Resources Created for Lesson Plan Two:

- **Biographies of Famous Kentuckians**
  - **Abraham Lincoln**
  - **Henry Clay**
  - **Cassius Clay**
  - **John G. Fee**
  - **Joshua Speed**
  - **Mary Todd Lincoln**

- **Slavery Timeline**
- **Lincoln's Quotes on Slavery**
- **Emancipation Proclamation Resource Document**
- **Kentuckians Views on Slavery**
- **Definitions of Slavery**
- **"That All Mankind Should be Free" Article**
- **Lincoln-Douglas Debates Web link**

North American Slavery Timeline

- 1441 Portugal begins slave trade between Africa and Europe.
- 1520 Disease decimates Native Americans, enslaved Africans imported as replacements.
- 1581 First enslaved Africans arrive in Florida.
- 1607 Jamestown settled.
- 1619 First Africans arrive at Jamestown.
- 1642 Virginia law makes it illegal to assist escaping slaves.
- 1661-1700 slave codes become increasing prohibitive, eventually giving life/death to owners/state.
- 1751 Christopher Gist and Dr. Thomas Walker, accompanied by an African American servant, explore Kentucky.
- 1770 Crispus Attucks, freed/escaped slave: first casualty of the American Revolution
- 1775 Daniel Boone accompanied by an African American servant who may have served as his guide, explores Kentucky

African Americans fighting in the American Revolution:

- 4/18/1775 Lexington and Concord
- 6/16/1775 Bunker Hill
- 7/9/1775 George Washington issues a command prohibiting further enlistment of African Americans.
- 11/12/1775 Lord Dunmore offers freedom to escaped slaves willing to enlist in the British Army.
- 12/30/1775 George Washington eases the ban.
- Between 4,000 and 6,000 African Americans serve in the Revolutionary Army—mostly in integrated units
- 14,000 African Americans leave with the British after their defeat
- 100,000 (estimated) African Americans use the war as an opportunity to escape enslavement, many escape west to unsettled lands such as Kentucky.
- 1792 Kentucky Constitutional Convention: Free African Americans are allowed to vote.
- 1799 Second Kentucky Constitution adopted. Free African Americans lose their vote.
- 1807 Baptized Licking Locust Friends of Humanity, dedicated to preaching an anti-slavery gospel, are established in Kentucky.
- 1808 David Barrow establishes Kentucky's first abolitionist society
- 1809 Abraham Lincoln born @ Sinking Spring Farm near present day Hodgenville, Kentucky.
- 1809 – 1816 Abraham Lincoln's Kentucky years
- William Ash, William Brownfield, Job Dye: slave-owning neighbors during Lincoln's Kentucky years

- 1811 Lincoln's move to Knob Creek where young Abraham may have witnessed slave coffles moving along the Cumberland Trail.
- 1816 Lincoln's move to Indiana (Free state)
- 1828 Abraham visits New Orleans, probably witnessing a slave auction.
- 1831 Abraham returns to New Orleans, probably witnessing another slave auction.
- 1841 Abraham witnesses…"slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me…"
- 1849 Abraham Lincoln introduces a bill in the House of Representatives to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. It is never ratified.
- 4/16/1862. President Abraham Lincoln signs an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. (the only place in the Union where the Constitution gives him the authority to do so)
- 9/23/1862. Emancipation Proclamation issued
- 1/1/1863 Emancipation Proclamation enacted
- 12/5/1864 13th Amendment abolishing slavery proposed to Congress
- 12/17/1865 slavery still legal in Kentucky and Delaware
- 12/18/1865 13th Amendment ratified ending slavery
- 2/12/1901 Delaware ratifies the 13th Amendment (Lincoln's birthday)
- 3/18/1976 Kentucky ratifies the 13th Amendment
- 3/16/1995 Mississippi ratifies the 13th Amendment

Abraham Lincoln's Quotes on Slavery

At the age of 28, while serving in the Illinois General Assembly, Lincoln made one of his first public declarations against slavery.

March 3, 1837

The following protest was presented to the House, which was read and ordered to be spread on the journals, to wit:

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

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

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

They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; but that that power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of said District.

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

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

July 1, 1854

You say A. is white, and B. is black. It is color, then; the lighter, having the right to enslave the darker? Take care. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with a fairer skin than your own.

You do not mean color exactly?--You mean the whites are intellectually the superiors of the blacks, and, therefore have the right to enslave them? Take care again. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with an intellect superior to your own.

But, say you, it is a question of interest; and, if you can make it your interest, you have the right to enslave another. Very well. And if he can make it his interest, he has the right to enslave you.

Speech at Peoria, Illinois
October 16, 1854

I can not but hate [the declared indifference for slavery's spread]. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world -- enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites -- causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty -- criticising [sic] the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.

Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist amongst them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses north and south. Doubtless there are individuals, on both sides, who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence. We know that some southern men do free their slaves, go north, and become tip-top abolitionists; while some northern ones go south, and become most cruel slave-masters.

When southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery, than we; I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists; and that it is very difficult to get rid of it, in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, -- to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope, (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not.

August 24, 1855

You know I dislike slavery; and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it. So far there is no cause of difference. But you say that sooner than yield your legal right to the slave -- especially at the bidding of those who are not themselves interested, you would see the Union dissolved. I am not aware that any one is bidding you to yield that right; very

certainly I am not. I leave that matter entirely to yourself. I also acknowledge your rights and my obligations, under the constitution, in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down, and caught, and carried back to their stripes, and unrewarded toils; but I bite my lip and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip, on a Steam Boat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were, on board, ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave-border. It is hardly fair to you to assume, that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the constitution and the Union.

I do oppose the extension of slavery, because my judgment and feelings so prompt me; and I am under no obligation to the contrary.

Definition of Democracy
August 1, 1858?

As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.

Seventh and Last Debate with Stephen A. Douglas
Alton, Illinois
October 15, 1858

And when this new principle [that African Americans were not covered by the phrase "all men are created equal"] -- this new proposition that no human being ever thought of three years ago, -- is brought forward, I combat it as having an evil tendency, if not an evil design; I combat it as having a tendency to dehumanize the negro -- to take away from him the right of ever striving to be a man. I combat it as being one of the thousand things constantly done in these days to prepare the public mind to make property, and nothing but property of the negro in all the States of the Union….

That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles -- right and wrong -- throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.

"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, can not long retain it." April 6, 1859 - Letter to Henry Pierce

"This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave, must consent to have no slave." April 6, 1859 - Letter to Henry Pierce

In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free - honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. December 1, 1862 - Second Annual Message to Congress

"I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel." April 4, 1864 - Letter to Albert Hodges

In Lincoln's last public address, he recommended extending the right to vote to the African Americans who had fought for the Union. This expressed his belief that African Americans should be granted full political equality.

Last Public Address
April 11, 1865

It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.

Sources: Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, published by the Abraham Lincoln Association

Emancipation Proclamation Resource Document

Almost from the beginning of his administration, Lincoln was pressured by abolitionists and radical Republicans to issue an Emancipation Proclamation. In principle, Lincoln approved, but he postponed action against slavery until he believed he had wider support from the American Public. The passage of the Second Confiscation Act by Congress on July 17, 1862, which freed the slaves of everyone in rebellion against the government, provided the desired signal. Not only had Congress relieved the Administration of considerable strain with its limited initiative on emancipation, it demonstrated an increasing public abhorrence toward slavery.

Lincoln had already drafted what he termed his "Preliminary Proclamation." He read his initial draft of the Emancipation Proclamation to Secretaries William H. Seward and Gideon Welles on July 13, 1862. For a moment, both Secretaries were speechless. Quickly collecting his thoughts, Seward said something about anarchy in the South and possible foreign intervention, but Welles was apparently too confused to respond. Lincoln let the matter drop.

Nine days later, on July 22, Lincoln raised the issue in a regularly scheduled Cabinet meeting. The reaction was mixed. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, correctly interpreting the Proclamation as a military measure designed both to deprive the Confederacy of slave labor and bring additional men into the Union Army, advocated its immediate release. Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase was equally supportive, but Montgomery Blair, the Postmaster General, foresaw defeat in the fall elections. Attorney General Edward Bates, a conservative, opposed civil and political equality for Blacks but gave his qualified support. Fortunately, President Lincoln only wanted the advice of his Cabinet on the style of the Proclamation, not its substance. The course was set.

The Cabinet meeting of September 22, 1862, resulted in the political and literary refinement of the July draft, and on January 1, 1863, Lincoln composed the final Emancipation Proclamation. It was the crowning achievement of his administration.

Source: Library of Congress: Abraham Lincoln Papers

The Emancipation Proclamation
January 1, 1863

A Transcription

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of

Norfolk and Portsmouth[)], and which excepted parts, are for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Abraham Lincoln

Born: February 12, 1809
Birthplace: Sinking Spring Farm near Hodgenville, Kentucky

In 1864 Lincoln claimed to be "naturally anti-slavery," adding, "I can not remember when I did not so think and feel so."

Abraham Lincoln was a Kentuckian by birth. The Knobs country of Kentucky, his friends and neighbors, his first teachers, and his earliest religious teachings shaped his childhood and the man he became. Although Abraham Lincoln left the Commonwealth while still a boy, native Kentuckians played important, often times pivotal, roles in his upbringing, his education, his romantic life, his professional life, and his political life.

Abraham Lincoln almost certainly encountered slavery while living at Knob Creek as a young child. In 1811, when Lincoln was two years old, this portion of Kentucky was part of Hardin County. At the time there were 1,007 slaves in Hardin County, compared to 1,627 white males who were sixteen years or older. Five years later, when the Lincoln family moved from Kentucky, the owner of nearby Atherton's Ferry owned eight slaves.

Historians are just beginning to learn about the history of slavery in this area. In addition to the presence of slaves on some neighboring farms, the Old Cumberland Trail (today U. S. Hwy. 31E) ran directly beside the Lincoln family farm. It was a main route between Louisville, Kentucky and Nashville, Tennessee. Some historians believe it was one of the overland routes slave dealers used to transport enslaved African-Americans from Kentucky to slave markets further south.

Lincoln's parents, Thomas and Nancy, attended the Little Mount Church, which is believed to have been formed by antislavery advocates in 1810, and may have been part of a much larger antislavery movement within the Baptist churches of Kentucky, beginning in the 1790s. Lincoln later recalled that his father's decision to move the family from Kentucky to Indiana was partly due to slavery.

Lincoln's parents also instilled something of their views about slavery into young Abraham. South Fork Baptist Church, believed to be the first church

established in what is now LaRue County, was founded in 1782 about two miles from the Sinking Spring Farm. The congregation's founder and his successor, Rev. William Downs, were strongly anti-slavery, but much of the congregation was not. Many of the members, who opposed slavery, including Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, left the congregation in 1808. After Downs was found "to be in disorder" and the congregation voted "not to invite him to preach" for his anti-slavery views, he helped organize the Little Mount Baptist Church about three miles north of Hodgenville. Both Thomas and Nancy Lincoln were active members of the congregation. The Rev. Davis Elkin also served as pastor for the congregation. Like Downs, he was a strong advocate of emancipation. Both of these men visited the Lincoln home at Knob Creek.

The extent of Lincoln's direct contact with slavery in these early years remains unknown. The years Abraham Lincoln spent at the Knob Creek farm were typical of boys on the frontier. His early years were spent in play. When old enough, he was expected to help with what chores he was capable of, such as fetching wood and carrying water. He later recalled planting pumpkins in the "big field" of seven acres near the creek. He learned that farming could be a precarious way to make a living when a heavy rain in the knobs sent rivers of water down the hills to wash away not only the corn but the valuable topsoil as well. With few neighbors, his sister Sarah was his closest companion and playmate. On the neighboring farm was a boy nearly four years older than Abraham, Austin Gollaher, who sometimes joined Abe in play.

One of the most important events of the Knob Creek years was Abraham's introduction to education. He and Sarah attended school for brief periods in 1815 and 1816, when Abe was six and seven years old. The little log schoolhouse was located about two miles north of the Lincoln home, near the banks of Knob Creek on the main road connecting the settlements of Louisville and Nashville. The school was a subscription school, the parents of each student paying a small sum to the teacher. It is worth noting that Thomas Lincoln was affluent enough to be able to afford to send his children to school, and that he and Nancy considered education important enough to send both their daughter and son.

Like most schools of the time, it was a "blab school." The students learned their lessons by reciting them out loud and in unison. Lincoln probably learned the alphabet and may have been able to read a little when he left

Kentucky. His first teacher was Zachariah Riney, whose family had settled in the Bardstown area sometime before 1795. The second was Caleb Hazel, a surveyor and distiller who lived on the farm adjacent to the Lincoln's and who was related to the Hanks family through marriage. Hazel may have taught young Abraham penmanship and contributed to his interest in reading. While it is uncertain just how much Lincoln learned from Zachariah Riney and Caleb Hazel, it is certain that in one of the 1860 biographical sketches that Lincoln proofed before its publication, he did not quarrel with the statement that he "acquired the alphabet and other rudiments of education" during his childhood in Kentucky.

Sources: National Park Service
Kentucky Historical Society
Hardin County Tax Roles
Abraham Lincoln: A Living Legacy

HENRY CLAY

Born: April 12, 1777
Birthplace: Hanover County, Virginia

Henry Clay came to Kentucky in 1797. He began a law practice in Lexington and within ten years had established a reputation as a successful trial lawyer.

Although Henry Clay owned slaves, he supported a program of gradual emancipation. He was also an early supporter of efforts to create a colony in Liberia for freed African Americans.

Henry Clay became known as "The Great Compromiser" as a result of his efforts in support of the Missouri Compromise. In an effort to preserve the balance of power in Congress between slave and free states, the Missouri Compromise was passed in 1820, admitting Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state. Furthermore, with the exception of Missouri, this law prohibited slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of the 36° 30´ latitude line. This established a precedent that would be followed for the next 30 years. New states would be admitted in tandem—one slave, one free.

Henry Clay ran for President of the United States in 1824, 1832, and 1844. Abraham Lincoln, a Whig elector for Illinois, campaigned tirelessly for Clay. The campaign took him to almost every part of the state and across the Wabash into Indiana, near his boyhood home. Lincoln's efforts on behalf of Clay brought him recognition throughout Illinois and beyond, putting him in a position from which he was able to launch a successful campaign for Congress.

The Compromise of 1850 is considered by many people to be Henry Clay's greatest success. The adoption of Henry Clay's compromise proposals in 1850 preserved the Union, but the issue of slavery was not settled. The Fugitive Slave Act was one of the compromises, but this act required citizens to assist in the recovery of fugitive slaves and denied fugitive slaves the right to a jury trial. Free African Americans were captured, and without the right to a jury trial, were enslaved. The Underground Railroad became more active and Civil War appeared inevitable.

Sources: Ashland, The Henry Clay Estate
Library of Congress
PBS

Cassius Marcellus Clay

Born: October 19, 1810
Birthplace: Madison County, Kentucky

Cassius Marcellus Clay was the son of Green Clay, the largest slaveholder in the state, yet he espoused the cause of emancipation from young adulthood. Outspoken and fearless, Clay found a ready welcome with the small group of Kentucky emancipationists that had for so long been intimidated by the powerful slaveholding aristocracy. In spite of his emancipationist views, Clay was almost like a member of the family to Mary Todd. They had known each other well since Clay had come to stay with the Todds following a fire that destroyed the dormitories at Transylvania, where he was enrolled. Several years later, Clay married Mary Jane Warfield, a close friend of the Todd girls, and Elizabeth Todd Edwards was matron of honor at the wedding.

In 1835, 1837 and 1840 he was elected as a Whig to the Kentucky legislature, where he advocated a system of gradual emancipation. In 1841 he was defeated on account of his anti-slavery views.

In 1845 Clay's anti-slavery newspaper, *The True American*, made its debut in Lexington. His office and press were wrecked by a mob, so he moved his office to Cincinnati, Ohio.

In 1850 he ran for governor of Kentucky on an anti-slavery ticket, but was defeated.

Clay was one of the founders of the Republican Party in 1854. He was appointed a Major General in the Union army, but refused to fight as long as slavery continued to be protected in Southern states.

In 1860, Clay was a leading candidate for the vice-presidential nomination. He was effective in campaigning for the new Republican Party and urging the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for president. After Lincoln was nominated, Clay wrote Lincoln pledging his unfaltering loyalty. Lincoln answered, thanking him for his support. Clay continued his work supporting Lincoln's campaign for the Presidency. After the election, Lincoln rewarded Clay for his political support by naming him ambassador to Russia. In 1862,

Clay returned to White Hall briefly after being asked by Lincoln to gauge the reaction of Kentuckians to an emancipation proclamation. Clay urged Lincoln to issue the proclamation, saying that it would be received favorably in Kentucky. Clay was wrong. He returned to Russia in 1863 and did not return to this country until 1869, four years after Lincoln's assassination.

Sources:
Kentucky Government

John G. Fee

Born: 1816
Birthplace: Bracken County, Kentucky

John G. Fee (1816-1901) was born in Bracken County. His family members were farmers who owned slaves. Fee was educated at Augusta College in Augusta, Kentucky, before attending the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati. In 1844 Fee returned to Kentucky and began working as a minister in Lewis County. From Fee's earliest abolition work in the state, proslavery forces attacked him, both physically and in print. Devoted to nonviolence, Fee relied upon Cassius M. Clay, arguably the most famous antislavery Kentuckian, for protection.

In 1853, Clay offered Fee a 10-acre homestead on the edge of the mountains if Fee would take up permanent residence there. Fee accepted and established an anti-slavery church with 13 members on a ridge they named "Berea" after the biblical town whose populace was open-minded and receptive to the gospel (Acts 17:10). In 1854, Fee built his home upon the ridge. In 1855, a one-room school, which also served as a church on Sundays, was built on a lot contributed by a neighbor.

Berea's first teachers were recruited from Oberlin College, an anti-slavery stronghold in Ohio. Fee saw his humble church-school as the beginning of a sister institution "which would be to Kentucky what Oberlin is to Ohio, anti-slavery, anti-caste, anti-rum, anti-sin." A few months later, Fee wrote in a letter, "we...eventually look to a college -- giving an education to all colors, classes, cheap and thorough."

Fee worked with other community leaders to develop a constitution for the new school, which he and Principal J. A. R. Rogers insisted should ensure its interracial character. It also was agreed that the school would furnish work for as many students as possible, in order to help them pay their expenses and to dignify labor at a time when manual labor and slavery tended to be synonymous in the South. Mr. Fee founded Berea College in 1859 as a co-educational institution that would admit men and women, black and white, at a time when slavery was legal in Kentucky. However, a proslavery mob drove Fee out of the state. Fee spent the Civil War years raising funds for the school, and it was not until 1866 that he founded the

school that became Berea College in 1869. During his lifetime, Mr. Fee insisted that blacks and whites, men and women, learn in the same classroom and participate in the same social clubs and activities. He said that racial equality should be preached and practiced. Until his death in 1901 Fee opposed segregation and worked for racial equality.

Berea's commitment to interracial education was overturned in 1904 by the Kentucky Legislature's passage of the Day Law, which prohibited education of black and white students together. When the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Day Law, Berea set aside funds to assist in the establishment of Lincoln Institute, a school located near Louisville, for black students. When the Day Law was amended in 1950 to allow integration above the high school level, Berea was the first college in Kentucky to reopen its doors to black students.

Sources: The Filson Historical Society
Kentucky Commission on Human Rights
Berea College

Joshua Speed

Born: November 14, 1814
Birthplace: Louisville, Kentucky

Joshua Speed was raised on a 550 acre plantation that depended on slave labor for profitable operations. The main cash crop was hemp which is labor-intensive, thus the need for slave labor. The farm also produced corn, hay, apples, pork, vegetables, wheat, tobacco and dairy products. The tasks of planting, harvesting and shipping products to market were performed primarily by enslaved African Americans who worked in the fields, labored at the ropewalk, and drove the wagons.

Slave life at Farmington was representative of slave life at other large Kentucky plantations. Between 45 and 64 enslaved African Americans worked on the plantation. The average Kentucky slaveholder owned fewer than 5 slaves, but Farmington, with its large slave population, resembled the large plantations of the state's Bluegrass Region.

Although the family was strongly pro-Union, slavery for most Speed family members was an accepted way of life. Slave labor was essential to the profitable operation of the plantation, and the profits derived from the labor of enslaved African Americans at Farmington, as well as income received from hiring out slaves, helped to pay for luxury goods and education for the Speed children in addition to family necessities.

Joshua Speed met Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois and became a lifelong friend and trusted confidant. Abraham visited Joshua Speed at the Farmington Plantation in August 1841, and for the first time in his life, he lived in luxury, a luxury made possible, in part, by slavery.

In a letter to Joshua Speed, Abraham Lincoln wrote: “Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that “*all men are created equal*.” We now practically read it “all men are created equal, *except negroes*.” When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read “all men are created equal except negroes, *and foreigners, and Catholics*.” When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty – to Russia,

for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocracy [*sic*]… And yet, let me say I am,

Your friend forever A. Lincoln.

Sources:
Kentucky Government
Farmington Historic Site

Mary Todd Lincoln

Born: December 13, 1818
Birthplace: Lexington, Kentucky
Married: Abraham Lincoln, November 4, 1842

The 1820 Census indicates that Mr. Todd, Mary's father, owned 3 female slaves.

The 1830 Census indicates that Mr. Todd owned 10 male slaves.

The 1840 Census indicates that Mr. Todd owned 3 female slaves, 2 male slaves and one free woman of color between 55 and 100 years of age.

Mary Lincoln's brother, George R.C. Todd and her half-brothers Alexander Todd, David Todd, and Samuel Todd all fought in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. Alexander Todd was killed at Baton Rouge. Samuel Todd was killed in the Battle of Shiloh. David Todd was wounded at Vicksburg. Her half-sister Emilie Helm's husband was a Confederate general killed at Chickamauga. The husbands of her half-sisters, Martha White and Elodie Dawson were ardent supporters of the Confederacy.

Mary Todd met Abraham Lincoln at a dance. Mary was one of the most educated women in the United States and Abraham Lincoln had less than a year of schooling, but they both intelligent and ambitious. They shared a love of poetry and, perhaps more importantly, politics. The Todd home was a gathering place for all of the prominent Whigs in Kentucky and Mary knew all of them, including Henry Clay.

Mary took an active role in promoting Abraham's political career. When he began seeking an appointive position, it was Mary Lincoln who handwrote his solicitation letters to Whig leaders. When he was offered the governorship of the faraway Oregon territory, she successfully advised against his accepting the post since it would remove him from a potential national position. She attended sessions of the state legislature at the capital and filled a notebook with the names of partisan allegiance of each member. She took a special interest in the transition of the Whig Party into the new Republican one and often wrote to influential friends in Kentucky regarding

Lincoln's views on slavery.

Sources:
Kentucky Government
The White House First Ladies Gallery
Mary Todd Lincoln House

Kentuckians and their Views on Slavery

	Interesting biographical information	View on Slavery	Connection to Abraham Lincoln
Mary Todd Lincoln			
Joshua F. Speed			
Cassius M. Clay			
Henry Clay			
John Gregg Fee			
Abraham Lincoln			XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX

Kentuckians and their Views on Slavery

Definitions of Views on Slavery:

Proslavery - favoring the continuance of the institution of slavery of African Americans, or opposed to interference with it.

Anti-slavery - opposition to slavery, esp. black slavery.

1. **Abolitionist -** a reformer who favors abolishing slavery. Someone who believes in total equality for African Americans on a social and economic level and for immediate freedom for slaves.
2. **Emancipationist -** a person who advocates emancipation, especially an advocate of the freeing of human beings from slavery. Emancipationists believe in a gradual and compensated plan for making slaves free.
3. **Colonizationist -** A friend to colonization, especially the colonization of Africa by freed African Americans who were once enslaved. They believed in the freedom of slaves but that to live in true freedom freed slaves must be moved to Africa or another country (ex: Liberia).

"That All Mankind Should Be Free": Abraham Lincoln and African Americans

By Dr. Thomas Mackey

On Wednesday, September 7, 1864, Major General William Tecumseh Sherman ordered the civilians of Atlanta, Georgia, evacuated. His army had captured the city a week earlier and Sherman concluded that he could not maintain his army in Atlanta and control the civilian population; thus, the civilians had to leave. Sherman brushed aside pleas to rescind his order saying, "War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it. . . . You might as well appeal against the thunder storm as against these terrible hardships of war."[1]

On the same day in Washington, D.C., the social fruits of civil war could be witnessed in the White House of Kentucky-born Illinoisan, Abraham Lincoln. On an otherwise routine day, a delegation of five free Blacks from Baltimore met with President Lincoln to present him a Bible. Reverend S.W. Chase stated, ". . . Since our incorporation into the American family we have been true and loyal, and we are now ready to aid in the defending the country, to be armed and trained in military matters, in order to assist in protecting and defending the star-spangled banner.[2] He continued, " . . .We come to present to you this copy of the Holy Scriptures, as a token of respect for your active participation in furtherance of the cause of emancipation of our race. . .."

Lincoln responded saying that the occasion was worthy of a lengthy address, but that he did not have one. Nevertheless, he told the delegation, "I can only now say, as I have often before said, it has always been a sentiment with me that all mankind should be free." [3]

This Bible presentation encapsulated Lincoln's personal sentiments towards Blacks and against slavery; it also suggests the tenuous relationship between Lincoln and African-Americans. Many scholars agree "that all mankind should be free" constituted Abraham Lincoln's guiding principle through his adult life, but how to implement and reach that principle, to make that principle a reality constituted one of the most difficult tasks undertaken by Lincoln.[4] This essay examines the ambiguous relationship between Abraham Lincoln and African-Americans: on one hand hailed as the Great Emancipator and anti-slavery advocate; on the other, the political leader of the white majority. Given the historical context of his era, it is not surprising that Lincoln did not meet the expectations of African-American leaders such as Frederick Douglass; it is surprising how much Lincoln got done. Therefore, on the day that the Major General Sherman ordered white Georgians out of their Atlanta homes, Lincoln made room in the Executive Mansion for African-Americans.

Before the Presidency

As a politician, Lincoln walked the tight-rope between his own feelings about what southerners called "the peculiar institution" and the race consciousness of his Illinois constituents. While he never descended into the race-baiting so common among his peers, Lincoln was also not a race egalitarian. It is difficult for moderns to appreciate how white Antebellum Northerners and Midwesterners could be both anti-slavery and anti-Black. Many opposed the spread of slavery into the western territories because they believed that the West should not be developed by slave labor, but by free white labor. They believed that free labor allowed the individual to rise or fall on the strength of his or

her own abilities. Slavery contradicted that vision of labor; it denied the individual laborer the fruits of her or his own labor and robbed the laborer of incentive since their labor did not enrich themselves, only the master.

At the same time, most Northerners subscribed to the racial stereotypes. Thus, one could oppose slavery so the individual could earn a living and, at the same time, be glad that Blacks could not move into free states. This understanding of the dynamic between labor and slavery was antislavery, not abolitionism. Abolitionists, like William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass, argued for the legal and even social equality of the races -- a position far ahead of Northern and Midwestern public sentiment. For white majorities, it was possible to be both anti-slavery and anti-Black. In this mix of racial and labor assumptions, Abraham Lincoln grew up.[5]

Scholars have long searched for and debated the origins of Lincoln's opposition to slavery and its spread. He recalled that his father, Thomas Lincoln, moved out of Kentucky because of the uncertain land title to his farm at Knob Creek, a threat of lawsuits, and something about moving away from slavery. Lincoln encountered slavery in the Deep South first-hand in 1828 and 1831 when he floated a load of goods down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. In New Orleans, they saw the sights of the city including its slave markets before returning to Indiana.

Ten years later, when Lincoln's suit of Mary Todd in Springfield, Illinois, came to a stand-still, Lincoln decided he needed a holiday. Suffering from melancholia, he traveled to Louisville, Kentucky to visit his friend, Joshua Speed. He stayed at Speed's house and hemp farm, Farmington, where he encountered slavery once again. On September 27, 1841, after his visit, Lincoln wrote back to Speed's half-sister, Mary Speed, and recounted his trip home. He said that other than delays occasioned by sand bars little occurred on the trip. He then added, "By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effort of *condition* upon human happiness." On board he witnessed twelve Blacks who had been purchased in Kentucky and were being taken to a farm in the South. As Lincoln word-painted the scene: "They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one at a convenient distance from, the others; so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line."[6]

He continued in this famous letter: "In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them, from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting then any other where." But instead of deep sadness, these people presented to the world a cheerier face. "[Y]et amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board."[7] As biographer Stephen B. Oates points out, these images remained fresh in Lincoln's mind and that the scene "was a continual torment to me." "Slavery," Lincoln said, "had the power of making me miserable."[8]

As a young man with enormous ambition, it was not slavery or the expansion of slavery into the western territories that first motivated him, but economic development. As a member of the Whig Party in the mold of his hero, Kentuckian Henry Clay, Lincoln believed that economic development was what Illinois and his constituents most needed.

As a lawyer, much of his income came from clearing land titles and securing debts. But as a politician, it was internal improvements such as river clearance and development, canal investments, a stable national financial system, and a stable national currency overseen and funded by the federal government, Clay's "American Plan," that motivated the political Lincoln.

Still, his personal commitment to economic development dovetailed with his growing antislavery sentiments because the West represented opportunity for white free labor. As a rising young man in Springfield, the people of his congressional district elected him to Congress in 1846. Washington, D.C. was a southern city and slavery existed in the nation's capital. The issue of slavery arose in every session of Congress and, in 1849, Lincoln voted against the expansion of slavery into the federal territories. On January 10, 1849, Lincoln submitted a bill to the House that failed proposing the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia through compensated emancipation.[9] But what the failed bill suggests is that as committed to economic development as Lincoln was, the issue of slavery could not be avoided and by the late 1840s, Lincoln opposed its expansion and its presence in the nation's capital.

Slavery lurked in the background of Lincoln's world from the end of his service in Congress in 1849 until 1854. He had a growing family to support and his legal practice consumed his attention for about five years. National politics brought Lincoln back into the political arena. On May 22, 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act effectively removing the restrictions on slavery moving into the western federal territories. Proposed by Stephen Douglas of Illinois, he hoped that the slavery issue could be settled though the idea of "popular sovereignty" whereby the people in the localities in the territories could decide for themselves whether to admit or restrict slavery in the territory. But, as Lincoln suspected, and as later historical events demonstrated, the Kansas-Nebraska Act opened the door for the expansion of slavery. Kansas-Nebraska caused other ripple effects one of which was the collapse of the Whig Party. It forced the Whigs into having to choose to support or oppose slavery's expansion; a choice most Whigs would not make. Thus, the Whig Party came undone and in its place arose a sectional political party, the Republicans. And Lincoln re-entered the political stage.

Here lies one of the ambiguities between Lincoln and the African-American community. Lincoln had to work within an Illinois context that, while antislavery, was also anti-Black. Lincoln opposed slavery and its extension into the federal territories but, he had to court the votes and support of an Illinois population (and in 1860, a Northern and Midwestern populations) who would not support any politician who favored Blacks. So, Lincoln the politician walked a tight-rope of not alienating potential voters while educating them about the dangers of the spread of slavery all the while maintaining his own personal dislike, even hatred, of slavery. Lincoln's public face showed a northern politician interested only in the concerns of white voters which led many African-American leaders, such as Frederick Douglass, to be suspicious of him.

On October 16, 1854, in Peoria, Illinois, Lincoln followed Stephen Douglas to the podium and weighted in against the Douglas authored Kansas-Nebraska Act. Like a lawyer, Lincoln countered every point made by Douglas. He developed his public face of opposition to Kansas-Nebraska taking umbrage at the implication of the act that slavery was a legitimate institution. As Lincoln put it, "I particularly object to the NEW position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I

object to it because it assumes that there CAN be MORAL RIGHT in the enslaving of one man by another." Warming to his own rhetoric, Lincoln continued, "I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a free people . . . that liberty, as a principle, we have ceased to revere."[10] And forgetting that liberty underlay the American experiment in self-government Lincoln could not stomach. Douglas expressed surprise that anyone opposed his Kansas-Nebraska Act. Lincoln fired back, "[Douglas] should remember that he took us by surprise –astounded us – by this measure. We were thunderstruck and stunned; and we reeled and fell in utter confusion. But we rose each fighting, grasping whatever he could first reach – a scythe – a pitchfork – a chapping axe, or a butchers' cleaver. We struck in the direction of the sound; and we are rapidly closing upon him." [11] By stressing the threat to the Union posed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act and not speaking to the morality of slavery, Lincoln appealed to his audiences and, obliquely, pursued his own goal of opposing slavery.

Four years later, on June 16, 1858, at the conclusion of the Illinois Republican nominating convention that chose Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate, Lincoln delivered the "House Divided" speech. In its beginning, Lincoln clarified his thoughts on where the nation was tending. Lincoln argued that the growing tensions in the country would not cease until a crisis had been reached and confronted. Quoting scripture he started:

> "A house divided against itself cannot stand."
> I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.
> I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved* – I do not expect the house to *fall* – but I *do* expect it will cease to be divided.
> It will become *all* one thing, or *all* the other.
> Either the *opponents* of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its *advocates* will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in *all* the States, *old* as well as *new –North* as well as *South*.[12]

Lincoln warned his Illinois audience and the nation about the problem slavery presented and how that problem might be resolved.

A few weeks later on Saturday, July 10, 1858, speaking in Chicago before a friendly audience, but before the famous debates with Douglas, Lincoln spoke more openly about his personal opinions. He told his audience that he was "unaware that this Government has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free," because "during all that time, until the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, the public mind did rest, all the time, in the belief that slavery was in the course of ultimate extinction." Lincoln then dropped his political guard and spoke from his heart saying, "I have always hated slavery, I think as much as any Abolitionist. [Applause] I have been an Old Line Whig. I have always hated it, but I have always been quiet about it until this new era of the introduction of the Nebraska Bill began."[13] He argued that he believed that the "great mass of the nation" believed that the institution was dying until Stephen Douglas gave it a new lease on life with its expansion into the western territories. But what is remarkable is his public admission that "I have always hated slavery." Here lay his inward personal preference as opposed to his outward political persona.

In Ottawa, Illinois, during the first of the famous 1858 senatorial debates, Lincoln responded to Douglas' charge that he was a race equalitarian. On August 21, 1858, Lincoln read part of one his earlier speeches opposing the expansion of slavery into the western territories. He called the previous speech "the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery and the black race." "This is the whole part of it," said Lincoln using humor, "and anything that argues me into [Douglas's] idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro, is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse chestnut to be a chestnut horse."[14]

Lincoln continued saying that he did not wish to interfere with slavery where it existed. "I have not purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races," Lincoln explained. Playing to his white audiences' racial biases in order to reassure them, Lincoln claimed that physical differences between the races prevented them from living together and that, like Douglas, he was "in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position." Having come close to condemning Blacks as inferiors, Lincoln shifted arguing, "there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." "I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man," Lincoln lectured Douglas. He agreed with Douglas that Blacks were not his equal "in many respects, . . . But, in the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, his is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man." Without pushing the "hot-button issues" of the social and legal equality of Blacks, Lincoln stood his ground that slavery was wrong because it denied the laborer the fruits of his own labors and that in these terms, Blacks were the equal of Whites. Lincoln balanced on the tight-rope of his personal hatred of slavery and his public persona of not favoring Blacks over Whites.

Lincoln's efforts to win a Senate seat in 1858 failed; yet, the debates had made Lincoln one of several rising men in the Republican Party. Having lost his race for the Senate, Lincoln decided to test the political waters beyond Illinois and for the political plum in the United States, the presidency. In early 1860, Lincoln made an east coast trip allegedly to visit his oldest boy, Robert, who was a college student at Harvard. On February 27, 1860, at the Cooper Institute in New York City, Lincoln delivered what historian Harold Holzer has called "The Speech that made Abraham Lincoln President,"[15] In a tightly argued presentation, Lincoln spoke about the vision of the Republican Party and his opposition to the spread of slavery. He built towards his crescendo asking rhetorically, "Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States." He concluded to waves of applause, "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."[16] Here the master politician opposed slavery's expansion and took a stand against the institution of slavery without raising white fears about the social or political equality of Blacks. Lincoln cultivated the ambiguous middle political ground while listening to his personal political inner voice and pursuing his public political voice as far as it would take him.

And it took him into the Executive Mansion.

The Presidency

Charting Abraham Lincoln's attitudes towards African-Americans prior to the presidency is a challenging task because he needed white votes to win office in order to assist Blacks. But, charting Lincoln's relationship with the African-American community during the years of his presidency could be a listing of the major pubic policy achievements of his administration. On such a list would be: the First Confiscation Act of 1861, Second Confiscation Act of 1862, the 1862 Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia Act, and the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.[17]

Historian James Oakes charts another course to understanding the ambiguous relationship between Lincoln and the Black community by analyzing the relationship between Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. Oakes argues that Lincoln shifted his ground during the presidency away from defending slavery as a constitutionally protected institution to supporting its extinction. Similarly, Douglass shifted his ground to understand that a pragmatic white politician could not cater to the abolitionist fringe and had to lead and follow the political majority. Over time Douglass, states Oakes, "had come to appreciate the power of mainstream politics" and the political mastery of Lincoln.[18]

At first, like most abolitionists, Douglass possessed grave doubts about Lincoln. What he did know came from Lincoln's pubic speeches and Douglass cared not for the public face of Lincoln. Worse, although it was clear to Douglass that the cause of the Civil War was slavery, Lincoln's administration did not make the Civil War a war against slavery. In August 1861, when the Union General John C. Frémont issued an emancipation order without White House approval, Lincoln forced him rescind the order and reassigned Fremont. Lincoln's "go-slow" policy on slavery frustrated Douglass even though Lincoln rescinded Frémont's order in order to maintain the Border States, particularly Kentucky, in the Union – a larger and military political goal that Douglass did not appreciate.

In Philadelphia, on January 14, 1862, Douglass' frustrations with Lincoln can be heard where he criticized the slowness of the administration. Douglass dismissed the argument that the plight of the country lay at the feet of Lincoln saying, "this rebellion was planned and prepared long before the name of Abraham Lincoln was mentioned in connection with the office he now holds, and that though the catastrophe might have been postponed, it could not have been prevented, nor long delayed."[19] For Douglass, the presence of slavery in the Republic caused the war and pre-dated the Lincoln administration.

But, he did not let Lincoln off the hook. "We are fighting the rebels with only one hand," Douglass argued, "when we ought to be fighting them with both." Instead of recruiting only whites to fight the war, the Union ought to be recruiting men from the plantations of the South. Warming to his rhetoric, "We are striking the guilty rebels with our soft, white hand, when we should be striking with the iron hand of the black man, which we keep chained behind us." For Douglass, the southern armies were not the target, slavery was; "We have been endeavoring to heal over the rotten cancer of slavery, instead of cutting out its death-dealing roots and fibers," he argued. Failure of the Lincoln administration to strike at slavery prolonged the war and, if the Union lost, then it was not for a lack of men or money or courage, but because of "the want of moral courage and wise statesmanship in dealing with slavery, the *cause* and motive of the

rebellion."[20] Douglass' frustrations boiled over again in his July 4, 1862 speech wherein he stated that while Lincoln came into office with an antislavery agenda, yet he had not demonstrated those values. Douglas listed a parade of horribles of what Lincoln had and had not done: he had not armed the slaves, he had not moved to emancipation, he had assigned pro-slavery generals to positions of power in the military, he permitted rebels to recapture runaways in the District of Columbia, and he permitted the army to return runaways.[21]

What Douglass could not know was that Lincoln's drift toward emancipation was further along than he knew. Over the course of the first half of 1862, after discussions with his Secretary of State William Seward and Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner, Lincoln's personal opinion grew that something had to be done about slavery. In public, on July 12, 1862, Lincoln met with a delegation of Border State men and he floated the idea of gradual emancipation and colonization.[22] But, behind the scenes, Lincoln moved toward Douglass. During a carriage ride the next day, Lincoln revealed to his astonished Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, that, as historian Stephen B. Oates put it, "southerners could not throw off the Constitution and the same time invoke it to protect slavery They had started the war and must now face its consequences."[23] On July 21, Lincoln informed his cabinet that he intended to move against slavery directly. After a heated discussion, the cabinet urged Lincoln to wait until Union fortunes on the battlefront had improved before making such a political leap. Grudgingly, Lincoln agreed, and waited for a military victory.

But not being privileged to these shifts was Douglass whose rhetoric, reputation, and criticism had reached Lincoln. As a result, on August 10, 1863, Lincoln invited Douglass to the White House for a meeting.

In a speech delivered on December 4, 1863, Douglass described his experience of meeting Lincoln. After sending in his card and expecting to wait "at least half a day," a messenger came back and ushered him into the President. After preliminaries, Douglass and Lincoln talked on a wide-range of issues. Lincoln impressed Douglass as "an honest man. I never met with a man, who, on the first blush, impressed me more entirely with his sincerity, with his devotion to country, and with his determination to save it at all hazards." At one point in the conversation, Lincoln mentioned a speech that Douglass had given criticizing Lincoln for being slow to move against slavery. Lincoln defended himself saying, "I do not think that charge can be sustained; I think it cannot be shown that when I have once taken a position, I have ever retreated from it."[24] Douglass called that statement, "the most significant point in what he said during our interview." Douglass had gotten a glimpse past the public ambiguous persona of Lincoln and experienced the character and values of the private Lincoln.

Douglass defended his calling Lincoln slow to provide protection for Black soldiers and prisoners; Lincoln responded that "the country needed talking up to that point." Lincoln felt that the "country was not ready for it." He knew that if he went too fast, then "all the hatred which is poured on the head of the negro race would be visited on his Administration." But, the preparatory work had been done and given events such as the military contributions of Blacks at Milliken's Bend and Fort Wagner, then those events prepared "the way for this very proclamation of mine."[25] Reflecting on this pragmatic statement, Douglass conceded that Lincoln's explanation was reasonable. Yet still suspicious, Douglass reminded his audience that "we are not saved by the captain

this time, but by the crew." It would not be Abraham Lincoln who would save Blacks, but "that power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself. You and I and all of us have this matter in hand."[26] Only the people supporting this administration led by Lincoln could save the country and end slavery. Douglass had started to become a Lincoln man.

But Douglass was always an advocate for Black Americans. While Douglass admired Lincoln, he understood the ambiguities of Lincoln's relationships with Blacks. This ambiguity can be understood in a famous speech Douglass delivered eleven years after Lincoln's assassination. On April 14, 1876, in Washington, D.C., at the unveiling of the Freedman's Memorial Monument in Lincoln Park to Abraham Lincoln, Douglass delivered the keynote address.[27] He spoke as the national leader of the Black population addressing his overwhelmingly white audience including President Ulysses S. Grant in the second-person "you" and he and Blacks as "us." Douglass confronted his distinguished audience with some "truths" as he saw them. "Abraham Lincoln was not . . . either our man or our model," Douglass alleged. In his behaviors and actions and thoughts and "prejudices," "he was a white man. He was preeminently the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of the white men."[28]

Recently, scholars have re-emphasized Douglass' larger point in the speech which was not to belittle Lincoln, but to celebrate his contribution to the African-American community.[29] Yes, conceded Douglass, Lincoln was "ready and willing at any time during the last years of his administration to deny, postpone and sacrifice the rights of humanity in the colored people, to promote the welfare of the white people of his country." Lincoln entered the Executive Mansion on "one principle alone, namely, opposition to the extension of slavery" and he pursued that policy to that end throughout his administration. "You and yours," Douglass said pointing to his audience, "were the object of his deepest affection and his most earnest solicitude." Thus, he continued, "We are at best only his step-children, children by adoption, children by force of circumstances and necessity."[30] Douglass then shifted his argument; he urged the assembled audience to accept the monument, "for while Abraham Lincoln saved for you a country, he delivered us from a bondage, according to Jefferson, one hour of which was worse than ages of the oppression your fathers rose in rebellion to oppose." And on the behalf of Black Americans, Douglass pointed out, "Abraham Lincoln was NEAR AND DEAR TO OUR HEARTS."

As Douglass saw it, Lincoln's "great mission was to accomplish two things: first, to save his country from dismemberment and ruin, and second, to free his country from the great crime of slavery." Defending Lincoln's actions and timing, Douglass continued, "Had he put the abolition of slavery before the salvation of the Union, he would have inevitably driven from him a powerful class of the American people, and rendered resistance to rebellion impossible." Though Lincoln shared "the prejudices of his white fellow countrymen against the negro," in his "heart of hearts," knew Douglass, "HE LOATHED AND HATED SLAVERY."[31] Douglass' insight into Lincoln's actions constituted an epiphany for Douglass. In the words of historian James Oakes, Douglass "did not claim that the abolitionist perspective was invalid, only that it was partial and therefore inadequate. Lincoln was an elected official, a politician, not a reformer; he was responsible to a broad public that no abolitionist crusader had to worry about."[32] The greatest politician," stated Oakes analyzing Douglass, "was the one who could sustain the

highest principles of the reformer and acknowledge the legitimate grievances of minorities – without losing the trust of the whole population." Oakes continued, "The finest statesman could hold the people's trust without becoming a cynic or a demagogue" and, judged by that standard for Douglass, "Lincoln was one of the great politicians of all time."[33]

Thus a speech that many have taken to be a criticism of Lincoln was, in fact, a subtle celebration of the man and his policies. Douglass told his audience, "We have been fastening ourselves to a name and fame imperishable and immortal," thundered Douglass.[34] Douglass's speech summed up his relation with Lincoln and analyzed the ambiguous and, in the end, positive relationship between Lincoln and the African-American community.

"I can only now say," Lincoln told the delegation of free Black Baltimoreans on September 7, 1864, "as I have often before said, it has always been a sentiment with me that all mankind should be free."[35] Lincoln left a history of an ambiguous relationship between himself and the Black community. Lincoln was, as his admirers have said, the Great Emancipator. On the other hand, as Douglass realized, Abraham Lincoln was first and foremost a pragmatic politician of the mainstream. Of course Lincoln was an extraordinarily capable and eloquent politician, operating in an extraordinary time of crisis. But he was also a political statesman who transformed American race relations from master and slave toward liberty and freedom, and he did so while pursuing the conservative goal of preserving the nation against insurrection. Managing to personify both emancipator and preserver, Lincoln's policies can be debated; his personal belief that "all mankind shall be free" can not.

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[20] Ibid., 482-483.
[21] "The Slaveholders' Rebellion: An address delivered in Himrod's, New York, on 4 July 1862," 539.
[22] Fehrenbacher, *Abraham Lincoln*, 340.
[23] Oates, *With Malice Toward None*, 308.
[24] "Emancipation, racism, and the work before us: An address delivered in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 4 December 1863," 607.
[25] Ibid., 608.
[26] Ibid. Douglass visited Lincoln in the White House one other time, on August 19, 1864 although Douglass did not record the details of his second visit with the same fervor as his first visit.
[27] "The Freedman's Monument to Abraham Lincoln: An address delivered in Washington, D.C., on 14 April 1876," John W. Blassingame and John R. McKivigan, eds., *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews; Volume 4: 1864-80* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 427-440.
[28] Ibid., 431.
[29] See Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican*, 266-275.
[30] "The Freedman's Monument to Abraham Lincoln," 432.
[31] Ibid., 436-437.
[32] Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican*, 272.
[33] Ibid., 272-273.
[34] "The Freedman's Monument to Abraham Lincoln," 440.
[35] Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VII*, 543.

Transcripts for the Lincoln-Douglas debates can be found at:
http://www.nps.gov/archive/liho/debates.htm

A letter to Abraham Lincoln deploring poor treatment of Refugees in Contraband camps can be found at:
http://www.gilderlehrman.org/search/pop_photo.php?id=GLC01545.11

The letter from Abraham Lincoln to Gen. David Hunter concerning the command of the Department of West and strategy suggestions can be found at:

http://www.gilderlehrman.org/search/display_results.php?id=GLC01212