the mission was to be undertaken.

This Lincoln said he could not do; that while he was anxious that the trip should be made, he could not acknowledge the rebel government, etc., and in this talk, as reported by Mr. Gilmore, President Lincoln not only gave a most wonderful endorsement of the character of Colonel Jaquess, but disclosed his own personal firm belief in an over-ruling, guiding Providence, the responsibility of mankind, and the infallible righteousness of the judgments of the Lord, which beliefs were afterwards enshrined in that classic, "The Second Inaugural."

(As Dr. Barton failed to include any item of this interview in his book which he alleged to set forth in their full essential content, "all the available evidence concerning

the religious faith of Abraham Lincoln" we have no apology for including this as an appendix.)

In reply to Mr. Gilmore's urgings, Mr. Lincoln said that the reasons that he could not endorse Colonel Jaquess' undertaking officially was not only that it might be construed into a *quasi*-acknowledgment of the rebel government, but

"Partly its effect on the North. The Copperheads would be sure to say I had shown the white feather, and resorted to back-door diplomacy to get out of a bad scrape. This, whether true or not, would discourage loyal people. You see, I don't want to be like the dog that crossed the brook with a piece of meat in his mouth, and dropped it to catch its enlarged shadow in the water. I want peace; I want to stop this terrible waste of life and property; *and I know Jaquess well,* and see that, working in the way he proposes, he may be able to bring influences to bear upon Davis that he cannot well resist, and thus pave the way for an honorable settlement; but I can't afford to discourage our friends and encourage our enemies, and so, perhaps, make it more difficult to save the Union."

"I appreciate your position, sir," I said; "but what weight will Jaquess have, if he goes without some, at least implied, authority from you?"

"He may have much," he replied, drawing from his side pocket the letter to him from Jaquess, and glancing over it. "He proposes here to speak to them in the name of the Lord, and he says he feels God's hand is in it, and He has laid the duty upon him. Now, if he feels that he has that kind of authority, he can't fail to affect the element on which he expects to operate, and that Methodist element is very powerful at the South."

"Why sir!" I remarked. "I hesitated about delivering you that letter. I feared you would think Jaquess fanatical."

"If you had not delivered it," he answered, "I would not let him go. Such talk in you or me might sound fanatical; but in Jaquess it is simply natural and sincere. And I am not at all sure he isn't right. God selects his own instruments, and sometimes they are queer ones; for instance, He chose me to steer the ship through a great crisis."

I was glad to see him relapsing into his usual badinage, but, desiring to keep him to the subject, I said: "Then, sir, you decide to give Jaquess the furlough, but refuse to grant him an interview. He will need to know your views about peace. What shall I write him are the terms you will grant the Rebels?"

"Don't write him at all—write to Rosencrans. I've been thinking what had better be said. My views are peace on any terms consistent with the abolition of slavery and the restoration of the Union. Is not that enough to say to Jaquess? He can do no more than open the door for further negotiations, which would have to be conducted with me here, in a regular way. Let Rosencrans tell him that we shall be liberal on collateral points; that the country will do everything for safety, nothing for revenge."

"Do you mean, sir," I asked, "that as soon as the Rebels lay down their arms you will grant a general amnesty?"

"I do; and I will say to you that, individually, I should be disposed to make compensation for the slaves; but I doubt if my cabinet or the country would favor that. What do you think public opinion would be about it?

Nicolay tells me you have recently lectured all over the North; you must have heard people talk."

"I have sir, almost everywhere; and my opinion is that not one voter in ten would pay the South a dollar. Still, I have observed very little hatred or bitterness in any quarter."

"No," he answered, "the feeling is against slavery, not against the South. The war has educated our people into abolition, and they now deny that slaves can be property. But there are two sides to that question: one is ours, the other the Southern side; and those people are just as honest and conscientious in their opinion as we are in ours. They think they have a moral and legal right to their slaves, and until very recently the North has been of the same opinion; for two hundred years the whole country has admitted it, and regarded and treated the slaves as property. Now, does the mere fact that the country has come suddenly to a contrary opinion give it the right to take the slaves from their owners without compensation? The blacks must be freed. Slavery is the bone we are fighting over. It must be got out of the way, to give us permanent peace; and if we have to fight this war till the South is subjugated, then I think we shall be justified in freeing the slaves without compensation. But in any settlement arrived at before they force things to that extremity, is it not right and fair that we should make payment for the slaves?"

"If I were a slaveholder," I answered, "I should probably say that it was: but you, sir, have to deal with things as they are, and I think that if you were to sound public sentiment at the North you would find it utterly opposed to any compromise with the South. A vast majority would regard any compensation as a price paid for peace, and not for the slaves."

"So I think," he said, "and therefore I fear we can come to no adjustment. *"I fear the war must go on till North and South have both drunk of the cup to the very dregs*—till both have worked out in pain, and grief, and bitter humiliation the sin of two hundred years. It has seemed to me that God so wills it; *and the first gleam I have had of a hope* to the contrary *is in this letter of Jaquess.* This thing, irregular as it is, may mean that the Higher Powers are about to take a hand in this business, and bring about a settlement. I know if I were to say this out loud, nine men in ten would think I had gone crazy. But—you are a thinking man—just consider it. *Here is a man, cool, deliberate, God-fearing, of exceptional sagacity and worldly wisdom,* who undertakes a project that strikes you and me as utterly chimerical: he attempts to bring about, single-handed and on his own hook, a peace between two great sections. Moreover, he gets it into his head that God has laid this work upon him, and he is willing to stake his life upon that conviction. The impulse upon him is overpowering, as it was upon Luther, when he said, 'God help me. I can do no otherwise.' Now, how do you account for this? *What produces this feeling in him?"*

"An easy answer would be to say that Jaquess is a fanatic."

"But," he replied, *"he is very far from being a fanatic. He is remarkably level-headed; I never knew a man more so.* Can you account for it except on his own supposition, that God is in it? And, if that is so, something will come out of it; perhaps not what Jaquess expects, but what will be of service to the right. So, though there is risk about it, I shall let him go."

"There certainly, sir, is risk to Jaquess. He will go without a safe-conduct, and so will be technically a spy.

The Rebel leaders may choose to regard him in that light. If they don't like his terms of peace, they may think that the easiest way to be rid of the subject. In that event, couldn't you in some way interfere to protect him?"

"I don't see how I could," he replied, "without appearing to have a hand in the business. *And if Jaquess has his duties, I have mine.* What you suggest reminds me of a man out West, who was not over-pious, but rich, and built a church for the poor people of his neighborhood. When the church was finished, the people took it into their heads that it needed a lightning-rod, and they went to the rich man, and asked him for money to help pay for it. 'Money for a lightning-rod!' he said. 'Not a red cent! If the Lord wants to thunder down his own house, let him thunder it down, and be d———d'."

"So," I said, laughing, "you propose to let the Lord take care of Jaquess?"

"I do," he answered. "His evident sincerity will protect him. I have no fear for him whatever. But I shall be anxious to hear of him, and I wish you would send me the first word you get. In writing to Rosencrans, omit what I have said about paying for the slaves. The time has not come to talk about that. Let him say what he thinks best to Colonel Jaquess; but the colonel must not understand he has the terms from me. We want peace, but we can make no overtures to the Rebels. They already know that the country would welcome them back, and treat them generously and magnanimously."

"To avoid any possibility of misunderstanding, sir," I remarked, "would it not be well for you to write to Rosencrans also?"

"Perhaps it would," he answered. "I think I will."

"It was near midnight when I rose to go. As I did so, he said, 'Don't go yet. I shall stay here until I get something from Grant.'

" 'I resumed my seat, and half an hour later the dispatch came in. Then the worn, weary man took my hand, saying, 'Good-bye. God bless you,' and I went to my quarters'."

Thus, Col. Jaquess, single-handed and alone, in July, 1863, made his first attempt to carry out his mission of peace. Wearing his field uniform as a Colonel in the Union Army, he boldly walked into the lines of the Confederate forces, was courteously treated by soldiers and officers, including General Longstreet, exhorted the southern Methodists who hailed him as an ambassador of God, and urged him strongly not to cease his efforts until the end was accomplished; but Jefferson Davis denied him a personal interview unless he could speak on behalf of President Lincoln, so the Colonel returned to urge the President to permit him to use his name.

From Baltimore, where he arrived safely without the smell of fire having passed upon his garments, he sent a request to the President to be permitted to make a report in person, but the letter was not delivered to Lincoln, for which afterwards he expressed sincere regret.

After waiting two weeks for an answer, Col. Jaquess hastened to his post of duty with the Army on the Tennessee, and soon after led his regiment in the battles about Chattanooga, but he never for a moment forgot or abandoned his mission. It was the next summer, 1864, that he renewed his request, through Mr. Gilmore, and to which we referred in the Open Letter.

It was then in July, 1864, that the two, Jaquess and Gilmore, successfully passed through the lines to Rich-

mond, had a personal interview with Davis and Benjamin, and safely returned to publish Davis' declaration of—War or Disunion—which dissolved the peace party of the North, and triumphantly re-elected Lincoln president.

Dr. Chapman, in his book—"Latest Light on Abraham Lincoln and War-Time Memories"—devotes the third chapter, of 57 pages, to "The Jaquess-Gilmore Mission." This we had not seen when writing the Open Letter, but had, by independent research, obtained the facts from records in the possession of Miss Fannie M. Jaquess, the niece of Col. Jaquess.

Dr. Chapman, who had a long personal acquaintance with both Mr. Lincoln and Dr. Jaquess, opens his Chapter as follows:

III

The Jaquess-Gilmore Mission

To the re-election of Abraham Lincoln as President, and the final overthrow of the Rebellion, the Jaquess-Gilmore Embassy of 1863-64 contributed more largely than did any other single effort of individuals, or any one achievement or act of the Government during that period.

Having been an active participant in the struggles of that Presidential campaign and having given the history of that mission careful consideration for more than half a century, I have no hesitation in saying that the disclosures secured by that embassy and widely published at the crisis hour of that contest, turned the tide of battle and saved the nation from the ruinous defeat of President Lincoln and the dissolution of the Union.

The story of that unique mission and of its decisive influence in the Presidential campaign is here told with painstaking fidelity and, to be rightfully appreciated, it should be read in its entirety. The hero of that embassy,

Colonel James F. Jaquess,

of the 73rd Illinois Volunteers, was a rare man. He lived with his head above the clouds while his feet were on solid ground; he lived in the eternal while he wrought with tremendous force in the activities of earth. He was a prominent minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and a distinguished college president before the Rebellion, and in the pulpit he was a Boanerges, a "Son of Thunder," and his gospel messages were like oral proclamations by Jehovah. He seemed to live in constant fellowship with the Most High, and to be an utter stranger to worldly considerations and motives while obeying the commands of God. He was as loving and gentle as a devoted mother in dealing with the weak and erring, but he would dash with fearless fury into battle as if hurled by an invisible catapult against the forces of unrighteousness. To him the entreaties of the gospel, the denunciations of the law, and the violence of war, were alike the agencies of God in the furtherance of His cause.

President Lincoln had for more than twenty-five years known Colonel Jaquess as a very successful minister of the gospel, and when in May, 1863, he first learned of the proposed Embassy of Peace, he said: "I know Jaquess well. He is remarkably level-headed. I never knew a man more so. He is cool, deliberate, God-fearing, of exceptional sagacity and worldly wisdom."

Then follows the Gilmore interviews and accounts of the Missions.

Dr. Barton assumes to criticize Dr. Chapman for including Col. Jaquess' statement of 1897, of the conversion of Abraham Lincoln in May, 1847, "with full confidence in the truth thereof."

Dr. Chapman does more than this, an pages 395 to 400 he confirms Dr. Jaquess' statements with arguments that have not been answered by Dr. Barton. Although he had not had the privilege of teaching school in similar environment during the 80's, he knew both the parties well and familiarly. He was the "Boy Orator of the Wide-Awakes," and made a hundred campaign speeches for Lincoln in 1860 at the time of his first election; retained his acquaintance and friendship during the first four-year term, and made many stump speeches during the campaign of 1864; lived in Washington throughout the war, and had unusual facilities for knowing whereof he wrote, and on the question of Lincoln's conversion in the Methodist Parsonage in Springfield, he says, among other things—

> "Mr. Lincoln's subsequent period of doubt concerning religious matters was strictly normal, and does not to any degree discredit the account of the declaration of his acceptance of Christ during the interview in the Jaquess' home. As elsewhere stated, people of Mr. Lincoln's temperament and mental make-up usually come into a large and satisfying faith by passing through a period of doubt. Therefore, instead of discrediting the Jaquess' story, Mr. Lincoln's later season of doubt confirms the account of that event in his life and bears witness to his surrender to Christ, as stated by Colonel Jaquess, and to the sincerity of subsequent efforts to keep the covenant he made at the time of that surrender. That surrender of his will and heart naturally

called for the approval of his reason and led to investigation of Christian evidences which followed, and which was so honest and thorough as to seem to be unsettling; but which, in fact, was the process by which a strongly intellectual nature reached settled and satisfactory convictions.

"The prolonged silence of those who knew of this event in Mr. Lincoln's life is quite understandable and does not justify any doubt of the story itself. It was like Mr. Lincoln to make no mention of this event to any person; and it was just like Dr. Jaquess to regard the affair as confidential, and to leave the question of publicity at the time wholly with Mr. Lincoln. Some preachers would have proclaimed the event from the house-top, but Mr. Lincoln never would have sought such an interview with a minister of that caliber and character.

"There is every reason for giving this remarkable story unquestionable credence.

"It is not at variance with any of Mr. Lincoln's subsequent declarations."

We could have added nothing to these statements of Dr. Chapman, who knew both of the parties in the sixties and thereafter was an eminent minister of the Presbyterian Church, had they been before us when writing the Open Letter.

[Dr. Chapman states that in July, 1862, in addition to the carriage talk with two of his Cabinet, Mr. Lincoln showed the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation to the Vice-President and Dr. Gurley. The printed extract from Dr. Gurley's diary, however, relates only to the *final* draft in December, 1862. The sentence in the Open Letter relating to Bishop Simpson should nevertheless, be amended by deleting the words "the only"; not otherwise.]

Appendix V

Second Inaugural, March 4, 1865

"Fellow-countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

"The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

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

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

"The prayer of both could not be answered—those of neither have been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.'

"If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to North and South this terrible war as the woe due those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?

"Fondly do we hope, *fervently do we pray,* that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away.

"Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, *'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'*

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, *as God gives us to see* the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and for his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Part II

From Funeral Address by Bishop Simpson

"Chieftain, farewell! The nation mourns thee. Mothers shall teach thy name to their lisping children. The youth of our land shall emulate thy virtues. Statesmen shall study thy record, and learn lessons of wisdom. Mute though thy lips be, yet they still speak. Hushed is thy voice, but its echoes of liberty are ringing through the world, and the sons of bondage listen with joy."

Part III

Lincoln's Last Plans for the Moral Uplift of the Nation

In the early afternoon of April 15th, 1865—the day of the assassination—J. B. Merwin, Chaplain at Large, who had occupied an upper room in the White House whenever in Washington during the past four years, went into the President's office to discuss a proposition advocated by Greeley, McClure, and Butler to employ the colored soldiers in constructing a Panama Canal. As Merwin was leaving, the President said:

"Merwin, with the help of the people, we have cleaned up a colossal job. Slavery is abolished. After reconstruction, the next great question will be the overthrow and abolition of the liquor traffic; and you know, Merwin, that my head and my heart and my hand and my purse will go into that work. Less than a quarter of a century ago (1842) I predicted that the time would come when there would be neither a slave nor a drunkard in the land. I have lived to see, thank God, one of those prophecies fulfilled. I hope to see the other realized."

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