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# The Influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln Regarding Lines of Argument on the Slavery Issue

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*Eastern Illinois University*

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THE INFLUENCE OF HENRY CLAY UPON ABRAHAM LINCOLN

REGARDING LINES OF ARGUMENT ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE

(TITLE)

BY

Kenneth E. Aubens

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY  
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1974

YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING  
THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE

THE INFLUENCE OF HENRY CLAY UPON ABRAHAM LINCOLN  
REGARDING LINES OF ARGUMENT ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE

BY

KENNETH E. AUBENS

B.S. Eastern Illinois University, 1973

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts in the Graduate School  
of Eastern Illinois University

CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS  
1974

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE PROBLEM FOR RESEARCH. . . . .	1
Part A. Statement of the Problem . . . . .	2
Part B. Definition of Terms. . . . .	3
Part C. Limitations of the Problem . . . . .	4
Part D. Significance of the Study. . . . .	4
Part E. Survey of the Literature . . . . .	5
Part F. Method of Procedure. . . . .	12
Part G. Organization of the Entire Study . . . . .	13
II. HENRY CLAY'S POSITION ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE. . . . .	15
Part A. Morally, Slavery is Wrong. . . . .	16
Part B. Gradual Emancipation of the Slaves Should be Adopted. . . . .	19
Part C. Colonization With Emancipated Slaves Should be Promoted . . . . .	23
Part D. Existing Slavery Should be Left Alone. . . . .	26
Part E. Extension of Slavery Should be Prohibited . . . . .	29
Part F. Differences Between the Black and White Races Prevent Equality of Citizenship in a Single Society. . . . .	32
Part G. Preservation of the Union Should Supersede Remedies to the Problem of Slavery . . . . .	34
III. ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S POSITION ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE . . . . .	38
Part A. Morally, Slavery is Wrong. . . . .	40
Part B. Gradual Emancipation of the Slaves Should be Adopted. . . . .	42
Part C. Colonization With Emancipated Slaves Should be Promoted . . . . .	47
Part D. Existing Slavery Should be Left Alone. . . . .	50
Part E. Extension of Slavery Should be Prohibited . . . . .	54
Part F. Differences Between the Black and White Races Prevent Equality of Citizenship in a Single Society. . . . .	58
Part G. Preservation of the Union Should Supersede Remedies to the Problem of Slavery . . . . .	62

CHAPTER	PAGE
IV. ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO HENRY CLAY REGARDING THE SLAVERY ISSUE. . . . .	68
Part A. Acknowledgements to Henry Clay Regarding the Morality of Slavery . . . . .	69
Part B. Acknowledgements to Henry Clay Regarding the Gradual Emancipation of the Slaves. . . . .	76
Part C. Acknowledgements to Henry Clay Regarding Colonization With Emancipated Slaves. . . . .	78
Part D. Acknowledgements to Henry Clay Regarding Existing Slavery. . . . .	81
Part E. Acknowledgements to Henry Clay Regarding the Extension of Slavery. . . . .	84
Part F. Acknowledgements to Henry Clay Regarding the Differences Between the Black and White Races . . . . .	89
Part G. Acknowledgements to Henry Clay Regarding the Preservation of the Union . . . . .	92
 V. ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS: SUPPORT, CONTRADICTION, AND SUPPLEMENT TO THE PRESENT WRITINGS . . . . .	97
Part A. Support of the Present Writings . . . . .	97
Part B. Contradiction of Present Writings . . . . .	97
Part C. Recommendations for Further Study . . . . .	97
 VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY. . . . .	101
Part A. Summary . . . . .	101
Part B. Conclusion. . . . .	102
Part C. Recommendations for Further Study . . . . .	103
 APPENDIX . . . . .	104
Part A. Bibliography of all the Materials Used in This Study. . . . .	105
Part B. A Chronological Timetable of the History of Slavery in the United States . . . . .	107
Part C. A Chronological Timetable of the Position of Henry Clay on the Slavery Issue. . . . .	113
Part D. A Chronological Timetable of the Position of Abraham Lincoln on the Slavery Issue . . . . .	116

## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM FOR RESEARCH

When the first shipment of twenty black indentured servants were brought to Virginia in 1619, John Rolfe and his neighbors probably had no idea of the trouble that would be caused on their soil during the following centuries; and that out of their acceptance of the black servants "the peculiar institution"<sup>1</sup> of slavery would grow and flourish in the British Colonies in North America. These Virginia colonists did not know that slavery would spread like a virus throughout the British Colonies. They did not know that slavery as an institution would eventually die out in the northern colonies with the Declaration of Independence and flourish in the South with the advent of the cotton gin. They did not know that a great civil war between the northern and southern United States would be fought over the moral question of slavery. They did not know that over a century after the complete abolition of slavery in America, severe racial problems between the white and black races would continue. Even if John Rolfe and his fellow colonists would have known of the troubled future that day in 1619 would bring to America, and they had refused the admittance of the black servants into Virginia, "the peculiar institution" would probably have begun elsewhere in the colonies.

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<sup>1</sup>Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 18.



That peculiar institution entitled slavery which existed in the United States of America until the mid-1860's has interested both historians and rhetoricians alike. Slavery was the prime issue in American politics from the end of the War of 1812 until the emancipation of all slaves in 1865. During this fifty-year time period the most eloquent speeches flowed from the lips of America's great statesmen, either defending or condemning the institution of slavery. As the word "slavery" had a very bad connotation in the northern United States, the word "abolitionist" had a very bad connotation in the southern United States. During this era two of America's great statesmen repeatedly expressed their concern over the slavery issue. First Henry Clay spoke out on the slavery issue with the voice of "compromise" until his death in 1852. Then Abraham Lincoln spoke out on the slavery issue with the voice of "Union preservation" until his assassination in 1865. The position of Abraham Lincoln on the slavery issue is very complex yet consistent. The question for discussion is: How did Abraham Lincoln develop his particular viewpoint on the slavery issue?

#### PART A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to discover the influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding lines of argument on the slavery issue as shown by examination of the available evidence.

## PART B. DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. By "discover," is meant: "to make known or visible; to obtain sight or knowledge."<sup>2</sup>

2. By "influence," is meant: "the act or power of producing an effect without direct exertion of command; an examination of spiritual or moral force."<sup>3</sup>

3. By "Henry Clay," is meant: the Kentucky statesman who became United States Senator and Speaker of the House of Representatives; born in Hanover County, Virginia on April 12, 1777, and died on June 29, 1852.

4. By "Abraham Lincoln," is meant: the sixteenth President of the United States; born on February 12, 1809, in Kentucky, and died by an assassin's bullet on April 15, 1865.

5. By "slavery issue," is meant: that peculiar institution which existed in the southern United States of America that bonded black human beings to white masters.

Abolished in some states by the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863 by Abraham Lincoln, slavery was abolished completely by the Thirteenth Amendment in the United States on December 18, 1865.

6. By "examination," is meant: "an exercise designed to examine progress or test qualification or knowledge."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Mass: G. and C. Merriam Co., 1965), p. 238.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 443.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 288.

7. By "available evidence," is meant: all material that is accessible that furnishes proof for the purposed thesis statement.

#### PART C. LIMITATIONS OF THE PROBLEM

1. There shall be certain areas of study which the problem deals specifically with, namely:

- a. Henry Clay's position on the slavery issue.
- b. Abraham Lincoln's position on the slavery issue.
- c. Abraham Lincoln's acknowledgements to Henry Clay regarding the slavery issue.

2. There shall be certain areas of study which the problem will not deal specifically with, namely:

- a. Any aspect of Henry Clay's influence upon Abraham Lincoln on issues other than the slavery issue (such as tariffs, national defense, national bank).
- b. Any aspect of Henry Clay's career that is not related to the slavery issue and/or Abraham Lincoln.
- c. Any aspect of Abraham Lincoln's career that is not related to the slavery issue and/or Henry Clay.

#### PART D. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There are several reasons as to why the student of speech-communication and of history should find this study of significant value.

1. This study deals specifically with the slavery issue; an issue on which many eloquent statemen spoke and debated upon; an issue which divided a nation into civil war; an issue which created yet unsolved racial problems.

2. This study deals specifically with one of America's great statesmen, Henry Clay; a man whose numerous rhetorical acknowledgements to the slavery issue are included.

3. This study deals specifically with another of America's great statesmen, Abraham Lincoln; a man whose treatment of the slavery issue is included.

4. This study deals specifically with an historical time period spanning nearly a century, and illustrates the history for the rhetoric of that time.

5. This study deals specifically with an analysis of Abraham Lincoln's acknowledgements of Henry Clay's influence upon himself (Lincoln) regarding the slavery issue.

6. This study has never been performed before.

For these reasons the student of speech-communication and of history should find this study of value.

#### PART E. SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

1. Works specifically written on the problem include:

- a. The Influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln  
by Edgar DeWitt Jones, published in Lexington,  
Kentucky, by The Henry Clay Memorial Foundation

in 1952. This work discussed, in its entirety of thirty-nine pages, various general influences of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln. Only three pages were devoted to the influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding the slavery issue.

The entirety of those three pages (24-27) is as follows:

On the red hot issue of slavery, neither Clay nor Lincoln was an abolitionist. Both regarded slavery as an evil and alien to the spirit of "a government by the people, of the people, and for the people." Clay compromised on the slavery issue, believing, in so doing, that he was serving the best interests of the harassed nation. Gerald W. Johnson, in his book, America's Silver Age, a study of the statecraft of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, says on page 242, "Like most reasonable men of his own day, and like his great pupil, Lincoln, Clay, while opposing slavery, did not consider it an evil great enough to justify the destruction of the Union." Clay's sensitive conscience on slavery found some surcease in the American Colonization Society, of which he was one of the founders and for some years its president. Today, this scheme of shipping the freed Negroes to Liberia and colonizing them there, appears chimerical, impractical, and an evasion of the real issue. But to those who faced the possibility of a dissolution of the Union on the matter of slavery, the plan seemed a way out. Lincoln accepted the plan with some misgivings, saying, as late as 1857, in a speech at Springfield, Illinois: "The enterprise is a difficult one but 'Where there is a will there is a way,' and what colonization needs is a hearty will." To slave owners, with characteristic candor, he made his position plain. "I have no prejudice," said he, "against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among us, we would not instantly give it up....When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact."

President Lincoln, after the manner of his illustrious mentor, was also willing to compromise on slavery, if thereby the Union could be saved. Thus, in his oft-quoted letter to Horace Greeley, under date of August 22, 1862, Mr. Lincoln wrote: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that." Unlike his "beau ideal of a statesman," Mr. Lincoln never owned a slave, not can we imagine him in such a proprietorship. He once said, "I am naturally anti-slave. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel."

In this connection it is pertinent to recall the sapient observations of James Parton in his chapter on Clay in Famous Americans of Recent Times, page 51: "While slavery existed, no statesmanship was possible, except that which was temporary and temporizing. The thorn, we repeat, was in the flesh; and the doctors were all pledged to try and cure the patient without extracting it. They could do nothing but dress the wound, put on this salve and that, give the sufferer a little respite from anguish, and, after a brief interval, repeat the operation. Of all these physicians, Henry Clay was the most skillful and effective. He both handled the sore place with consummate dexterity, and kept up the constitution of the patient by stimulants, which enabled him, at last, to live through the appalling operation which removed the cause of agony." Lincoln, let it be said reverently, was the surgeon who performed the major operation which removed the thorn. Furthermore, it is probable that had it not been for Clay there would have been no Union for Lincoln to save.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, Mr. Jones stated the following from the Lincoln-Douglas Debates on pages 20 and 21 of his (Mr. Jones') text:

At Bloomington, Illinois, May 29, 1856, Lincoln said: "Not that Clay hated slavery less but that he loved the whole Union more." In his debate with Douglas at Ottawa, August 21, 1858, Lincoln spoke as follows:

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<sup>5</sup>Edgar DeWitt Jones, The Influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln (Lexington, Kentucky: The Henry Clay Memorial Foundation, 1952), pp. 24-27.

"Henry Clay, my beau ideal of a statesman, for whom I fought all my humble life---Henry Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return, they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not until then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country."

And again, at Alton, October 15, 1858: "When Henry Clay says that in laying the foundations of societies in our territories where it does not exist, he would be opposed to the introduction of slavery as an element, I insist that we have his warrant,---his license---for insisting upon the exclusion of that element which he declared in such strong and emphatic language was most hateful to him."

The published Lincoln-Douglas Debates record no less than forty-one references made by Lincoln to Clay, his political principles, and policies. In the Robert Todd Lincoln Papers, opened to the public July 26, 1947, there are nine letters written to Abraham Lincoln by devoted followers of Henry Clay<sup>6</sup> who said they would support him because he was a Clay man.

These are the only references that Mr. Jones made to the influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding the slavery issue. Notice should be made that Mr. Jones was vague and indefinite in his method of drawing his conclusions. For example:

- 1) Mr. Jones did not make a complete listing of Henry Clay's statements regarding the slavery issue.
- 2) Mr. Jones did not make a complete listing of Abraham Lincoln's statements regarding the slavery issue.
- 3) Mr. Jones did not draw a parallel between Henry Clay's statements and Abraham Lincoln's statements regarding the slavery issue.

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-21.

- 4) Mr. Jones did not make a complete listing of Abraham Lincoln's acknowledgements to Henry Clay regarding the slavery issue.
  - 5) Mr. Jones did not make a complete listing of degrees of difference between Henry Clay's and Abraham Lincoln's position regarding the slavery issue.
2. General references treating the problem include:
- a. History of the Colored Race in America, by W. T. Alexander, republished by the Negro University Press, New York, in 1968.
  - b. Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858, volumes I-IV, by Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, published by Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, in 1928.
  - c. The Works of Henry Clay, volumes I-X, edited by Calvin Colton, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, in 1904.
  - d. The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay, by Calvin Colton, published by A. S. Barnes and Company, New York, in 1856.
  - e. The Life and Times of Henry Clay, volumes I-II, by Calvin Colton, published by A. S. Barnes and Company, New York, in 1846.
  - f. The Black Experience in America, by Norman Coombs, published by Twayne Publishers, incorporated, New York, in 1972.



- g. Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics, by Clement Eaton, published by Little and Brown, in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1957.
- h. America's Silver Age; the Statecraft of Clay-Webster-Calhoun, by Gerald W. Johnson, published by Harper and Brothers, New York, in 1939.
- i. The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, volumes I-IX, edited by Roy T. Basler, published by Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1953.
- j. The Civil War Day By Day, by E. B. Long, published by Doubleday and Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, in 1971.
- k. Abraham Lincoln: What He Stood For, by Ralph Y. McGinnis, published by Ralph Y. McGinnis, Charleston, Illinois, in 1974.
- l. Henry Clay, by Bernard Mayo, published by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Massachusetts, in 1937.
- m. The Negro and the Nation, by George S. Merriam, republished by the Negro University Press, New York, in 1969.
- n. The Origins of American Slavery and Racism, edited by Donald L. Noel, published by Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, Columbus, Ohio, in 1972.
- o. American Negro Slavery, by Ulrich B. Phillips, published by the D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, in 1933.

- p. Henry Clay and the Whig Party, by George Rawlings Poage, published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1936.
- q. Lincoln and the Negro, by Benjamin Quarles, published by the Oxford University Press, New York, in 1962.
- r. The Civil War and Reconstruction, by J. G. Randall and David Donald, published by D. C. Heath and Company, in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1969.
- s. From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community, by George P. Rawick, published by the Greenwood Publishing Company, Westport, Connecticut, in 1972.
- t. Abraham Lincoln: The War Years, volumes I-IV, by Carl Sandburg, published by Harcourt and Brace, New York, in 1954.
- u. Life of Henry Clay, volumes I-II, by Carl Schurz, published by Houghton Mifflin and Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1887.
- v. Slavery in the United States of America, by Henry Sherman, republished by the Negro University Press, in 1969.
- w. The American Conscience: The Drama of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, by Saul Sigelschiffer, published by Horizon Press, New York, in 1973.

- x. Lion of White Hall; The Life of Cassius M. Clay, by David L. Smiley, published by The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, in 1962.
- y. The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the AnteBellum South, by Kenneth M. Stamp, published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, in 1956.
- z. The Life of Abraham Lincoln, volumes I-II, by Ida M. Tarbell, published by McClure, Phillips, and Company, New York, in 1900.
- aa. Abraham Lincoln, a Biography, by Benjamin P. Thomas, published by The Modern Library, New York, in 1968.
- ab. The Life of Henry Clay, by Glyndon Garlock Van Duesen, published by Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, in 1937.
- ac. Emancipation: Its Course and Progress, by J. T. Wilson, republished by Negro University Press, New York; in 1969.
- ad. Lincoln and the Politics of Slavery, by John S. Wright, published by the University of Nevada Press, in Reno, Nevada, in 1970.

#### PART F. METHOD OF PROCEDURE

During the course of research on this problem, a system of organization was used for treating the materials gathered. The method of procedure for this study will involve the following steps:

1. Gathering all available materials which relate to the problem.
2. Organizing the gathered materials into the following headings:
  - a. Henry Clay on the slavery issue.
  - b. Abraham Lincoln on the slavery issue.
  - c. Abraham Lincoln's acknowledgements to Henry Clay on the slavery issue.
3. Analyzing the materials according to:
  - a. Support for the previous writings.
  - b. Contradiction of the previous writings.
  - c. Supplement to the previous writings.
4. Reporting the findings of the study.
5. Summarizing the findings of the study into the following headings:
  - a. Summary.
  - b. Conclusions.
  - c. Recommendations for further study.

#### PART G. ORGANIZATION OF THE ENTIRE STUDY

This entire study will be organized under the following chapter headings:

1. Chapter I (the present chapter) has stated the problem, defined the terms, limited the problem, shown the significance of the study, surveyed the literature, selected a method of procedure, and adopted an organization for reporting the study.

2. Chapter II will quote and organize Henry Clay's position on the slavery issue.

3. Chapter III will quote and organize Abraham Lincoln's position on the slavery issue.

4. Chapter IV will quote and organize Abraham Lincoln's acknowledgements to Henry Clay regarding positions on the slavery issue.

5. Chapter V will analyze the findings of the study.

6. Chapter VI will present a summary, conclusions, and recommendations for further study.

7. The Appendix will include:

- a. A complete bibliography of all the materials used in this study.
- b. A chronological timetable of the history of the slavery issue in the United States of America.
- c. A chronological timetable of Henry Clay's position on the slavery issue.
- d. A chronological timetable of Abraham Lincoln's position on the slavery issue.

## CHAPTER II

### HENRY CLAY'S POSITION ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE

"The man who leaves his impressions on a great nation, and imparts character to the age in which he lives, not only merits the regard of his contemporaries, but will be a study for future generations. That Henry Clay occupies this position in the social state of mankind, by a consideration of the past, and in the prospects of the future, will scarcely be questioned. His name, character, and history are identified with the history of his country; and the student who makes himself acquainted with his life, private, professional, and public, will not be ignorant of the standing and career of the United States of North America, as one of the family of nations.<sup>7</sup>

---Calvin Colton

Henry Clay was one of the most successful and influential political leaders in the history of the United States. Between the year of his birth in 1777 and the year of his death in 1852, Mr. Clay held the following positions: lawyer; Kentucky legislator; United States Congressman; United States Senator; speaker of the House of Representatives; United States Secretary of State; and three-time candidate for the United States Presidency. His three-point plan for the development of the United States, entitled "The American System," strengthened the currency of America, improved the interior of the nation, and promoted the growth of American industry. Of all of his significant achievements,

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<sup>7</sup>Calvin Colton, The Life and Times of Henry Clay (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1846), p. 17.

Mr. Clay is most remembered for his vital roles in the Compromises of 1820 and 1850, which resulted in his nickname "the great pacificator."

With each of the great compromises which "the great pacificator" had taken a vital part in making, Mr. Clay, through "compromise," cooled the tension that had arisen between the philosophically opposed northern and southern United States. In each case of controversy, the tension between these two sections of the Union was caused by their opposing viewpoints on the slavery issue. In each case of controversy, the tension was greater between North and South than it had been the preceding time. In each case of controversy, Mr. Clay and other statesmen favoring the preservation of the Union above all else, persuaded both North and South to "compromise" with one another. The question needed to be answered is: How did "the great pacificator" between North and South, Mr. Clay, stand on the slavery issue?

The answer to this question is seven-fold. Mr. Clay's position on the slavery issue is divided into the following concepts:

#### PART A. MORALLY, SLAVERY IS WRONG

Throughout his lifetime, Mr. Clay always advocated the point that slavery was a moral wrong. Even though he did own slaves for most of his life, he is reported to have treated them well, and provided for their care and eventual freedom in his last will and testament. Whatever his own habit of owning slaves was, he did state on many occasions that slavery was a moral wrong. Representative statements of his position on this issue include:

1. In a speech he delivered before the American Colonization Society at their annual meeting in Washington, D. C., on January 20, 1827, Mr. Clay said:

"If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain (slavery) from the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it, by foreign nations; if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot in that revered state that gave me birth, or that not less beloved state which kindly adopted me as her son; I would not exchange the proud honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror...."<sup>8</sup>

2. In another speech, delivered on the same subject at Frankfort, Kentucky, on December 17, 1829, at the anniversary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, Mr. Clay expressed the same sentiments on slavery:

"When we consider the cruelty of the origin of the negro-slavery, its nature, the character of the free institutions of the whites, and the irresistible progress of public opinion, throughout America, as well as in Europe, it is impossible not to anticipate frequent insurrections among the blacks in the United States...."

3. In his presentation of a memorial of the Kentucky Colonization Society to the Senate on March 28, 1832, Mr. Clay stated:

"The general subject (slavery) was one, that which, perhaps, no other had more seriously engaged the attention of the people of this country. No man,...could fail to cherish the hope, that, at some day or other, however distant, and in some mode, the country would be rid of this, the darkest spot on its mantle...."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 190-191.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 191.



4. As the tension began to increase between North and South, Mr. Clay took the opportunity to speak in the Senate on February 7, 1839 when he said:

"I am, Mr. President, no friend of slavery. The Searcher of all hearts knows, that every pulsation of mine beats high in the cause of civil liberty...."<sup>11</sup>

5. After being verbally attacked by Mr. Mendenhall, because he (Mr. Clay) owned slaves, Mr. Clay replied at Richmond, Indiana, on October 1, 1842 in which he stated:

"I desire no concealment of my opinions in regard to the institution of slavery. I look upon it as an evil, and deeply lament that we have derived it from the parental government, and from our ancestors...."<sup>12</sup>

6. In a letter to Mr. Richard Pindell written by Mr. Clay on February 17, 1849, Mr. Clay stated the following:

"I would, however, remark that if slavery be promotive of these alleged benefits, the principle, on which it is maintained, would require that one portion of the whole race should be reduced to bondage to serve another portion of the same race, when black subjects of slavery could not be obtained; and that in Africa, where they may entertain as great a preference for their color as we do for ours, they would be justified in reducing the white race to slavery, in order to secure the blessings which that state is said to diffuse...."<sup>13</sup>

7. In the United States Senate, during the debates on the Compromise Resolutions on February 20, 1850, Mr. Clay stated:

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 197.

<sup>13</sup>Calvin Colton, The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1856), pp. 346-347.

"From the earliest moment when I could consider the institution of slavery, I have held, and I have said, from that day down to the present, again and again, and I shall go to the grave with the opinion, that it is an evil, a social and political evil, and that it is a wrong as it respects those who are subject to the institution of slavery. These are my opinions...."<sup>14</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Clay: Morally, slavery is wrong.

#### PART B. GRADUAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES SHOULD BE ADOPTED

Throughout his entire political career, Mr. Clay always advocated the gradual emancipation of the slaves in America. Although most of his work and speeches for gradual emancipation occurred in his adopted home state of Kentucky, Mr. Clay did hope that if his plan was successful in his state, then other states would attempt gradual emancipation. Representative statements of his position on this issue include:

1. Mr. Carl Schurz, historian and critic of Mr. Clay, stated the following about Mr. Clay's early participation in politics:

"Henry Clay's first participation in politics was highly honorable to him. The people of Kentucky were dissatisfied with those clauses in their Constitution which provided for the election of the governor and of the state senators through the medium of electors. They voted that a convention be called to revise the fundamental law. This convention was to meet in 1799. Some public-spirited men thought this a favorable opportunity for an attempt to rid the state of slavery. An amendment to the Constitution was prepared providing for general emancipation, and among its advocates in the popular discussions which preceded the meeting of the convention, Clay was one of the most ardent.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 353.

"It was to this cause that he devoted his first essays as a writer for the press, and his first political speeches in popular assemblies. But the support which that cause found among the farmers and traders of Kentucky was discouragingly slender...."<sup>15</sup>

2. In a speech delivered at Frankfort, Kentucky, on December 17, 1829, at the anniversary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, Mr. Clay expressed his belief on gradual emancipation:

"More than thirty years ago an attempt was made, in this commonwealth, to adopt a system of gradual emancipation, similar to that which the illustrious Franklin had mainly contributed to introduce, in 1780, in the state founded by the benevolent Penn. Among the acts of my life, which I look back to with most satisfaction, is that of my having cooperated, with other zealous and intelligent friends, to procure the establishment of that system in this state. We believed that the sum of good, which would be attained by the state of Kentucky, in a gradual emancipation of her slaves, would far transcend the aggregate of mischief which might result to herself and the Union together, from the gradual liberation of them, and their dispersion and residence in the United States. We were overpowered by numbers, but submitted to the decision of the majority, with a grace which the minority, in a republic, should ever yield to such a decision. I have, nevertheless, never ceased, and never shall cease, to regret a decision, the effects of which have been to place us in the rear of our neighbors, who are exempt from slavery, in the state of agriculture, the progress of manufactures, the advance of improvements, and the general prosperity of society...."<sup>16</sup>

3. Mr. Clay again spoke with pride of his early political career on the gradual emancipation of the slaves in Kentucky in a speech he delivered in the Senate on February 7, 1839:

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<sup>15</sup>Carl Schurz, Life of Henry Clay, vol. I (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1887), p. 27.

<sup>16</sup>Calvin Colton, The Life and Times of Henry Clay, vol. I (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1846) p. 190.

"Forty years ago, the question was agitated in Kentucky, of a gradual emancipation of the slaves within its limits. By gradual emancipation, I mean the slow, but safe and cautious liberation of slaves, which was first adopted in Pennsylvania, at the instance of Dr. Franklin (It was the Hon. George Bryan, as afterward corrected by Mr. Clay), in 1780, and according to which, the generation in being were to remain in slavery, but all their offspring, born after a specified period, were to be free at the age of twenty-eight, and in the meantime were to receive preparatory instruction to qualify them for the enjoyment of freedom. That was the species of emancipation, which, at the epoch of which I allude, was discussed in Kentucky. No one was rash enough to think of throwing loose upon the community, ignorant and unprepared, the untutored slaves of the state. Many thought---and I among them---that, as each of the slave states had a right exclusively to judge for itself, in respect to the institution of domestic slavery, the proportion of slaves, compared with the white population in that state, at that time, was so inconsiderable, that a system of gradual emancipation might have been safely adopted without any hazard to the security and interests of the commonwealth. And I still think, that the question of such emancipation in the farming states, is one whose solution depends upon the relative numbers of the two races, in any given state. If I had been a citizen of the state of Pennsylvania, when Franklin's plan was adopted, I should have voted for it...."<sup>17</sup>

4. In a letter to Mr. Richard Pindell written on February 17, 1849, Mr. Clay stated:

"After full and deliberate consideration of the subject, it appears to me that three principles should regulate the establishment of a system of gradual emancipation. The first is, that it should be slow in its operation, cautious and gradual, so as to occasion no convulsion, nor any rash or sudden disturbance, in the existing habits of society...Nothing could be more unwise than the immediate liberation of all the slaves in the State, comprehending both sexes and all ages, from that of tender infancy to extreme old age. It would lead to the most frightful disorders and the most fearful and fatal consequences. Any great change in the condition of society should be marked by extreme care and circumspection. The

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

introduction of slaves into the colonies was an operation of many years' duration; and the work of their removal from the United States can only be effected after the lapse of a great length of time...."<sup>18</sup>

5. On the occasion of his address in the United States Senate in debate over his Compromise Resolutions, delivered on February 20, 1850, Mr. Clay stated:

"...I addressed a letter to a friend, in which I suggested these opinions and sketched out what appeared to me might be a practicable plan for the gradual emancipation of slavery in Kentucky. The letter I chose to put on record...and ineffectual as I saw the project would be, I felt it was a duty to which I owed myself, to truth, to my country, and to my God, to record my sentiments. The State of Kentucky has decided as I anticipated she would do. I regret it; but I acquiesce in her decision."<sup>19</sup>

6. The following statements are from the last will and testament of Mr. Clay, written on July 10, 1851, in regard to the disposition of his own slaves:

"In the sale of any of my slaves, I direct that members of families shall not be separated without their consent.

My will is, and I accordingly direct, that the issue of all my female slaves, which may be born after the first day of January, 1850, shall be free at the respective ages, of the males at twenty-eight, and of the females at twenty-five; and that the three years next preceding their arrival at the age of freedom, they shall be entitled to their hire or wages for those years, or of the fair value of their services, to defray the expense of transporting them to one of the African colonies, and of furnishing them with an outfit on their arrival there. And I further direct, that they be taught to read, to write, and to cipher, and that they be sent to Africa. I further will and direct, that the issue of any of the

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<sup>18</sup> Calvin Colton, The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1856), pp. 348-349.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 353.

females, who are so to be entitled to their freedom, at the age of twenty-five, shall be deemed free from their birth, and that they be bound out as apprentices to learn farming, or some useful trade, upon the condition also, of being taught to read, to write, and to cipher. And I direct, also, that the age of twenty-one having been attained, they shall be sent to one of the African colonies, to raise the necessary funds for the purpose, if they shall not have previously earned them, they must be hired out a sufficient length of time...."<sup>20</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Clay: Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.

#### PART C. COLONIZATION WITH EMANCIPATED SLAVES SHOULD BE PROMOTED

Throughout most of his political career, Mr. Clay advocated colonization for free blacks as a practical solution to the racial problem in America. From the year 1816 on, he was one of the recognized leaders of the American Colonization Society. The national plan for the colonization of emancipated blacks in Africa was formally initiated in Washington, D. C., on December 21, 1816, at a meeting over which Mr. Clay presided. During the following years preceding the Civil War, the American Colonization Society was quite successful in the establishment of the nation of Liberia in Africa for emancipated slaves. Mr. Clay remained an active member of the society for the remainder of his life, often speaking in behalf of the society, serving as one of the organization's vice-presidents, and, in 1836, was chosen as the society's president. From 1816 until his death in 1852, Mr. Clay believed that

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 153-154.

colonization could be a solution to the racial problem in America.<sup>21</sup>

Representative statements of his position on this issue include:

1. In a speech given at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society in Washington, D. C., on January 20, 1827, Mr.

Clay stated his beliefs of African colonization:

"...The object of the Society was the colonization of the free colored people, not of the slaves, of the country. Voluntary in its institution, voluntary in its continuance, voluntary in all its ramifications, all its means, purposes, and instruments, are also voluntary...It is no longer a question of speculation whether a colony can or cannot be planted from the United States of free persons of color on the shores of Africa. It is a matter demonstrated...Numbers of free African race among us are willing to go to Africa. The Society has never experienced any difficulty on that subject, except that its means of comfortable transportation have been inadequate to accommodate all who have been anxious to migrate. Why should they not go? Here they are in the lowest state of social gradation; aliens--political, moral, social aliens---strangers, though natives. There, they would be in the midst of their friends, and their kindred, at home, though born in a foreign land, and elevated above the natives of the country, as much as they are degraded here below other classes of the community...."<sup>22</sup>

2. In another speech delivered at Frankfort, Kentucky, on December 17, 1829, at the anniversary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, Mr. Clay once again expressed his belief in African colonization:

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<sup>21</sup>Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Life of Henry Clay (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1937), p. 137.

<sup>22</sup>Henry Clay, The Works of Henry Clay, ed. by Calvin Colton, VI (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), p. 331.



"...If we are to invoke the greatest blessing on earth, which Heaven, in its mercy, could now bestow on this nation, it would be the separation of the two most numerous races of its population, and their comfortable establishment in distinct and distant countries...."<sup>23</sup>

3. When presenting a memorial of the Kentucky Colonization Society, on March 28, 1832, Mr. Clay stated:

"...It was true, that the friends of the colonization society had contended, that the right to remove the free blacks existing in the general government; and that, as this part of the black population was moved off, the several states might deem it proper to introduce a system of gradual emancipation...."<sup>24</sup>

4. In his address as President of the American Colonization Society in January, 1848, Mr. Clay stated:

"...Beyond question, African colonization of free colored people of the United States is one of the great movements of the time--more properly, perhaps, the incipient stage of one of the grand movements of the future. The most obvious feature of the moral certainty of its success is the general sympathy of mankind in the fortunes of the African race...There is no other light for the African race, and like the sun in the East, with a splendor not less cheering, and with a march not less secure of coming to high noon, it may henceforth move on its way rejoicing...."<sup>25</sup>

5. In his letter to Mr. Richard Pindell, written on February 17, 1849, Mr. Clay stated the importance of African colonization in his overall plan for the gradual emancipation of the slaves:

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<sup>23</sup>Calvin Colton, The Life and Times of Henry Clay, vol. I (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1946), p. 191.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>25</sup>Calvin Colton, The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1856), p. 76.



"...The colonization of the free blacks, as they successfully arrive, from year to year, at the age entitling them to freedom, I consider a condition absolutely indispensable. Without it, I should be utterly opposed to any scheme of emancipation. One hundred and ninety thousand blacks, composing about one fourth of the entire population of the State, with their descendants, could never live in peace, harmony, and equality with the residue of the population. The color, passions, and prejudices would forever prevent the two races from living together in a state of cordial union. Social, moral and political degradation would be the inevitable lot of the colored race...."<sup>26</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Clay: Colonization of emancipated slaves should be promoted.

#### PART D. EXISTING SLAVERY SHOULD BE LEFT ALONE.

During his political career, Mr. Clay never attempted to emancipate the slaves from the whole of the United States. Mr. Clay never verbally attacked those who were morally opposed to slavery---as he was himself. Mr. Clay never verbally attacked those who were in favor of slavery where "the peculiar institution" currently existed---for he owned slaves. Mr. Clay did, however, verbally and in writing, vigorously attack those "ultra-abolitionists" and states-rightists who were so inflexible in their position towards slavery that they jeopardized the preservation of the Union. Mr. Clay believed that the limitation of slavery to where the institution existed in the United States was constitutional, and therefore accepted "the peculiar institution" where it was. Representative statements of his position on this issue include:

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 348-349.

1. During a speech delivered in the Senate in February, 1839, Mr. Clay defended the southern slaveholders against the verbal assaults of northern abolitionists:

"...in all their (abolitionist) leading prints and publications, the alleged horrors of slavery are depicted in the most glowing and exaggerated colors, to excite the imaginations and stimulate the rage of people in the free states, against the people of the slave states. The slaveholder is held up and represented as the most atrocious of human beings. Advertisements of fugitive-slaves and of slaves to be sold, are carefully collected and blazoned forth, to infuse a spirit of detestation and hatred against one entire and the largest section of the Union. And, like a notorious agitator upon another theatre, they would hunt down and proscribe from the pale of civilized society, the inhabitants of that entire section...."<sup>27</sup>

2. Later in the same speech, Mr. Clay stated:

"...The convention wisely left to the several states (referring to the original United States Constitutional Convention) the power over the institution of slavery, as a power not necessarily to the plan of union which it devised, and as one with which the general government could not be invested, without planting the seeds of certain destruction. There let it remain undisturbed by any unhallowed hand...."<sup>28</sup>

3. In a speech delivered at Richmond, Indiana, on October 1, 1842, Mr. Clay said:

"I know the predominant sentiment in the free states is adverse to slavery; but, happy in their own exemption from whatever evils may attend it, the great mass of our fellow-citizens there do not seek to violate the constitution, or to disturb the harmony of these states...."<sup>29</sup>

4. In the same speech, Mr. Clay further stated:

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<sup>27</sup> Calvin Colton, The Life and Times of Henry Clay, vol. I (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1846), pp. 199-200.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 204-205.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 348-349.

"...There have been three epochs in the history of our country, at which the spirit of abolition displayed itself. The first was immediately after the formulation of the present federal government...Petitions were presented to Congress praying for the abolition of slavery. They were received without serious opposition, referred and reported upon by a committee. The report stated, that the general government had no power to abolish slavery, as it existed in the several states, and that these states themselves had exclusive jurisdiction over the subject. The report was generally acquiesced in and satisfaction and tranquility ensued; the abolition societies thereafter limiting their exertions in respect to the black population, to offices of humanity within the scope of existing laws...."<sup>30</sup>

5. During his speech on the Compromise Resolutions delivered to the United States Senate on February 5 and 6, 1850, Mr. Clay stated his opinion on the constitutionality of slavery where it currently existed:

"The power, then, Mr. President, in my opinion---and I will extend it to the introduction as well as the prohibition of slavery in the new territories---I think the power does exist in Congress, and I think there is that important distinction between slavery outside of the States and slavery inside of the States, that all outside is debatable, all inside of the States is undebatable. The Government has no right to touch the institution within the States; but whether she has, and to what extent she has the right or not to touch it outside of the States is a question which is debatable, and upon which men may honestly and fairly differ, but which, decided however it may be decided, furnishes, in my judgement, no just occasion for breaking up this happy and glorious Union of ours...."<sup>31</sup>

6. In a speech delivered before the Senate on February 24, 1851, Mr. Clay defended the Fugitive Slave Law and the rights of the slaveholders:

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 200-201.

<sup>31</sup> Calvin Colton, The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), p. 620.

"I hold that, when it is said a thing shall be done, and when a government is created to put this Constitution into operation, and no other functionary or no other government but the United States is referred to, the duty of enforcing the particular power, the duty of carrying into effect the specific provision, appertains to the general government, to the government created by the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution declares that a slave shall be delivered up. It says not how or by whom, whether by the State, or by the general government, or by any officer; but it grants authority to Congress to pass all laws necessary or proper to carry into effect the powers granted by the Constitution...."<sup>32</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Clay: Existing slavery should be left alone.

#### PART E. EXTENSION OF SLAVERY SHOULD BE PROHIBITED

While there were several occasions during his political career that Mr. Clay was forced to "compromise" his beliefs and permit slavery into new territories, he still was one of the most outspoken men of Congress against the extension of slavery. Representative statements of his position on this issue include:

1. On January 29, 1850, Mr. Clay presented a series of "Compromise Resolutions" to the United States Senate. His second resolution read:

"...Resolved, that as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the Republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide by law either for its introduction into or exclusion from any part of the said territory; and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established by Congress in all of the said territory, not assigned as the boundaries

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<sup>32</sup>Henry Clay, The Works of Henry Clay, ed. by Calvin Colton, IX (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), p. 620.

of the proposed State of California, without the adoption of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery.

This resolution, sir, in the first instance, a declaration of two truths, one of law and the other of fact. The truth of law which it declares is, that there does not exist at this time slavery within any portion of the territory acquired by the United States from Mexico....The next truth which the resolution asserts is, that slavery is not likely to be introduced into any portion of that territory...."<sup>33</sup>

2. In another speech on his "Compromise Resolutions" delivered before the United States Senate on February 5, 1850, Mr. Clay stated:

"I take it then, sir---and availing myself of the benefit of the discussion which took place on a former occasion on this question, and which I think have left the whole country under the impression of the non-existence of slavery within the whole of the Territory in the ceded Territories. I take it for granted that what I have said, aided by the reflection of gentlemen, will satisfy them of that first truth, that slavery does not exist there by law, unless slavery was carried there the moment the treaty was ratified by the two parties, and under operation of the Constitution of the United States...."<sup>34</sup>

3. In a speech delivered before the Senate on May 15, 1850, Mr. Clay said:

"Now, sir, I can only repeat what I have often had occasion to say before, that while I am willing to stand aside and to make no legislative enactment, one way or the other---to lay off the Territories without the Wilmot proviso on the one hand, with which I understand we are threatened, or without an attempt to introduce a clause for the introduction of slavery into the Territories---while I am

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<sup>33</sup> Calvin Colton, The Last Seven Years in the Life of Henry Clay (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1856), pp. 115-116.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 307-308.

for rejecting both the one and the other, I am contented that the law as it exists shall prevail; and if there be any diversity of opinion as to what it means, I am willing that it shall be settled by the highest judicial authority of the country. While I am content thus to abide the result, I must say that I cannot vote for any express provision recognizing the right to carry slaves there...."<sup>35</sup>

4. On May 21, 1850, Mr. Clay again refused to admit slavery into the territories by stating:

"I cannot...agree to an amendment (to the territorial bill for New Mexico) which, in point of fact, assumes that slavery has an existence there at this time, and which assumes, in point of law, that under the Constitution of the United States, there is a right to carry slaves there. I cannot vote for either proposition...."<sup>36</sup>

5. During his speech on the Compromise of 1850, delivered to the Senate on July 22, 1850, Mr. Clay once again stated his belief that the extension of slavery into the territories was unconstitutional:

"In my opinion, the supposition that the Constitution of the United States carries slavery into California, supposing her not to be a State, is an assumption totally unwarranted by the Constitution. Why, sir, if the Constitution gives privileges, it would be incompetent for California to adopt the provision which she has in her new Constitution...And if, in any instance, the power to carry slaves into territories is guaranteed to you by the Constitution, I have been unable to perceive it. Amid all the vicissitudes of public life, and amid all the changes and turns of party, I have never in my life deviated from those great and fundamental, and I think indisputable true, principles of interpreting the Constitution of the United States...You cannot put your finger on that part of the Constitution which conveys

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<sup>35</sup> Henry Clay, The Works of Henry Clay, ed. by Calvin Colton, IX (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), p. 456.

<sup>36</sup> Calvin Colton, The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1856), p. 370.

the right or the power to carry slaves from one of the states of the Union to any Territory of the United States...."<sup>37</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Clay: Extension of slavery should be prohibited.

PART F. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE BLACK AND WHITE RACES PREVENT EQUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP IN A SINGLE SOCIETY.

Throughout his public career, Mr. Clay did not advocate the complete equality between the black and white races in America. Although as a slaveowner Mr. Clay "was undoubtedly a kind master,"<sup>38</sup> the fact remains that he was a master over his own slaves. This indicates that Mr. Clay did believe in the superiority of the white race over the black race. Representative statements of his position on this issue include:

1. Evidence of Mr. Clay's attitude on black and white separatism is demonstrated from a speech he delivered on December 17, 1829, at Frankfort, Kentucky, at the anniversary of the Kentucky Colonization Society:

"When we consider the cruelty of the origin of negro-slavery, its nature, the character of the free institutions of the whites, and the irresistible progress of public opinion, throughout America, as well as in Europe, it is impossible not to anticipate frequent insurrections among the blacks in the United States; they are rational beings, like ourselves capable of feeling, of reflection, and of judging of what naturally belongs to them as a

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 385-386.

<sup>38</sup>Clement Eaton, Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1957), p. 119.



portion of the human race. By the very condition of the relation which subsists between us, we are enemies of each other. They know well the wrongs which they believe they continue to endure, although they may be unable to avenge them. They are kept in subjection only by the superior intelligence and superior power of the predominant race...."<sup>39</sup>

2. In a speech delivered in the United States Senate on February 7, 1839, Mr. Clay again stated his attitude towards the black and white races in America:

"They (the abolitionists) proclaim, indeed, that color is nothing; that the organic and characteristic differences between the two races ought to be entirely overlooked and disregarded. And, elevating themselves to a sublime but impracticable philosophy, they would teach us to eradicate all the repugnance of our nature, and to take to our bosoms and our boards, the black man as we do the white, on the same footing of equal social condition...It is divine pleasure to make the black man black, and the white man white, and to distinguish them by other repulsive constitutional differences. It is not necessary for me to maintain, nor shall I endeavor to prove, that it was any part of his divine intention that the one race should be held in perpetual bondage by the other; but this I will say, that those whom he has created different, and has declared, by their physical structure and color, ought to be kept asunder, should not be brought together by any process whatever of unnatural amalgamation...."<sup>40</sup>

3. In a speech delivered at Richmond, Indiana, on October 1, 1842, Mr. Clay stated the following:

"...And let me tell you, sir, if you do not already know it, that such are the feelings---prejudice, if you please (and what man, claiming to be a statem~~an~~, will overlook or disregard the deep-seated and unconquerable prejudices of the people?)---in the slave states, that no human law could enforce a union between

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<sup>39</sup>Calvin Colton, The Life and Times of Henry Clay, vol. I (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1846), pp. 190-191.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 196-197.



the two races...A contest would inevitably ensue between the two races--civil war, carnage, pillage, conflagration, devastation, and the ultimate extermination or expulsion of the blacks...."<sup>41</sup>

4. In his oft-noted letter to Mr. Richard Pindell written on February 17, 1849, Mr. Clay again expressed his sentiments of the black and white races in America:

"An argument in support of reducing the African race to slavery, is sometimes derived from their alleged intellectual inferiority to the white races; but, if this argument be founded on fact (as it may be, but which I shall not examine), it would prove entirely too much. It would prove that any white nation which had made greater advances in civilization, knowledge, and wisdom than another white nation, would have the right to reduce the latter to a stage of bondage. Nay, further, if the principle of subjugation, founded upon intellectual superiority, be true, and be applicable to races and to nations, what is to prevent its being applied to individuals? And then the wisest man in the world would have a right to make slaves of all the rest of mankind!

If indeed we possess this intellectual superiority profoundly grateful and thankful to HIM who has bestowed it, we ought to fulfill all the obligations and duties which it imposes; and these would require us not to subjugate or deal unjustly by our men who are less blessed than we are, but to instruct, to improve, and to enlighten them...."<sup>42</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Clay: Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.

#### PART G. PRESERVATION OF THE UNION SHOULD SUPERCEDE REMEDIES TO THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY.

As the tension between North and South increased each year after the War of 1812, "compromise" was the only alternative to Civil War.

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>42</sup>Calvin Colton, The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1856), p. 347.

"Compromise," however, only temporarily cooled the growing tension over the slavery issue between the North and the South. Many statesmen of both sections of the dividing nation began to place the preservation of the Union far above any other cause. Mr. Clay was one of these statesmen. He even placed the preservation of the Union above the emancipation of the slaves. Representative statements of his position on this issue include:

1. On January 13, 1838, Mr. Clay stated his belief in what he considered to be the most important of all issues---the preservation of the Union:

"We allow ourselves to speak too frequently, and with too much levity, of a separation of this Union. It is a terrible word, to which our ears should not be familiarized. I desire to see, in continued safety and prosperity this Union, and no other Union. I go for this Union as it is, one and indivisible, without diminution. I will neither voluntarily leave it, nor be driven out of it by force...I am opposed to all separate confederacies and to all sectional conventions. No state of actual danger exists to render them expedient, or to justify deliberation about them. This Union, this Government, has done nothing; but if it should; if contrary to all human probability, the rights and security of the slaveholding states shall be assailed by any other authoritative act emanating from this Capitol, a state of things for resistance, forcible resistance, will then occur...."<sup>43</sup>

2. On February 7, 1839, Mr. Clay stated the following to the United States Senate in regard to his paramount objective:

"I am, Mr. President, no friend of slavery. The Searcher of all hearts knows, that every pulsation of mine beats high in the cause of civil liberty. Wherever it is safe and practicable, I desire to see every portion of the human family in the enjoyment of it. But I prefer the liberty of

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<sup>43</sup>Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Life of Henry Clay, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1937), p. 316.

my own country to that of any other people, and the liberty of my own race to that of any other race..."<sup>44</sup>

3. Again, in the same speech, Mr. Clay further stated:

"...Mr. President, at the period of the formation of our Constitution, and afterward, our patriotic ancestors, apprehending danger to the Union from two causes...The other cause, domestic slavery, happily the sole remaining cause which is likely to disturb our harmony, continues to exist. It was this, which created the greatest obstacle, in the deliberations of the convention that adopted the general constitution...Sir, I am not in the habit of speaking lightly of the possibility of dissolving this happy Union..."<sup>45</sup>

4. In the United States Senate, on February 14, 1850, Mr. Clay stated:

"It is totally unnecessary for the gentleman to remind me of my coming from a slaveholding state. I know whence I came, and I know my duty; and I am ready to submit to any responsibility which belongs to me as a senator from a slaveholding State. Sir, I have heard something said on this and on a former occasion about alliance to the South. I know no South, no North, no East, no West, to which I owe any allegiance...My allegiance is to this American Union and to my own State...."<sup>46</sup>

5. On May 21, 1850, during debate on the Compromise of 1850, Mr. Clay stated the following:

"I am not one of those who, either at the commencement of this session, or at any time during its progress, have believed that there was any present actual danger to the existence of the Union. But I am one of those who believe, that if this agitation is continued for one or two years longer, no man can foresee the dreadful consequences. A dissolution of the Union, the greatest of all calamities, in my opinion, which can befall this country...."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Calvin Colton, The Life and Times of Henry Clay, Vol. I (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1846), p. 194.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., pp. 204-205.

<sup>46</sup>Calvin Colton, The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1856), p. 207.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 370.

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Clay: Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

From the foregoing testimonies, the stand of Mr. Clay embraced the following positions:

1. Morally, slavery is wrong.
2. Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.
3. Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.
4. Existing slavery should be left alone.
5. Extension of slavery should be prohibited.
6. Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.
7. Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

### CHAPTER III

#### ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S POSITION ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE

"I confess that the more I learn of Lincoln's life, the more I am disposed to look at him much as my mother and those early freedmen did, not merely as a great statesman, but as one to whom I can certainly turn for help and inspiration---as a great moral leader in whose patience, tolerance, and broad human sympathy, there is salvation for my race, and for all those who are down but struggling to rise."<sup>48</sup>

Booker T. Washington, on the One-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln was one of the great statesmen the world has known. Between the year of his birth in 1809 and the year of his assassination in 1865, Mr. Lincoln held the following positions: lawyer; Captain of the Thirty-first Regiment of Illinois Militia during the Black Hawk War; Illinois legislator; United States Congressman; candidate for the United States Senate; and the sixteenth President of the United States. Mr. Lincoln came to the Presidency during the time of America's greatest crisis--the Civil War. He is remembered for his rhetorically eloquent speeches on the great moral issues of his period in our national history. Also, he is remembered for his skillful approach to the emancipation of the slaves, and for his adamant stand on the issue of reconstruction with amnesty. On the

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<sup>48</sup>Ralph Y. McGinnis, Abraham Lincoln: What He Stood For (Charleston, Illinois: Ralph Y. McGinnis, 1974), p. 61.

latter issue, his uncompromising position of forgiveness toward the South almost prevented his election to a second term in the Presidency. He is remembered for facing the insurmountable problems of civil war; extreme partisan politics; and the irresponsible actions of some of the Union generals during four long warring years. Most of all, he is remembered for his having fulfilled his "paramount objective"--- the preservation of the Union.

After Mr. Lincoln's brief career in the United States House of Representatives, he decided to back out of politics and return to his law practice (Mr. Lincoln had been greatly criticized throughout the nation for his "Spot Resolutions," which asked for mercy for the Mexicans during the war with Mexico in 1848). In the early 1850's, however, when Mr. Douglas began to revive the slavery issue with his "popular sovereignty" that would allow slavery to extend into the territories, Mr. Lincoln could not be silent. The slavery issue, renewed by Mr. Douglas, forced Mr. Lincoln to re-enter politics, and to run against Mr. Douglas in the 1858 election for the United States Senate. The slavery issue forced Mr. Lincoln to run against Mr. Douglas for the Presidency of the United States in the election of 1860. The question needed to be answered is: How did Mr. Lincoln stand on the slavery issue?

The answer to this question is seven-fold. Mr. Lincoln's position is divided into the following concepts:

PART A. MORALLY, SLAVERY IS WRONG.

Throughout his lifetime, Mr. Lincoln always contended that slavery was a moral wrong. He believed that for any human being to hold another human being in bondage was wrong. Unlike Mr. Clay, Mr. Lincoln did not own slaves. Mr. Lincoln lived most of his life in the state of Illinois where slavery was prohibited. On many occasions Mr. Lincoln stated that slavery was a moral wrong. Representative statements of his stand on this issue include:

1. In his speech delivered at Peoria, Illinois, on October 16, 1854, Mr. Lincoln stated the following:

"I hate it (referring to the possible spread of slavery) because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republic 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 good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty ---criticizing the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest...."<sup>49</sup>

Further along in this same speech, Mr. Lincoln said:

"...But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent, a total destruction of self-government, to say he too shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself, and also governs another man, that is more than self-government---that is despotism. If the negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that "all men are created equal;" and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another...."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Abraham Lincoln, The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, ed. by Roy P. Basler, II (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), p. 255.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 266.



2. In a letter written to Joshua F. Speed, on August 24, 1855, Mr. Lincoln stated the following:

"You know I dislike slavery; and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it. So far there is no cause of difference..."<sup>51</sup>

3. On August 1, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated his definition of "democracy" by having stated:

"As I would not be a slave, so would I not be a master. This expresses my idea of a democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of difference, is no democracy..."<sup>52</sup>

4. In his seventh and last debate with Mr. Douglas, at Alton, Illinois on October 15, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

"and when this new principle (referring to "popular sovereignty")---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 this Union..."<sup>53</sup>

5. In a letter to Mr. Henry L. Pierce and Others, written on April 6, 1859, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave, must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it..."<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 320.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 532.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., III, p. 304.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 376.



6. In his letter addressed to Albert G. Hodges, on April 4, 1864, President Lincoln wrote the following:

"My Dear Sir: You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verabllly said the other day, in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:

"I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think, and feel..."<sup>55</sup>

7. On his speech before the One Hundred Fortieth Indiana Regiment, delivered on March 17, 1865, from his own draft, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"I may incidentally remark, however, that having, in my life, heard many arguments,---or strings of words meant to pass for arguments,---intended to show that the negro ought to be a slave, that if he shall now really fight to keep himself a slave, it will be a far better argument why (he) should remain a slave than I have ever before heard. He, perhaps, ought to be a slave, if he desires it ardently enough to fight for it. Or, if one out of four will, for his own freedom, fight to keep the other three in slavery, he ought to be a slave for his selfish meanness. I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for others. Whenever (I) hear anyone arguing for slavery I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally..."<sup>56</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Morally, slavery is wrong.

#### PART B. GRADUAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES SHOULD BE ADOPTED.

Throughout the duration of his political career, Mr. Lincoln believed in the gradual emancipation of the slaves in America. Gradual

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., VII, p. 281.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., VIII, pp. 360-361.

emancipation of the slaves in America. Gradual emancipation would free the slaves over a given period of time, as opposed to freeing them all at once. During this process, the blacks in the act of being freed would be taught how to cope with the outside world. On several occasions Mr. Lincoln publically declared his favor of a system of gradual emancipation. Representative statements of his stand on this issue included:

1. In a speech delivered at Peoria, Illinois, on October 16, 1854, Mr. Lincoln said:

"...It does seem to me that a system of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their tardiness in this (referring to the slaveholding states), I will not undertake to judge our Brethern of the South..."<sup>57</sup>

Further, in the same speech, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"...it is true that several of the old States, in the last quarter of the last century, did adopt systems of gradual emancipation, by which the institution has finally become extinct within their limits..."<sup>58</sup>

2. During his sixth debate with Mr. Douglas, held at Quincy, Illinois, on October 13, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

"...There is no place in this country to oppose this evil overspreading the continent, which you say yourself is coming. Frank Blair and Gratz Brown tried to get up a system of gradual emancipation in Missouri, had an election in August and got beat, and you, Mr. Democrat (meaning Mr. Douglas), threw up your hat, and halloed "hurrah for Democracy." (Enthusiastic cheers)..."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., II, p. 256.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 278.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., III, p. 256.

3. In his speech at Hartford, Connecticut, on March 5, 1860, Mr. Lincoln again voiced his dismay at the defeat of a system of gradual emancipation of the slaves in the state of Missouri:

"If those democrats think slavery wrong they will be much pleased when earnest men in the slave states take up a plan of gradual emancipation and go to work energetically and very kindly to get rid of the evil. Now let us test them. Frank Blair tried it; and he ran for Congress in '58, and got beaten. Did the democracy feel bad about it? I reckon not---I guess you all flung up your hats and shouted "Hurrah for the Democracy!" (Laughter---three cheers for Blair and three for Clay.) ..."<sup>60</sup>

4. In a message delivered to Congress on March 6, 1862, President Lincoln stated his resolution for the gradual emancipation of the slaves:

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

"The point is not that all the states tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation; but that, while the offer is equally made to all, the more Northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more Southern, that in no event, will the former ever join the latter, in their proposed confederacy. I say "initiation" because, in my judgement, gradual, and not sudden emancipation, is better for all. In the mere financial, or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census-tables and Treasury-reports before him, can readily see for himself how very soon the current expenditures of this war would purchase, at fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State. Such a proposition, on the part of the general government, sets up no claim of a right, by federal authority, to interfere with slavery within state limits, referring, as it

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., IV, p. 11.

does, the absolute control of the subject, in each case, to the state and its people, immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them..."<sup>61</sup>

5. In a speech delivered on July 12, 1862, for gradual emancipation, stated the following:

"I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization, can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance; and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go..."<sup>62</sup>

6. In a speech delivered to the Senate and to the House of Representatives on July 14, 1862, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that any State shall have lawfully abolished slavery within and throughout such State, either immediately, or gradually, it shall be the duty of the President, assisted by the Secretary of the Treasury, to prepare and deliver to such State, an amount of six per cent interest bearing bonds, of the United States, equal to the aggregate value, at ---dollars per head, of all the slaves within such State, as reported by the census of the year One thousand, eight hundred and sixty---the whole amount for any one State, to be delivered at once, if the abolishment be immediate, or, in equal annual installments, if it be gradual---interest to begin running on each bond at the time of its delivery, and not before.

"And be it further enacted, That if any State, having so received any such bonds, shall at any time afterwards, by law, reintroduce, or tolerate slavery within its limits, contrary to the act of abolishment, upon which such bonds shall have been received, said bonds,

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., V, pp. 144-145.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 318.

so received by said State, shall at once be null and void, in whosever hands they may be, and such State shall refund to the United States, all interest which may have been paid on such bonds..."<sup>63</sup>

7. In his annual speech to Congress on December 1, 1862, Mr.

Lincoln stated:

"The plan (for gradual emancipation) leaves to each State, choosing to act under it, to abolish slavery now, or at the end of the century, or at any part of the period; and it obliges no two states to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially those who are to receive the compensation..."<sup>64</sup>

Mr. Lincoln further states on his plan for the gradual emancipation of the slaves:

"...But if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted, they (blacks) will have neither to flee from. Their old masters will give them wages at least until laborers can be procured; and the freed men, in turn will gladly give their labor for the wages, till new homes can be found for them, in congenial climes, and with people of their own blood and race. This proposition can be trusted on the mutual interests involved. And, in any event, cannot the North decide for itself, whether to receive them?..."<sup>65</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 324.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 530.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 535-536.

PART C. COLONIZATION WITH EMANCIPATED SLAVES SHOULD BE PROMOTED.

On many occasions during his political career, Mr. Lincoln voiced his approval of the colonization of free blacks into Africa.

"It must be kept in mind that Lincoln was an ardent supporter to the Colonization Society."<sup>66</sup> Representative statements of his stand on this issue included:

1. On July 6, 1852, during his "Eulogy of Mr. Clay," Mr. Lincoln stated his favor of colonization:

"This suggestion (referring to Mr. Clay's) of the possible ultimate redemption of the African race and African continent, was made twenty-five years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized! Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues, and his hosts were drowned in the Red Sea for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them more than four hundred years. May like disasters never befall us! If as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means, succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery; and, at the same time, in restoring a captive people to their long-lost father-land, with bright prospects for the future; and this too, so gradually, that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation..."<sup>67</sup>

2. In a speech at Springfield, Illinois, delivered on June 26, 1857, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"Such separation (of the black and white races), if ever effected at all, must be effected by colonization; and no political party, as such, is now doing anything directly for colonization. The enterprise is a difficult

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<sup>66</sup> Albert J. Beveridge, Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858, vol. III (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), p. 249.

<sup>67</sup> Abraham Lincoln, The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, ed. by Roy P. Basler, II (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), pp. 131-132.

one; but "when there is a will there is a way;" and what colonization needs is a hearty will. Will springs from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest. Let us be brought to believe it is morally right, and, at the same time, favorable to, or, at least, not against, our interest, to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be. The children of Israel, to such numbers as to include four hundred thousand fighting men, went out of Egyptian bondage in a body..."<sup>68</sup>

3. On October 23, 1861, President Lincoln wrote to Mr. Caleb

B. Smith in regard to colonization in Central America:

"...It is possible that a modification of the law may make it a measure of great economy to direct there (to the Isthmus of Chiriqui) negroes to some unoccupied lands of Central America, and the present contract, may if well considered and arranged, be the introduction to this, and an equally desirable measure to secure the removal of the negroes from this country. I therefore recommend that all these points be considered and that the contract be so drawn as to secure such advantages as may in your judgement seem desirable for the United States to hold..."<sup>69</sup>

4. On December 3, 1861, in his Annual Message to Congress,

President Lincoln stated the following:

"...It might be well to consider, too,---whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such a colonization..."<sup>70</sup>

5. In an address on colonization to a deputation of blacks on August 14, 1862, President Lincoln said:

"The place I am thinking about having for a colony is in Central America. It is nearer to us than Liberia ---not much more than one-fourth as far as Liberia,

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 409.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., IV, p. 561.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., V, p. 48.



and within seven day's run by steamers. Unlike Liberia it is on a great line of travel---it is a highway. The country is a very excellent one for any people, and with great natural resources and advantages, and especially because of the similarity of climate with your native land---thus being suited to your physical condition..."<sup>71</sup>

6. On September 11, 1862, President Lincoln approved the contract with Ambrose W. Thompson for the Chiriqui Improvement Company, which was in charge of transporting emancipated slaves to Central America if they desired to go. In this note to Mr. Thompson, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"This within contract is approved, and the Secretary of the Interior is directed to execute the same..."<sup>72</sup>

7. On December 1, 1862, in his Annual Message to Congress, President Lincoln said:

"I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization. And yet I wish to say there is an objection urged against free colored persons remaining in the country, which is largely imaginary, if not sometimes malicious.

"It is insisting that their presence would injure, and displace white labor and white laborers. If there ever could be a proper time for mere catch arguments, that time surely is not now...With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhanced wages to white labor is mathematically certain. Labor is like any other commodity in the market---increase the demand for it, and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labor, by colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and, by precisely so much, you increase the demand for, and wages of, white labor..."<sup>73</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 534.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 414.



PART D. EXISTING SLAVERY SHOULD BE LEFT ALONE.

Prior to the Civil War, Mr. Lincoln did not propose to emancipate the slaves from those portions of the United States where the institution of slavery existed constitutionally. Under pressure from Congress and support by the Union victory at Antietam, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves only in the states in rebellion against the Union. Not wanting to lose support of the border states which allowed slavery and fought for the Union, Mr. Lincoln did not propose to free those slaves until he sponsored the Thirteenth Amendment---which he signed as President, but which was not ratified until after his death. Until the occurrence of the Civil War, Mr. Lincoln believed that existing slavery should be left alone. Representative statements on his stand on this issue included:

1. In a speech delivered at Peoria, Illinois, on October 16, 1854, Mr. Lincoln said:

"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 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..."<sup>74</sup>

Further Mr. Lincoln stated:

"When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully, and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one..."<sup>75</sup>

2. In a speech delivered at Edwardsville, Illinois, on May 18, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

"Well, I, too, believe in self-government as I understand it; but I do not understand that the privilege one man takes of making a slave of another, or holding him as such, is any part of "self-government." To call it so is, to my mind, simply absurd and ridiculous. I am for the people of the whole nation doing just as they please in all matters which concern the whole nation; for those of each part doing just as they choose in all matters which concern no other part; and for each individual doing just as he chooses in all matters which concern nobody else. This is the principle. Of course I am content with any exception which the Constitution, or the actually existing state of things, makes a necessity. But neither the principle nor the exception will admit the indefinite spread and perpetuity of human slavery..."<sup>76</sup>

3. In his sixth debate with Stephen A. Douglas, held at Quincy, Illinois, on October 13, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated the following:

"...I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution (slavery) in the States where it exists. I believe I have no right to do so. I have no inclination to do so..."<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., II, p. 255.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 256.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., pp. 451-452.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., III, p. 249.

4. At the seventh and last debate with Stephen A. Douglas, held at Alton, Illinois, on October 15, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I suppose most of us, (I know it of myself), believe that the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional fugitive slave law---that it is a right fixed in the Constitution. But it cannot be made available to them without Congressional legislation...And as the right is constitutional I agree that the legislation shall be granted to it---and that not that we like the institution of slavery. We profess to have no taste for running and catching niggers---at least I profess no taste for that job at all. Why then do I yield support to a fugitive slave law? Because I do not understand that the Constitution, which guarantees that right, can be supported without it. And if I believed that the right to hold a slave in a Territory was equally fixed in the Constitution with the right to reclaim fugitives, I should be bound to give it the legislation necessary to support it..."<sup>78</sup>

5. In a speech delivered at Hartford, Connecticut, on March 5, 1860, Mr. Lincoln said:

"If, then, we of the Republican party who think slavery is a wrong, and would mould public opinion to the fact that it is wrong, should get control of the general government, I do not say we should meddle with it where it exists; but we could inaugurate a policy which would treat it as a wrong, and prevent its extension..."<sup>79</sup>

6. On a speech delivered at Cleveland, Ohio, on February 15, 1861, in regard to the secession crisis which would divide the Union, Mr. Lincoln said:

"...The crisis, as it is called, is altogether an artificial crisis. In all parts of the nation there are differences of opinion and politics. There are differences of opinion even here. You did not all vote for the person who now addresses you. What is happening

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<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 317.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., IV, p. 5.

now will not hurt those who are farther away from here. Have they not all their rights now as they ever have had? Do they not have their fugitive slaves returned now as ever? Have they not the same constitution that they have lived under for seventy odd years? Have they not a position as citizens of this common country, and have we the power to change that position? (Cries of "No.") What then is the matter with them? Why all this excitement? Why all these complaints? As I said before, this crisis is all artificial..."<sup>80</sup>

7. In his first Inaugural Address to the citizens of the United States, delivered on March 4, 1861, President Lincoln stated the following:

"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them...

"I now reiterate these sentiments: and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause---as cheerfully to one section, as to another..."<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., pp. 215-216.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., pp. 262-263.

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Existing slavery should be left alone.

PART E. EXTENSION OF SLAVERY SHOULD BE PROHIBITED.

Throughout his political career, Mr. Lincoln opposed any extension of slavery. When Mr. Douglas' "popular sovereignty" renewed the possibility of spreading slavery into the territories, Mr. Lincoln spoke out against this policy. Mr. Lincoln held the belief that since slavery was a moral wrong, extension of slavery into the territories should be prohibited. Representative statements of his stand on this issue included:

1. In the version of Mr. Lincoln's speech at Springfield, Illinois, on October 4, 1854, the Illinois Journal stated the following:

"Taking up the anti-slavery ordinance of 1787, that had been applied to all the North-west Territory, Mr. Lincoln presented that act of the fathers of our republic, the vindicators of our liberty, and the framers of our government, as the best exposition of their views of slavery as an institution. It was also a most striking commentary of their political faith, and showed how the views of those political sages, to whom we owe liberty, government, and all, comported with the new-fangled doctrines of popular rights, invented in these degenerate latter days to cloak the spread of slavery..."<sup>82</sup>

Further in the speech, the commentary read:

"Shall that institution, which carries a rot and a murrain in it, claim any right, by the law of nature, to stand by the side of Freedom, on a Soil that is free?"

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., II, p. 240.

"What social or political right, had salvery to demand the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and claim entrance into States where it has never before existed? The theory of our government is Universal Freedom. "All men are created free and equal," says the Declaration of Independence. The word "slavery" is not found in the Constitution. The clause that covers the institution is one that sends it back where it exists, not abroad where it does not. All legislation that has recognized or tolerated its extension, has been associated with a compensation ---a Compromise---showing that it was something that moved forward, not only by its own right, but by its own wrong..."<sup>83</sup>

The Illinois Journal further comments:

"If this were "equal rights" for the Kansas settler, he would be glad to know what became of his own rights, and the rights of the people of the Free States; while they were thus made into only fractions of men, by the creation of new Slave States. It is said that the adoption or rejection of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, concerns the people of those Territories alone---it is no business of ours. This is false, said Mr. Lincoln, it concerns our dearest rights, our equality with the citizens of those territories---which we are entitled to by every consideration of justice and constitutional guarantees..."<sup>84</sup>

2. In his speech delivered in Peoria, Illinois, on October 16, 1854, Mr. Lincoln said:

"...I am combatting what is set up as moral argument for allowing them (slaves) to be taken where they have never yet been---arguing against the extension of a bad thing, which where it already exists, we must of necessity, manage as we best can...."<sup>85</sup>

3. In his first debate with Mr. Douglas held in Ottawa, Illinois, on August 21, 1858, Mr. Lincoln, in the course of debate, said:

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 256.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 266.

"...I say, and I have said, that I believe we shall not have peace upon the question until the opponents of slavery arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or, on the other hand, that its advocates will push forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. Now, I believe if we could arrest the spread, and place it where Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison placed it, it would be in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind would, as for eighty years past, believe that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. The crisis would be past and the institution might be let alone for a hundred years, if it should live so long, in the States where it exists, yet it would be going out of existence in the way best for both the black and white races. (Great cheering)..."<sup>86</sup>

4. In his sixth debate with Mr. Douglas held in Quincy, Illinois, on October 13, 1858, in reference to Mr. Douglas' "popular sovereignty," Mr. Lincoln said:

"...In the first place, I insist that our fathers did not make this nation half slave and half free, or part slave and part free. (Applause, and "That's so.") I insist that they found the institution of slavery existing here. They did not make it so, but they left it so because they knew no way to get rid of it at that time. ("Good," "That's true.") When Judge Douglas undertakes to say that as a matter of choice the fathers of the government made this nation part slave and part free, he assumes what is historically a falsehood. (Long continued applause.) More than that; when the fathers of the government cut off the source of slavery by abolition of the slave trade, and adopted a system of restricting it from new Territories where it had not existed, I maintain that they placed it where they understood, and all sensible men understood, it was in the course of ultimate extinction ("That's so"); and when Judge Douglas asks me why it cannot continue as our fathers made it, I ask him why he and his friends could not let it remain as our fathers made it? (Tremendous cheering.)..."<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 276.



5. In his seventh and final debate with Mr. Douglas held in Alton, Illinois, on October 15, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

"...What I insist upon is, that the new Territories shall be kept free from it (slavery) while in the Territorial condition..."<sup>88</sup>

6. On his speech delivered in Hartford, Connecticut, on March 6, 1860, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"If I saw a venomous snake crawling in the road, any man would say I might seize the nearest stick and kill it; but if I found that snake in bed with my children, that would be another question. (Laughter.) I might hurt the children more than the snake, and it might bite them. (Applause.) Much more, if I found it in bed with my neighbor's children, and I had bound myself by a solemn compact not to meddle with his children under any circumstances, it would become me to let that particular mode of getting rid of the gentleman alone. (Great laughter.) But if there was a bed newly made up, to which the children were to be taken, and it was proposed to take a batch of young snakes and put them there with them, I take it no man would say there was any question how I ought to decide! (Prolonged applause and cheers.)

"That is just the case! The new Territories are the newly made bed to which our children are to go, and it lies with the nation to say whether they shall have snakes mixed up with them or not. It does not seem as if there could be much hesitation what our policy should be! (Applause.)..."<sup>89</sup>

Further in the same speech Mr. Lincoln stated:

"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?..."<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., IV, p. 18.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 29.



7. In a private and confidential letter to Senator Lyman Trumbull, written on December 10, 1860, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"My Dear Sir: Let there be no compromise on the question of extending slavery. If there be, all our labor is lost, and, ere long, must be done again. The dangerous ground---that into which some of our friends have a hankering to run--- is Pop. Sov. ("popular sovereignty"). Have none of it. Stand firm. The tug has to come, & better now, than any time hereafter..."<sup>91</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Extension of slavery should be prohibited.

#### PART F. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE BLACK AND WHITE RACES PREVENT EQUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP IN A SINGLE SOCIETY.

Throughout most of his political career, Mr. Lincoln did not advocate the complete equality between the black and white races in America. Mr. Lincoln eventually did aid the blacks in attaining some aspects of equality during the Civil War, but he still held the belief that differences between the black and white races prevented equality of citizenship in a single society. Representative statements of his stand on this issue included:

1. In his speech at Peoria, delivered on October 16, 1854, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"...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 to this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid., pp. 149-150.

of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgement, is not the sole question, if indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that a system of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their (the slaveholding states) tardiness, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the south..."<sup>92</sup>

2. In a speech delivered in Springfield, Illinois, on June 26, 1857, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I have said that the separation of the races is the only perfect preventative of amalgamation. I have no right to say all the members of the Republican party are in favor of this, nor to say that as a party they are in favor of it. There is nothing in their platform directly on the subject. But I can say a very large proportion of its members are for it, and that the chief plank in their platform ---opposition to the spread of slavery---is most favorable to that separation..."<sup>93</sup>

3. In his fourth debate with Mr. Douglas at Charleston, Illinois, held on September 18, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated the following:

"...While I had not proposed to myself on this occasion to say much on that subject (equality between the black and white races), yet as the question was asked me I thought I would occupy perhaps five minutes in saying something in regard to it. I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races, (applause)--- that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, not to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid., II, p. 256.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 409.

remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race. I do not perceive that because the white man is to have the superior position the negro should be denied everything..."<sup>94</sup>

Further in the debate, Mr. Lincoln said:

"Judge Douglas has said to you that he has not been able to get from me an answer to the question whether I am in favor of negro citizenship. So far as I know, the Judge never asked me the question before. (Applause.) He shall have no occasion to ever ask it again, for I tell him very frankly that I am not in favor of negro citizenship. (Renewed applause.)..."<sup>95</sup>

4. In his sixth debate with Mr. Douglas held at Quincy, Illinois, on October 13, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated the following:

"I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence---the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Justice Douglas that he is not my equal in many respects, certainly not in color---perhaps not in intellectual and moral endowments; but in the right to eat the bread without leave of anybody else which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every other man..."<sup>96</sup>

5. In his seventh and last debate with Mr. Douglas held at Alton, Illinois, on October 15, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

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<sup>94</sup>Ibid., III, p. 145.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

"Now I have upon all occasions declared as strongly as Judge Douglas against the disposition to interfere with the existing institution of slavery....Allow me while upon this subject briefly to present one other extract from a speech of mine: "I think the authors of that notable instrument (the Declaration of Independence) intended to include all men, but they did not mean to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development or social capacity ...". There again are the sentiments I have expressed in regard to the Declaration of Independence upon a former occasion---sentiments which have been put in print and read wherever anybody cared to know what so humble an individual as myself chose to say in regard to it..."<sup>97</sup>

6. In a letter written to James N. Brown, from Springfield on October 18, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"...it does not follow that social and political equality between whites and blacks, must be incorporated, because slavery must not. The declaration does not so require..."<sup>98</sup>

7. On an address on colonization to a deputation of free blacks, on August 14, 1862, Mr. Lincoln said:

"...Why should you leave this country? This is, perhaps, the first question for proper consideration. You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffer very greatly, many of them living among us, while ours suffers from your presence. In a word we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated ...Your race are suffering, in my judgement, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people. But even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race. You are cut off from many of the advantages which the other race enjoy. The aspiration of

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid., pp. 300-301.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 328.

men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent, not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you..."<sup>99</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.

PART G. PRESERVATION OF THE UNION SHOULD SUPERCEDE REMEDIES TO THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY.

As the tension grew between the philosophically-opposed sections in America, Mr. Lincoln tried with other statesmen to preserve the Union. As the southern states seceded from the Union, he pleaded with their representatives to remain in the Union. Eventually Mr. Lincoln did succeed in accomplishing his "paramount objective," the preservation of the Union. Representative statements of his stand on this issue included:

1. During his famous "A House Divided" speech at Springfield, Illinois, on June 16, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it.

We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated ("Popular Sovereignty"), with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, not ceased, but has constantly augmented.

In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached, and passed.

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid., V, p. 371-372.

"A house divided against itself 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 the 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..."<sup>100</sup>

2. During his fifth debate at Galesburg, Illinois, with Mr.

Douglas, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"And now it only remains for me to say that I think it is a very grave question for the people of this Union to consider whether, in view of the fact that this Slavery question has been the only one that has ever endangered our republican institutions...I think it will become an important and practical question. Our views are before the public. I am willing and anxious that they should consider them fully---that they should turn it about and consider the importance of the question, and arrive at a just conclusion as to whether it is or is not wise in the people of this Union, in the acquisition of new territory, to consider whether it will add to the disturbance that is existing amongst us---whether it will add to the one only danger that has ever threatened the perpetuity of the Union or our own liberties. I think it is extremely important that they shall decide, and rightly decide that question before entering upon that policy..."<sup>101</sup>

3. In a letter written to Mr. Mark W. Delahay on May 14, 1859,

Mr. Lincoln stated:

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid., II, p. 461-462.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., III, p. 236-237.

"...there are many men in the slave states for any one of whom I would cheerfully vote to be either President or Vice President provided he would enable me to do so with safety to the Republican cause---without lowering the Republican Standard. This is the indispensable condition of a Union with us. It is idle to think of any other. Any other would be as fruitless to the South, as distasteful to the North, the whole ending in common defeat. Let a union be attempted on the basis of ignoring the Salvery question, and magnifying other questions which the people just now are really caring nothing about, and it will result in gaining no single electoral vote in the South and losing everyone in the North..."<sup>102</sup>

4. In his address to Cooper Institute in New York City, on February 28, 1860, Mr. Lincoln concluded his speech by stating:

"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? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored---contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man---such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care---such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance---such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government nor of dungeons to ourselves. 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..."<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 379.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 550.



5. On March 5, 1860, in his speech at Hartford, Connecticut, Mr. Lincoln said the following:

"Slavery is wrong in its effect upon white people and free labor; it is the only thing that threatens the Union. It makes what Senator Seward has been much abused for calling an "irrepressible conflict." Public opinion settles every question here---any policy to be permanent must have public opinion at the bottom---something in accordance with the philosophy of the human mind as it is..."<sup>104</sup>

6. In his First Inaugural Address delivered to the citizens of the United States on March 4, 1861, President Lincoln emphasized how important the preservation of the Union was to all Americans by stating:

"But if destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the States, be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union---that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances..."<sup>105</sup>

Further in the same speech, Mr. Lincoln said:

"One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., IV, p. 9.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 265.



dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections, than before..."<sup>106</sup>

President Lincoln closed his address by stating:

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend" it...

I am loathe to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field, and patriotic grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature..."<sup>107</sup>

7. In his oft-quoted portion of his letter to Horace Greeley,

President Lincoln wrote, on August 22, 1862:

"...My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save the Union by freeing some and leaving others alone I would do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it helps to save the Union..."<sup>108</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 268-269.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., V, p. 388.

From the foregoing testimonies, the stand of Mr. Lincoln embraced the following positions:

1. Morally, slavery is wrong.
2. Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.
3. Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.
4. Existing slavery should be left alone.
5. Extension of slavery should be prohibited.
6. Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.
7. Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

## CHAPTER IV

### ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO HENRY CLAY REGARDING STANDS ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE

Mr. Clay's predominant sentiment, from first to last, was a deep devotion to the cause of human liberty--- a strong sympathy with the oppressed everywhere, and an ardent wish for their elevation. With him, this was the conduct of his whole life. He loved his country partly because it was his own country, but mostly because it was a free country; and he burned with a zeal for its advancement, prosperity and glory, because he saw in such, the advancement, prosperity and glory, of human liberty, human right and human nature. He desired the prosperity of his countrymen partly because they were his countrymen, but chiefly to show the world that freemen could be prosperous.<sup>109</sup>

---Abraham Lincoln, from his "Eulogy on Henry Clay," delivered on July 6, 1852.

Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln shared many of the same sentiments on the slavery issue. Both believed that morally, slavery was wrong. Both believed that gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted. Both believed that colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted. Both believed that existing slavery should be left alone. Both believed that differences between the black and white races prevent equality in a single society. Both believed that preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

The parallel on every stand on the slavery issue between Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln, would tend to indicate that Mr. Clay may have had

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid., II, p. 126.

an influence upon Mr. Lincoln regarding the slavery issue. The tendency to infer that Mr. Clay influenced Mr. Lincoln would be supported in part by the fact that Mr. Clay had completed his political career before the time that Mr. Lincoln emerged as the spokesman for the political forces that opposed the extension of slavery into the territories. Also, Mr. Lincoln had stated many times, during his early political career as a Whig, that Henry Clay was his "beau ideal of a statesman."<sup>110</sup> But the question which developed was: What positive proof can be found to identify the influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding the slavery issue?

Proofs of the influence of Mr. Clay upon Mr. Lincoln regarding the slavery issue were found mainly in the acknowledgements which Mr. Lincoln made to Mr. Clay regarding the source of his (Lincoln's) stand. Those acknowledgements have been organized in this report under the seven headings of their mutual stand on slavery:

#### PART A. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO HENRY CLAY REGARDING THE MORALITY OF SLAVERY

Throughout their lives, both Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln contended that slavery was a moral wrong. They believed that no human being had the right to put another human being in bondage against the latter's will.

On the following occasions Mr. Lincoln stated that he held the same beliefs as Henry Clay regarding the immorality of slavery:

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid., III, p. 29.

1. In a speech delivered at Bath, Illinois, on August 16, 1858, as printed by the Chicago Daily Press and Tribune, Mr. Lincoln is reported to have stated the following:

And yet, he (reference made to Mr. Douglas) was trying to wrap himself up in the cloak of Henry Clay, a statesman in defence of whose principles Lincoln had battled all his life. Not a shred of that cloak would he allow to Lincoln. But this old son of Kentucky, a son of whom all the Western States may be proud, read extracts from Mr. Clay's speech of 1847, and from another from 20 years before, 1827, delivered before the Colonization Society, in which that statesman spoke in favor of the ultimate emancipation of slavery, and pronounced the institution the greatest of evils. Mr. L. contrasted these remarks of the old patriot, with the sentiments and political course of Douglas on this question, and showed clearly that nothing but the most brazen impudence would dare to take the name of Clay on his lips, by a man so destitute of his principles.<sup>111</sup>

2. In a speech delivered the next day in Lewistown, Illinois, on August 17, 1858, the Daily Press and Tribune of Chicago wrote the following of Mr. Lincoln's speech:

Mr. Lincoln examined the pretensions of Douglas to be the giant mantle of Henry Clay. He said he would lay no claim to the support of the Old Line Whigs of Illinois, because he had been the life-long friend and Douglas the life-long enemy of the great and brave Kentuckian, unless he could show from Mr. Clay's printed speeches that he stood upon the very ground occupied by that statesman, and that Douglas' position was as opposite to it as Beezelbub to an Angel of Light. In proving this point---reading extracts from the speeches and letters of Henry Clay, contending nobly and greatly for the "ultimate emancipation of the slave"---Mr. Lincoln remarked that he believed Douglas was the only statesman of any note or prominence in the country who had never said to friend or enemy whether he believed human slavery in the abstract to be right or wrong.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid., II, pp. 543-544.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., p. 545.

3. In his first debate with Mr. Douglas, in Ottawa, Illinois, on August 21, 1858, Mr. Lincoln referred in length to Mr. Clay when he (Lincoln) stated:

"Now, having spoken of the Dred Scott decision, one more word and I am done. Henry Clay, my beau ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all my humble life--Henry Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our Independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then and not till then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country! (Loud cheers.) To my thinking, Judge Douglas is, by his example and vast influence, doing that very thing in this community, (cheers,) when he says that the negro has nothing to do with the Declaration of Independence. Henry Clay plainly understood the contrary...<sup>113</sup>

4. In his second debate with Mr. Douglas, on August 21, 1858, in Freeport, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our Capitol that foul blot upon our nation..." (Loud applause.)<sup>114</sup>

5. In his speech at Tremont, Illinois, delivered on August 30, 1858, the Chicago Daily Press and Tribune wrote the following version of Mr. Lincoln's speech:

He (Lincoln) entered into a comparison on the principles of the Whig party as expounded by its great leader, Henry Clay, and those of the Republican party of the present day, showing that there was no difference. He then remarked that he was opposing slavery on account

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., III, p. 29.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

of the new aspect in which it was being placed by its upholders, and then branched out with a comprehensive view of the great issues involved in this canvass.<sup>115</sup>

6. In his speech given in Carlinville, Illinois, on August 31, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"In '32, I voted for Henry Clay, in '36 for the Hugh L. White ticket, in '40 for "Tip and Tyler." In '44 I made the last great effort for "Old Harry of the West" with my friend there, Dr. Heaton. But we got gloriously whipped. Taylor was elected in '48, and we fought nobly for Scott in '52. But now Douglas snatches the robes of Clay and dubs me an abolitionist! How do the principles of the two great men agree? Clay always opposed the rightfulness of slavery---Douglas always took the opposite, or kept mum. I can express all my views on the slavery question by quotations from Henry Clay. Doesn't this look like we are akin?..."<sup>116</sup>

Further in the speech, Mr. Lincoln stated:

Clay and other great men were ever ready to express their abhorrence of slavery---but we of the north dare not use his noble language when he said, to force its perpetuation and extension you must muzzle the cannon that annually proclaims liberty, and repress all tendencies in the human heart to justice and mercy. We can no longer express our admiration for the Declaration of Independence without their petty sneers. And it is thus they are fast bringing that sacred instrument into contempt. These men desire that slavery should be perpetual and that we should not foster all lawful moves toward emancipation, and to gain their end they will endeavor to impress upon the public mind that the negro is not human, and even upon his own soil he has no rights which white men are bound to respect..."<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., pp. 78-79.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 80.



7. In a speech delivered in Bloomington, Illinois, on September 4, 1858, the version of the Bloomington Pantagraph states the following of Mr. Lincoln's speech:

Mr. L. said he held the same views on slavery as Henry Clay. Douglas had seized the dead statesman's mantle, wrapped it around him, and with its ends trailing fifty feet behind him, was claiming it as his own, and would allow no one else to share it. Yet Clay always denounced slavery as unjust; Douglas has never once said in public whether he thought slavery right or wrong. Henry Clay said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our independence and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not till then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country. Henry Clay called slavery "the greatest of human evils," and spoke of the slaves as "that unhappy race in bondage." When has Douglas ever used such words in speaking of this institution? Mr. L. quoted numerous passages from Clay's speeches, showing him to be in favor of the ultimate extinction of slavery and in favor of excluding it in the formation of new States where it did not exist. He then remarked that the body and soul of the Republican movement was to keep slavery away from where it does not exist, and asked what milder way could there be to place it in course of ultimate extinction.<sup>118</sup>

8. In a speech delivered at Edwardsville, Illinois, on September 11, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

"In connection let me read to you the opinions of our old leader Henry Clay, on the question of whether slavery is as good as freedom. The extract which I propose to read is contained (in) a letter written by Mr. Clay in his old age, as late as 1849...Let me read a few passages from his letter of 1849: "I know there are those who draw an argument in favor of slavery from the alleged intellectual inferiority of the black race. Whether this argument

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<sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

is founded in fact or not, I will not inquire, but merely say that if it proves anything at all, it proves too much. It proves that among the white races of the world anyone might properly be enslaved by any other which had made greater advances in civilization. And, if this rule applies to nations there is no reason why it should not apply to individuals; and it might easily be proved that the wisest man in the world could rightfully reduce all other men and women to bondage," &c., &c. (Mr. Lincoln read at considerable length from Mr. Clay's letter---earnestly pressing advantages and moral considerations in favor of gradual emancipation in Kentucky.)<sup>119</sup>

9. In his fifth debate with Mr. Douglas held in Galesburg, Illinois, on October 7, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated the following:

I have said once before, and I will repeat it now, that Mr. Clay, when he was once answering an objection to the Colonization Society, that it had a tendency to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves, said that "those who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of the Colonization Society---they must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon that thunders its annual joyous return---they must blot out the moral lights around us---they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty!" And I do think---I repeat, though I said it on a former occasion---that Judge Douglas, and whoever like him teaches that the negro has no share, humble though it may be, in the Declaration of Independence, is going back to the era of our liberty and independence, and, so far as in him lies, muzzling the cannon that thunders its annual joyous return; ("That's so.") that he is blowing out the moral lights around us, when he contends that whoever wants slaves has a right to hold them, that he is penetrating, so far as lies in his power, the human soul, and eradicating the light of reason and the love of mind, by his vast influence, for making the institution of slavery perpetual and national." (Great applause, and cries of "Hurrah for Lincoln," "That's the true doctrine.")<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>Ibid., pp. 93-94.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., pp. 233-234.

10. In his sixth debate with Mr. Douglas, at Quincy, Illinois, on October 13, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said to the crowd assembled:

"I want to say that in sometimes alluding to the Declaration of Independence, I have only uttered the sentiments that Henry Clay used to hold. Allow me to occupy your time a moment with what he said. Mr. Clay was at one time called upon in Indiana, and in a way that I suppose was very insulting, to liberate his slaves, and he made a written reply to that application, and one portion of it is in these words:

"What is the foundation of this appeal to me in Indiana, to liberate the slaves under my care in Kentucky? It is a general declaration in the act announcing to the world the independence of the thirteen American colonies, that 'men are created equal.' Now, as an abstract principle, there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration, and it is desirable in the original construction of society, and in organized societies, to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle..."<sup>121</sup>

11. During the seventh and final debate with Mr. Douglas, in Alton, Illinois, on October 15, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"Mr. Clay says it is true as an abstract principle that all men are created equal, but that we cannot practically apply it in all cases. He illustrates this by bringing forward the cases of females, minors and insane persons with whom it cannot be enforced; but he says it is true as an abstract principle in the organization of society as well as in organized society, and it should be kept in view as a fundamental principle. Let me read a few words more before I add some comments of my own. Mr. Clay says a little further on:

"I desire no concealment of my opinions in regard to the institution of slavery. I look upon it as a great evil; and deeply lament that we have derived it from the parental government; and from our ancestors. But here they are and the question is, how can they be best dealt with? If a state of nature existed and we were

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<sup>121</sup>  
Ibid., p. 280.

about to lay the foundation of society, no man would be more stongly opposed than I should be to incorporate the institution of slavery among its elements..."<sup>123</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Morally, slavery is wrong.

PART B. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO HENRY CLAY REGARDING THE GRADUAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

Throughout the duration of their political careers, both Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln advocated gradual emancipation of the slaves in America. Gradual emancipation would not send untutored, unprepared slaves all into the free world at once; this policy would, over a period of time, teach the slaves to read, to write, and to cipher, and to adjust to the free world when their final emancipation would come.

On the following occasions, Mr. Lincoln stated he held the same beliefs as Henry Clay regarding gradual emancipation of the slaves.

1. On July 6, 1852, during his "Eulogy on Henry Clay," Mr. Lincoln stated:

"This suggestion (colonization of emancipated slaves to Africa) of the possible ultimate redemption of the African race and African continent, was made twenty-five years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized!...If as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means, succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery; and, at the same time, in restoring a captive people to their long-lost father-land, with bright prospects for the future; and this too, so gradually, that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation. And if, to

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 304.

such a consummation, the efforts of Mr. Clay shall have contributed, it will be what he most ardently wished, and none of his labors will have been more valuable to his country and his kind..."<sup>124</sup>

2. In a letter addressed to Mr. George Robertson, on August 15, 1855, Mr. Lincoln, while expressing some doubt in gradual emancipation's success in America, still believed that it (gradual emancipation) was a noble cause:

"You are not a friend of slavery in the abstract. In that speech you spoke of "the peaceful extinction of slavery" and used other expressions indicating your belief that the thing was, at some time, to have an end (.). Since then we have had thirty-six years of experience; and this experience has demonstrated, I think, that there is no peaceful extinction of slavery in prospect for us. The signal failure of Henry Clay, and other good and great men, in 1849, to effect anything in favor of gradual emancipation in Kentucky, together with a thousand other signs, extinguishes that hope utterly..."<sup>125</sup>

3. On September 11, 1858, during his speech at Edwardsville, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln said:

"In this connection let me read to you the opinions of our old leader Henry Clay, on the question of whether slavery is as good as freedom. The extract which I propose to read is contained (in) a letter written by Mr. Clay in his old age, as late as 1849. The circumstances which called it forth were these. A convention had been called to form a new constitution for the State of Kentucky. The old Constitution had been adopted in the year 1799---half a century before, when Mr. Clay was a young man just rising into public notice. As long ago as the adoption of the old Constitution, Mr. Clay had been the earnest advocate of a system of gradual emancipation and colonization of the state of Kentucky. And again in his old age, in the maturity of his great mind, we find the same wise project still uppermost in his thoughts. Let me read a few passages from his letter

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<sup>124</sup>Ibid., II, p. 132.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 318.

in 1849..." (Mr. Lincoln read at considerable length from Mr. Clay's letter---earnestly pressing the material advantages and moral considerations in favor of gradual emancipation.)<sup>126</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.

PART C. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO HENRY CLAY REGARDING COLONIZATION WITH EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

On many occasions during their public careers, both Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln voiced their approval of the colonization of free blacks into foreign lands. They believed that colonization was a practical solution to the racial problem in America.

On the following occasions, Mr. Lincoln stated that he held the same beliefs as Henry Clay regarding colonization with emancipated slaves:

1. During his "Eulogy on Henry Clay," delivered in Springfield, Illinois, on July 6, 1852, Mr. Lincoln said in regard to Mr. Clay and colonization:

"This sounds strangely in republican America. The like was not heard in the fresher days of the Republic. Let us contrast with it the language of that truly national man, whose life and death we now commemorate and lament. I quote from a speech of Mr. Clay delivered before the American Colonization Society in 1827.

"We are reproached with doing mischief by the agitation of this question. The society goes into no household to disturb its domestic tranquility; it addresses itself to no slaves to weaken their obligation of obedience. It seeks to affect no man's property. It neither has the power nor the will to affect the property of any one

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<sup>126</sup>Ibid., III, pp. 93-94.



contrary to his consent. The execution of its scheme would augment instead of diminishing the value of the property left behind. The society, composed of free men, concerns itself only with the free. Collateral consequences we are not responsible for. It is not this society which has produced the great moral revolution which the age exhibits. What would they, who thus reproach us, have done? If they would repress all tendencies towards liberty, and ultimate emancipation, they must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of this society. They must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. They must renew the slave trade with all its train of atrocities. They must suppress the workings of British philanthropy, seeking to meliorate the condition of the unfortunate West Indian slave. They must arrest the career of South American deliverance from thralldom. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish that greatest torch of all which America presents to a benighted world ---pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. And when they have achieved all those proposed their work will yet be incomplete. They must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason, and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, when universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery, and repress all sympathy, and all humane, and benevolent efforts among free men, in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race doomed to bondage..."

The American Colonization Society was organized in 1816. Mr. Clay, though not its projector, was one of its earliest members; and he died, as for the many preceding years he had been, its President. It was one of the most cherished objects of his direct care and consideration; and the association of his name with it has probably been its very greatest collateral support. He considered it no demerit in the society, that it tended to relieve slave-holders from the troublesome presence of free negroes; but this was far from being its whole merit in his estimation. In the same speech from which I have quoted he says: "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the universe, (whose ways are often inscrutable by short-sighted mortals,) thus to transform an original crime, into a single blessing to that most unfortunate portion of the globe?" This suggestion of the possible ultimate redemption of the African



race and African continent, was made twenty-five years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized! Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues, and his hosts were drowned in the Red Sea for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them more than four hundred years. May like disasters never befall us! If as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means, succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery; and, at the same time, in restoring a captive people to their long-lost father-land, with bright prospects for the future; and this too, so gradually, that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation. And if, to such a consummation, the efforts of Mr. Clay shall have contributed, it will have been more valuable to his country and his kind..."<sup>127</sup>

2. During his fifth debate with Mr. Douglas, on October 7, 1858, in Galesburg, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I have said once before, and I will repeat it now, that Mr. Clay, when he was answering an objection to the Colonization Society, that it had a tendency to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves, said that "those who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of the Colonization Society---they must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon that thunders its annual joyous return---they must blot out the moral lights around us---they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty!..."<sup>128</sup>

3. In his seventh and last debate with Mr. Douglas, in Alton, Illinois, on October 15, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"Although Henry Clay could say he wished every slave in the United States was in the country of his ancestors, I am denounced by those pretending to respect

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<sup>127</sup>Ibid., II, pp. 131-132.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., III, pp. 233-234.

Henry Clay for uttering a wish that it might sometime (Slavery.), in some peaceful way, come to an end...<sup>129</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.

#### PART D. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO HENRY CLAY REGARDING EXISTING SLAVERY.

Prior to the Civil War, both Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln did not propose to emancipate the slaves from those portions of the United States where the institution of slavery existed constitutionally. During the Civil War, President Lincoln, as a military measure, did emancipate the slaves in those states that were in revolt against the Federal authority on January 1, 1863.

On the following occasions, Mr. Lincoln stated that he held the same beliefs as Henry Clay that existing slavery should be left alone where it was legalized by a state constitution:

1. On September 4, 1858, during his speech at Bloomington, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln is reported to have said the following according to the Bloomington Pantagraph:

Mr. L. said he held the same views on slavery as Henry Clay...Mr. L. quoted numerous passages from Clay's speeches, showing him to be in favor of the ultimate extinction of slavery, and in favor of excluding it in the formation of new States where it did not exist. He then remarked that the body and soul of the Republican movement was to keep slavery away from where it does not exist, and asked what milder way there could be to place it in course of ultimate extinction.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p. 314.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

2. On October 13, 1858, during his sixth debate with Mr. Douglas, in Quincy, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution (slavery) in the States where it exists...I wished to show, but I will pass it upon this occasion, that in the sentiment I have occasionally advanced upon the Declaration of Independence, I am entirely borne out by the sentiments advanced by our old Whig leader, Henry Clay, and I have the book here to show it from; but because I have already occupied more time than I intended to do on that topic, I pass over it..."<sup>131</sup>

3. During his seventh and final debate with Mr. Douglas, on October 15, 1858, at Quincy, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln stated the following:

"I guess we are surrounded to some extent today, by the old friends of Mr. Clay, and they will be glad to hear anything from that authority. While he was in Indiana a man presented him a petition to liberate his negroes, and he, (Mr. Clay) made a speech in answer to it, which I suppose he carefully wrote out himself and caused to be published. I have before me an extract from that speech which constitutes the evidence this pretended "Old Line Whig" at Chicago (Mr. Douglas) brought forward to show that Mr. Clay didn't suppose the negro was included in the Declaration of Independence. Hear what Mr. Clay said:"<sup>132</sup>

Part of the lengthy extract of the speech that Mr. Lincoln read included the following words of Mr. Clay:

"That declaration whatever may be the extent of its import, was made by the delegations of the thirteen States. In most of them slavery existed, and had long existed, and was established by law. It was introduced and forced upon the colonies by the paramount law of England. Do you believe, that in making

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<sup>131</sup>Ibid., pp. 249-250.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p. 303.

that Declaration the States that concurred in it intended that it should be tortured into a virtual emancipation of all the slaves within their respective limits? Would Virginia and other Southern States have ever united in a declaration which was to be interpreted into an abolition of slavery among them? Did any one of the thirteen colonies entertain such a design or expectation? To impute such a secret and unavowed purpose would be to charge a political fraud upon the noblest band of patriots that ever assembled in council; a fraud upon the confederacy of the Revolution; a fraud upon the union of those States whose constitution not only recognized the lawfulness of slavery, but permitted the importation of slaves from Africa until the year 1808..."

This entire quotation was brought forward to prove that somebody previous to three years ago had said the negro was not included in the term "all men" in the Declaration. How does it do so? In what way has it a tendency to prove that? Mr. Clay says it is true as an abstract principle that all men are created equal, but that we cannot practically apply it in all cases.<sup>133</sup>

Further in the debate with Mr. Douglas, Mr. Lincoln summarized his stand as follows:

"The principle upon which I have insisted in this canvas, is in relation to laying the foundations of new societies. I have never sought to apply these principles to the old States for the purpose of abolishing slavery in those States..."<sup>134</sup>

4. In a speech delivered at Rushville, Illinois, on October 20, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated, according to the Schuyler Citizen, as follows:

He devoted the opening of his speech to the opinions and policy of Henry Clay on the slavery question, showing that his and Clay's coincided, exactly, namely: That in the States where it already exists, it should not be interfered with...<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup>Ibid.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., pp. 304-305.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., p. 329.

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Existing slavery should be left alone.

PART E. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO HENRY CLAY REGARDING THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

Throughout their political careers, both Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln were opposed to the extension of slavery in America. They believed that the extension of slavery into the territories was wrong; both morally and constitutionally.

On the following occasions, Mr. Lincoln acknowledges that he held the same beliefs as Henry Clay regarding the extension of slavery:

1. In a speech delivered at Jacksonville, Illinois, on September 6, 1856, Mr. Lincoln said, according to Jacksonville's The Illinois Sentinel, the following:

He (Mr. Lincoln) also read an extract from a speech made by Henry Clay in reference to the territories acquired from Mexico, in which Mr. Clay expressed himself as opposed to legislating slavery into those territories.<sup>136</sup>

2. In a speech delivered at Springfield, Illinois, on July 17, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"It (slavery) was planted as Mr. Clay once declared, and as history proves true, by individual men in spite of the wishes of the people; the mother government refusing to prohibit it, and withholding from the people of the colonies the authority to prohibit it for themselves. Mr. Clay says this was one of the great and just causes of complaint against Great

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<sup>136</sup>Ibid., II, p. 370.

Britain by the colonies, and the best apology we can now make for having the institution amongst us. In that precise constitution our Nebraska politicians have at last succeeded in placing our own new territories; the government will not prohibit slavery within them, nor allow them to prohibit it..."<sup>137</sup>

Further in the same speech Mr. Lincoln stated:

"There is one other point. Judge Douglas has a very affectionate leaning towards the Americans and old Whigs. Last evening, in a sort of weeping tone, he described to us a death bed scene. He had been called to the side of Mr. Clay, in his last moments, in order that the genius of "popular sovereignty" might duly descend from the dying man and settle upon him, the living and most worthy successor. He could do no less than promise that he would devote the remainder of his life to "popular sovereignty," and then the great statesman departs in peace. By this part of the "plan of the campaign," the Judge has evidently promised himself that tears shall be drawn down the cheeks of all old Whigs, as large as half-grown apples.

...It so happens that in that "popular sovereignty" with which Mr. Clay was identified, the Missouri Compromise was expressly reserved; and it was a little singular if Mr. Clay cast his mantle upon Judge Douglas to have that compromise repealed.

Again, the Judge did not keep faith with Mr. Clay when he first brought his Nebraska bill. He left the Missouri Compromise unrepealed, and in his report accompanying the bill, he told the world he did it on purpose. The names of Mr. Clay must have been in great agony, till thirty days later, when "popular sovereignty" stood forth in all its glory..."<sup>138</sup>

3. During his speech at Tremont, Illinois, delivered on August 30, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

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<sup>137</sup>Ibid., p. 518.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., p. 519.

"Douglas says he does not care whether they vote slavery up or down in Kansas; then I submit it to this audience which is the most favorable to amalgamation, he who would not raise his finger to keep it out, or I would who give my vote and use my lawful means to prevent its extension. Clay and other great men were ever ready to express their abhorrence of slavery---but we of the north dare not use his noble language when he said, to force its perpetuation and extension you must muzzle the cannon that annually proclaims liberty, and repress all tendencies in the human heart to justice and mercy..."<sup>139</sup>

4. On September 4, 1858, during the delivery of his speech at Bloomington, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln stated, according to the Bloomington Pantagraph, the following:

Mr. L. said he held the same views on slavery as Henry Clay...Mr. L. quoted numerous passages from Clay's speeches, showing him to be in favor of the ultimate extinction of slavery, and in favor of excluding it in the formation of new States where it did not exist. He then remarked that the body and soul of the Republican movement was to keep slavery away from where it does not exist, and asked what milder way there could be to place it in course of ultimate extinction.<sup>140</sup>

5. In his fifth debate with Mr. Douglas, at Galesburg, Illinois, on October 7, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"If anywhere, in the two pieces of the compromise organizing the Territories of New Mexico and Utah. It was expressly provided in these two acts, that, when they came to be admitted into the Union, they should be admitted with or without slavery, as they should choose, by their own constitutions. Nothing was to be done in relation to slavery during the territorial existence of those territories, while Henry Clay constantly made the declaration, (Judge Douglas recognized him as a leader) that, in his opinion, the old Mexican laws would control that question during the territorial existence, and that these old Mexican laws excluded slavery..."<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup>Ibid., III, p. 80.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., p. 224.



6. In a speech delivered at Monmouth, Illinois, on October 11, 1858, Mr. Lincoln demonstrated that Mr. Clay could not possibly be in favor of extension of slavery when he stated the following:

"Judge Douglas is attempting to administer upon the political assets of Henry Clay. It is unusual for the administrator to be a creditor or of kin to the deceased. Henry Clay did not owe anything politically to his old enemy, Douglas, and as to Douglas being any kin to him, everybody knows they never had a single feeling in unison, and that Douglas was one of the most virulent abusers while living. And he is a pretty man to undertake to wrap the mantle of Clay around him, and strut about trying to palm himself off as his political administrator..."<sup>142</sup>

7. In his seventh and last debate with Mr. Douglas, in Alton, Illinois, on October 15, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

"But when Mr. Clay says that in laying the foundations of societies in our Territories where it does not exist he would be opposed to the introduction of slavery as an element, I insist that we have his warrant---his license for insisting upon the exclusion of that element, which he declared in such strong and emphatic language was most hateful to him." (Loud applause.)<sup>143</sup>

8. In a letter addressed to Mr. James N. Brown on October 18, 1858, Mr. Lincoln wrote:

"I believe our government was thus framed because of the necessity springing from the actual presence of slavery, when it was framed.

That such necessity does not exist in the territories, where slavery is not present.

In his Mendenhall speech Mr. Clay says, "Now, as an abstract principle, there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration (all men created equal) and it is desirable, in the original construction of society, and in organized societies, to keep it in view, as a

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<sup>142</sup>Ibid., p. 244.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 305.

great fundamental principle." Again, in the same speech, Mr. Clay says: "If a state of nature existed, no man would be more strongly opposed than I should to incorporate the institution among its elements;" Exactly so. In our free territories, a state of nature does exist. In them Congress lays the foundations of society; and, in laying those foundations, I say, with Mr. Clay, it is desirable that the declaration of the equality of all men shall be kept in view, as a great fundamental principle; and that Congress, which lays the foundations of society, should, like Mr. Clay, be strongly opposed to the incorporation of slavery among its elements..."<sup>144</sup>

9. In his speech at Rushville, Illinois, on October 18, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated, according to the Schuyler Citizen, the following:

He devoted the opening of his speech to the opinions and policy of Henry Clay on the slavery question, showing that his and Clay's coincided, exactly, namely: That in the States where it already exists, it should not be interfered with, but in laying the foundation of societies, in our new Territories, where slavery does not exist, it should not be introduced as an element.<sup>145</sup>

10. On September 16, 1859, Mr. Lincoln stated, in Columbus, Ohio, the following:

"Now, if you are opposed to slavery honestly, as much as anybody I ask you to note the fact, and the like of which is to follow, to be plastered on, layer after layer, until very soon you are prepared to deal with the negro everywhere as with the brute. If public sentiment has not been debauched already to this point, a new turn of the screw in that direction is all that is wanting; and this is constantly being done by the teachers of this insidious popular sovereignty. You need but one or two turns further until your minds, now ripening under these teachings, will be ready to receive and support, or submit to, the slave trade; revived with all its horrors; a slave code enforced in our territories, and a new Dred Scott decision to bring slavery up into the very

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<sup>144</sup>Ibid., pp. 327-328.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 329.

heart of the free North. This, I must say, is but carrying out those words prophetically spoken by Mr. Clay, many, many years ago. I believe more than thirty years when he told an audience that if they would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, they must go back to the era of our independence and muzzle the cannon which thundered its annual joyous return on the Fourth of July; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul and eradicate the love of liberty; but until they did these things, and others eloquently enumerated by him, they could not repress all tendencies to ultimate emancipation..."<sup>146</sup>

11. On October 1, 1859, during his speech at Beloit, Wisconsin, Mr. Lincoln said, according to the Beloit Journal, the following, in relationship to "popular sovereignty:"

Mr. Lincoln closed with an eloquent passage from Mr. Clay pointing out, with prophetic voice, the ruin which the adoption by the people of such principles as Douglas advocates would bring upon the country, and denouncing, in terrible language, the authors of such a change of public policy.<sup>147</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Extension of slavery should be prohibited.

#### PART F. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO HENRY CLAY REGARDING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE BLACK AND WHITE RACES.

Throughout most of their political careers, both Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln did not advocate the complete equality between the black and white races in America. President Lincoln eventually did aid the black race in attaining some aspects of equality during the Civil War.

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 424.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 484.

However, both Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln always held the belief that differences between the black and white races prevented equality of citizenship in American society.

On the following occasions, Mr. Lincoln admitted that he held the same beliefs as Henry Clay in regard to the impossibility of harmony existing between the black and white races in America, if the black race were given total political and social equality with the white race:

1. During Mr. Lincoln's "Eulogy on Henry Clay," delivered in Springfield, Illinois, on July 6, 1852, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"He (Henry Clay) considered it no demerit in the society, that it tended to relieve slave-holders from the troublesome presence of the free negroes; but this was far from being its whole merit in his estimation. In the same speech from which I have quoted he says: "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the universe, (whose ways are often inscrutable by short-sighted mortals,) thus to transform an original crime, into a single blessing to that most unfortunate portion of the globe?" This suggestion of the possible ultimate redemption of the African race and African continent, was made twenty-five years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized! Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues, and his hosts were drowned in the Red Sea for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them for more than four hundred years. May like disasters never befall us! If as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means, succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery; and, at the same time, in restoring a captive people to their long-lost father-land, with bright prospects for the future; and this too, so gradually, that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the

change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation. And if, to such a consummation, the efforts of Mr. Clay shall have contributed, it will be what he most ardently wished, and none of his labors will have been more valuable to his country and his kind..."<sup>148</sup>

2. In his speech at Augusta, Illinois, delivered on August 25, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated, according to the Chicago Press and Tribune:

The first hour of his speech was devoted to an examination of Clay's principles on the Slavery question, and to repelling the charges, made against the speaker, that he was an "Abolitionist," in favor of "negro equality" and "amalgamation." He made clean work of these points as he went along, and I don't think there was a man on the ground but he satisfied, and pleased, and there were hundreds who voted for Fillmore in 1856.<sup>149</sup>

3. In a speech delivered at Edwardsville, Illinois, on September 11, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated, in regard to "popular sovereignty":

"In this connection let me read to you the opinions of our old leader Henry Clay, on the question of whether slavery is as good as freedom...And again in his old age, in the maturity of his great mind, we find the same wise project still uppermost in his thoughts. Let me read a few passages from his letter of 1849: "I know there are those who draw an argument in favor of slavery from the alleged intellectual inferiority of the black race. Whether this argument is founded in fact or not, I will not now stop to inquire, but merely say that if it proves anything at all, it proves too much..."<sup>150</sup>

4. In his sixth debate with Mr. Douglas in Quincy, Illinois, on October 13, 1858, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"Now gentlemen, I don't want to read at any great length, but this is the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery or the black race, and this is the whole of it; and anyone that argues me into his idea of

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<sup>148</sup>Ibid., II, p. 132.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., III, p. 38.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

perfect social and political equality with the negro is but a specious and fantastical arrangement of word by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse...I am entirely borne out by our old Whig leader, Henry Clay, and I have the book here to show it from; but because I have already occupied more time than I intended to do on that topic, I pass over it..."<sup>151</sup>

5. In his letter addressed to Mr. James N. Brown, on October 13, 1858, Mr. Lincoln wrote the following:

"Exactly so. In our new free territories, a state of nature does exist. In the Congress lays the foundations of society; and, in laying those foundations, I say, with Mr. Clay, it is desirable that the declaration of the equality of all men shall be kept in view, as a great fundamental principle; and that Congress, which lays the foundations of society, should, like Mr. CLay, be strongly opposed to the incorporation of slavery among its elements.

But it does not follow that social and political equality between whites and blacks, must be incorporated, because slavery must not. That declaration does not so require..."<sup>152</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.

#### PART G. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO HENRY CLAY REGARDING THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION.

As the gap widened between the philosophically-opposed North and South over the slavery issue, both Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln placed the preservation of the Union above all other convictions. They believed

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<sup>151</sup>Ibid., pp. 249-250.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., p. 328.

that the dissolution of the Union would be the greatest catastrophe that could occur---even greater than allowing the existence of the institution of slavery. Upon their deaths, both Mr. Clay and Mr. Lincoln saw the Union preserved.

On the following occasions Mr. Lincoln acknowledged that his own belief was the same as Henry Clay's position that the preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery:

1. During his "Eulogy on Henry Clay," delivered in Springfield, Illinois, on July 6, 1852, Mr. Lincoln said:

"Having been led to allude to domestic slavery so frequently already, I am unwilling to close without referring more particularly to Mr. Clay's views and conduct in regard to it. He ever was, on principle and in feeling, opposed to slavery. The very earliest, and one of the latest public efforts of his life, separated by a period of more than fifty years, were both made in favor of gradual emancipation of the slaves in Kentucky. He did not perceive, that on a question of human right, the negroes were to be excepted from the human race. And yet Mr. Clay was the owner of slaves. Cast into life where slavery already was widely spread and deeply seated, he did not perceive, as I think no wise man has perceived, how it could be at once eradicated, without producing a greater evil, even to the cause of human liberty itself. His feeling and his judgement, therefore, ever led him to oppose both extremes of opinion on the subject. Those who would shiver into fragments the Union of these States; tear to tatters its now venerated constitutions and even burn the last copy of the Bible, rather than slavery should continue a single hour, together with all more halting sympathisers, have received, and are receiving their just execration; and the name, and opinions, and influence of Mr. Clay, are fully, and, as I trust, effectually and enduringly, arrayed against them. But I would also, if I could, array his name, opinions, and influence against the opposite extreme---against a few, but an increasing number of men, who, for the sake of perpetuating slavery, are beginning to assail and ridicule the white-man's charter of freedom---the declaration



that "all men are created free and equal." So far as I have learned, the first American, of any note, to do or attempt this, was the late John C. Calhoun; and if I mistake not, it soon after found its way into some of the messages of the Governors of South Carolina....But Henry Clay is dead. His long and eventful life is closed. Our country is prosperous and powerful; but could it have been quite all it has been, and is, and is to be, without Henry Clay? Such a man the times have demanded, and such, in the providence of God was given us. But he is gone. Let us strive to deserve, as far as mortals may, the continued care of Divine Providence, trusting that, in future national emergencies, He will not fail to provide us the instruments of safety and security..."<sup>153</sup>

2. During his speech to the Springfield Scott Club, delivered in Springfield, Illinois, on August 14, 1852, Mr. Lincoln stated:

"But as to the slavery question, the Judge says it was a plank stolen from the democratic platform. On what authority does he make this declaration? Upon what fact, or what reasoning from facts does he base it? I had understood and now understand, as the indelibly written history of this country, that the compromise measures were not party measures---that for praise or blame, they belonged to neither party to the exclusion of the other; but that the chief leaders in their origin and adoption were whigs and not democrats. I had thought that the pen of history had written, acknowledged, and recorded it as facts, that Henry Clay, more than any other man, or perhaps more than any other ten men, was the originator of that system of measures; and that he together with Webster and Pearce of Maryland, were its most efficient supporters in its progress. (referring to the Compromise of 1850)...I will venture to suggest that if he had stolen none of the ideas of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, and other Whigs, which he had been listening to for the last preceding six or eight months, he might not have been able to get up quite so creditable a speech at Chicago as he did..."<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 130, 132.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 137-138.

3. In a speech delivered at Belleville, Illinois, on October 18, 1856, the Belleville Weekly Advocate wrote the following account of Mr. Lincoln's speech:

The only object of government, is the good of the governed, not the interests of Slaveholders---the securing of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; this the end of all Government was enforced. The Kentuckian, Lincoln, defended the Declaration of American Independence against the attacks of the degenerate Vermonter, Douglas, and against Breckenridge and the whole ruling class of the South. Here was a Southerner, with eloquence that would bear a comparison with Henry Clay's, defending Liberty and the North against the leaders of the Border Ruffians and Doughfaces of Illinois.<sup>155</sup>

4. As reported by the Carlinville Democrat, on August 31, 1858, concerning Mr. Lincoln's speech:

The measures of '50 settled it for a time (the slavery issue), only to be reopened in '54 in a worse and more malignant form in a territory where it had been previously at rest. Clay, Webster, Calhoun and Benton have gone but we still have the slavery agitation, and will have it till a more conservative and less aggressive party gains power. The north is not alone to blame---for churches and families divided upon this question---is it then a little thing?<sup>156</sup>

Inference: In the mind of Mr. Lincoln: Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

In light of the foregoing testimonies, Mr. Lincoln acknowledged that his own convictions on the slavery issue were based upon Henry Clay's original positions on the same issue in each of the following respects:

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<sup>155</sup>Ibid., II, pp. 379-380.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., III, pp. 77.

1. Morally, slavery is wrong.
2. Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.
3. Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.
4. Existing slavery should be left alone.
5. Extension of slavery should be prohibited.
6. Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.
7. Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

## CHAPTER V

### ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS: SUPPORT, CONTRADICTION AND SUPPLEMENT OF THE PRESENT WRITINGS

In relation to the present writings (previously existing writings of Henry Clay's influence upon Abraham Lincoln regarding the slavery issue), this study has performed the following functions:

#### PART A. SUPPORT OF PRESENT WRITINGS

Whereas previously written accounts have recognized Henry Clay as exerting a strong influence upon Abraham Lincoln regarding the slavery issue, the present investigation confirmed that conclusion.

#### PART B. CONTRADICTION OF PRESENT WRITINGS

The present investigation and report of the problem did not, in an appreciable way, contradict previously written accounts of the influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding the slavery issue.

#### PART C. SUPPLEMENT TO PRESENT WRITINGS

Ways by which the present study has supplemented present writings on the problem include:

1. This study has produced an extended listing of Henry Clay's statements regarding the slavery issue. In the preparation of the

extended listing, the statements by Henry Clay on slavery were classified into seven divisions, namely:

- a. Morally, slavery is wrong.
- b. Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.
- c. Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.
- d. Existing slavery should be left alone.
- e. Extension of slavery should be prohibited.
- f. Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.
- g. Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

In all of the previous writings which were examined regarding Clay's position on the issue of slavery, no similar classification was found. In this respect, the present writing became a supplement to previous writings.

2. This study has produced an extended listing of Abraham Lincoln's statements regarding the slavery issue. In the preparation of the extended listing, the statements by Abraham Lincoln on slavery were classified into seven divisions, namely:

- a. Morally, slavery is wrong.
- b. Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.
- c. Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.
- d. Existing slavery should be left alone.
- e. Extension of slavery should be prohibited.
- f. Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.

g. Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

In all of the previous writings which were examined regarding Lincoln's position on the issue of slavery, no similar classification was found. In this respect, the present writing became a supplement to previous writings.

3. This study has produced a striking parallel between Henry Clay's statements and Abraham Lincoln's statements regarding the slavery issue. In the preparation of the extended listings, the parallel statements of Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln were recognized as being identical on each of the following positions:

- a. Morally, slavery is wrong.
- b. Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.
- c. Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.
- d. Existing slavery should be left alone.
- e. Extension of slavery should be prohibited.
- f. Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.

g. Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

In all of the previous writings which were examined regarding the parallel between Clay's and Lincoln's positions on the issue of slavery, no similar classification was found. In this respect, the present writing became a supplement to previous writings.

4. This study has produced an extended listing of Abraham Lincoln's acknowledgements regarding Henry Clay's position on the slavery issue. In the preparation of the acknowledgements by Abraham Lincoln in respect to Henry Clay on the slavery issue, seven classifications were adopted, each pertaining to the following mutual positions:

- a. Morally, slavery is wrong.
- b. Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.
- c. Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.
- d. Existing slavery should be left alone.
- e. Extension of slavery should be prohibited.
- f. Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society.
- g. Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

In all of the previous writings which were examined on the subject, no similar classification of acknowledgements was found. In this respect, the present writing became a supplement to the previous writings.

5. This study has produced no examples of Abraham Lincoln differing from Henry Clay in their respective positions on the slavery issue.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

#### PART A. SUMMARY

The findings which have been presented in Chapters II, III, IV, and V, may be summarized as follows:

1. On the issue of the morality of slavery, Abraham Lincoln acknowledged, in ELEVEN instances, that his stand was the same as the stand taken previously by Henry Clay, namely: Morally, slavery is wrong.

2. On the issue of the gradual emancipation of the slaves, Abraham Lincoln acknowledged, in THREE instances, that his stand was the same as the stand taken previously by Henry Clay, namely: Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted.

3. On the issue of the colonization with emancipated slaves, Abraham Lincoln acknowledged, in THREE instances, that his stand was the same as the stand taken previously by Henry Clay, namely: Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted.

4. On the issue of the policy toward slavery existing already in some states in the Union, Abraham Lincoln acknowledged, in FOUR instances, that his stand was the same as the stand taken previously by Henry Clay, namely: Existing slavery should be left alone.

5. On the issue of the extension of slavery, Abraham Lincoln acknowledged, in ELEVEN instances, that his stand was the same as the stand taken previously by Henry Clay, namely: Extension of slavery should be prohibited.

6. On the issue of the racial equality between the black and white races in a single society, Abraham Lincoln acknowledged, in FIVE instances, that his stand was the same as the stand taken previously by Henry Clay, namely: Differences between the black and white races prevent equality in a single society.

7. On the issue of the preservation of the Union superceding remedies to the problem of slavery, Abraham Lincoln acknowledged, in FOUR instances, that his stand was the same as the stand taken previously by Henry Clay, namely: Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

#### PART B. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to discover the influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding lines of argument on the slavery issue as shown by examination of the available evidence.

In light of the findings from this study, the conclusion may be drawn that according to Abraham Lincoln's own acknowledgements, the convictions which he (Lincoln) held regarding slavery, in each of seven principle respects, were the same as the convictions which Henry Clay had held.

More briefly stated: Henry Clay exerted extremely high influence upon Abraham Lincoln regarding the slavery issue.

## PART C. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Correlative to the present study, additional problems on which definitive studies could be conducted include the following:

1. The personal relationship between Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln.
2. The Influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding the Whig party.
3. The influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding a high protective tariff.
4. The influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding internal improvements.
5. The influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding adherence to the Constitution of the United States of America.

Henry Clay, my beau ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all my humble life---Henry Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our Independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not till then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country!

---Abraham Lincoln, during his first debate with Mr. Douglas, on August 21, 1858.

## APPENDIX

This portion of the study will serve as a supplement to the actual text of the study (Chapters I-VI). The Appendix will be divided into the following four steps:

1. A bibliography of all the materials used in this study.
2. A chronological timetable of the history of the slavery issue in the United States.
3. A chronological timetable of Henry Clay's position on the slavery issue.
4. A chronological timetable of Abraham Lincoln's position on the slavery issue.

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PART B. A CHRONOLOGICAL TIMETABLE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVERY ISSUE  
IN THE UNITED STATES

- 1619 The first shipment of twenty black servants was brought by Dutch traders to Jamestown in the British Colony of Virginia. This was the first time that blacks were admitted to the British Colonies for the purpose of servitude. At first, the blacks worked side by side with the white servants. Racism and the institution of slavery did not immediately occur. However, because of their physical difference from the white race, the institution of slavery eventually did evolve from these early black servants.
- 1671 Approximately 2,000 black slaves and 6,000 Christian servants reportedly existed in the colony of Virginia.
- 1672 The Royal African Company acquired a monopoly on the black slave trade to the British Colonies in North America. However, this monopoly was to be short-lived, because the increasing profit of the slave trade encouraged other businessmen to invest in the sale of human flesh.
- 1703 The British Colony of Massachusetts attempted to abolish slavery. They failed because the local government (controlled by the Crown in Great Britain) did not approve this abolitionist measure.
- 1750 Approximately 300,000 black slaves reportedly existed in British North America.
- 1767 The British Colony of Massachusetts attempted to abolish slavery. For a second time they failed, because the Crown-imposed local government did not approve of this abolitionist measure.
- 1772 The British Colony of Virginia attempted to abolish slavery through their local Assembly. They did not succeed because the British local authority did not favor such an abolitionist measure.
- 1775 In November, because of the rebellious activities of the colonists, the British government publicized a Proclamation which promised to free all slaves who would join his Majesty George III's navy.
- 1776 Approximately 500,000 slaves were reported to be in British North America.
- 1776 The Declaration of Independence, released to the public on July 4, made no provision for the emancipation of the slaves.
- 1777 The state of Vermont prohibited slavery in her state constitution.
- 1780 The state of Massachusetts emancipated all of her slaves in her new constitution.



The state of Pennsylvania imposed a system of gradual emancipation, which freed all slaves born after March 1, 1780, at the age of twenty-eight.

- 1783 The state of New Hampshire abolished slavery in her new state constitution.

The state of Virginia promised freedom to any slave that had served as a soldier for their state during the American Revolution.

- 1784 The state of Rhode Island passed an act that stated, after March of that year, all slaves in that state would be free.

The state of Connecticut passed an act for the gradual emancipation of her slaves.

- 1787 The Ordinance of 1787 (or Northwest Ordinance) was passed by the last Continental Congress, which prohibited slavery in the northwest territories, and enforced a strict fugitive slave law.

- 1793 Eli Whitney invented and marketed the cotton gin, which made the cotton industry tremendously profitable, resulting in an increased demand for slaves.

- 1794 An Act of Congress was passed that prohibited the United States to ship slaves to foreign nations.

- 1799 The state of New York enacted a system for the gradual emancipation of her slaves.

- 1800 In August, Gabriel Prosser and a group of slaves attacked Richmond, Virginia. Their insurrection failed, and Prosser with thirty-five other slaves were executed.

- 1804 The state of New Jersey passed an act forever abolishing slavery, and provided for the gradual emancipation of her remaining slaves.

- 1807 On March 2, Congress stated that as of the first day of the following year, the slave trade into the United States would become illegal.

- 1808 By an Act of Congress, the slave trade was abolished. However, illegal slave trade flourished in the South until the advent of the Civil War.

- 1816 The American Colonization Society was founded in Washington, D. C. The goal of the society was to ship emancipated slaves and free blacks from America to colonies in Africa. The members of the society believed that colonization was a practical solution to the racial problem in America.

- 1817 The state of New York passed an Act which declared that after the fourth of July, 1827, slavery would be abolished, and all of her remaining slaves would be immediately emancipated.
- 1820 To be caught bringing slaves into the United States was declared an act of piracy, punishable by death.

Congress approved the Missouri Compromise, which admitted Missouri into the Union as a slave state, Maine as a free state, and declared that slavery in the territories could not exist north of the 36° 30' line, the northern border of Missouri. For the first time, the Union was threatened by dissolution, and overcame this threat by compromise.

- 1822 Denmark Vesey and a group of slaves revolted in Charleston, South Carolina. They were promptly captured and executed, but not until their attempted insurrection had terrorized southern slaveholders.
- 1827 Promoted by the American Colonization Society, the African Colony of Liberia was founded with emancipated slaves from the United States.
- 1831 In August, Nat Turner and his band of slaves rebelled in the bloodiest of the slave uprisings in the United States. Over sixty whites were murdered in Southampton County, Virginia, before Nat Turner and his band of insurrectionists were captured and executed.

On January 1, William Lloyd Garrison printed the first issue of The Liberator, an abolitionist newspaper which provoked the anger of slaveholders.

- 1832 William Lloyd Garrison and eleven white abolitionists founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society.
- South Carolina passed the doctrine of Nullification, which stated that any state could nullify any law or act passed by Congress. This was a direct threat to the United States Constitution.
- 1833 William Lloyd Garrison and other abolitionists founded the American Anti-Slavery Society.
- 1835 William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston, by an angry mob, with a rope around his neck. Mr. Garrison was fortunate not to be killed.
- 1837 Abolitionist Elija P. Lovejoy was murdered by a mob in Alton, Illinois.
- 1840 The Liberty party was formed, with James Birney, a former slaveholder who became an abolitionist, as the party's candidate for President (James Birney also ran on the Liberty ticket in 1844).

- 1844 The Methodist Church split over the issue of slavery. The southern faction, not believing that slavery was morally wrong, became the Methodist Episcopal Church South.
- 1846 The Wilmot Proviso was introduced into the House of Representatives, which stated that no slavery could exist in any territory the United States would acquire from Mexico. This proviso was voted down.
- 1848 With the termination of the Mexican War, the new territories acquired by the United States began to anew the question over slavery in the territories.

The Free Soil party was formed, with citizens opposing the extension of the institution of slavery.

- 1850 The Compromise of 1850 was approved by Congress, which preserved the Union by allowing California to enter the Union as a free state, and by permitting "popular sovereignty" to determine the slavery question in the new territories of Utah and New Mexico.
- 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, released her book, which depicted the southern slaveholder as an atrocious, insensitive being. While the sentiments of many northerners were moved against slavery by Ms. Beecher's work, the tempers of many southern slaveholders were enraged.
- 1854 Stephen A. Douglas initiated his plan of "popular sovereignty," through the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which repealed the Missouri Compromise, and reopened the question of the extension of slavery into the territories.
- 1857 The Dred Scott decision was released by the United States Supreme Court, which stated that a slave is property, and can be taken anywhere in the Union.

The controversy over the "Lecompton constitution" began in the territory of Kansas, when a pro-slave faction of that territory held a constitutional meeting, omitting fifteen of the thirty-four counties. They then fraudulently voted to petition for statehood as a slave state. For the next few years, Kansas was a bloody battlefield on which anti-slave and pro-slave forces fought.

- 1858 This was the year of the famed Lincoln-Douglas Debates, which took place in seven cities in Illinois. The primary topic of discussion of these debates was the extension of slavery into the territories. While Mr. Lincoln won the popular vote for United States Senator, Mr. Douglas won the election.
- 1859 The United States Supreme Court upheld the fugitive slave law, thereby strengthening the possibility of the spread of slavery to every corner of the Union.

John Brown and his band of abolitionists raided Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on October 16, in an attempt to emancipate the slaves. The insurrectionists were soon captured, tried, and executed. While northern abolitionists had made a hero of John Brown, southern slaveholders feared for the continuance of the institution of slavery.

- 1860 Abraham Lincoln was elected President on the Republican ticket over Douglas and Breckenridge. Even though Mr. Lincoln was a moderate on the slavery issue, and had previously stated on many occasions that he would leave slavery alone where it existed, the southern slaveholders believed that an abolitionist had been elected President.
- 1861 By May 20, eleven southern states had seceded from the Union. These states formed the Confederate States of America.
- 1862 President Lincoln sent to Congress a measure that they recommend financial aid to the states in the Union that would abolish slavery ---either immediately or gradually.

On April 11, Congress passed a bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and also provided for the financial compensation of the slaveholders that lost their slaves by this measure.

On September 22, President Lincoln announced that in one-hundred days all slaves in the states of rebellion against the Union would be emancipated.

- 1863 On January 1, President Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation, which emancipated all slaves in the states of rebellion against the Union. This proclamation also provided for financial compensation for any state that would emancipate her slaves (referring to the border states---which were slave, but in the Union).

On December 14, a bill was introduced to the House of Representatives that proposed an Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery.

- 1864 On January 11, a Constitutional Amendment to abolish slavery was proposed by a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress.

On April 8, the Constitutional Amendment to abolish slavery was adopted by the Senate: 38 for, and 6 against.

On May 31, that Amendment was proposed to the House of Representatives.

On June 15, the proposed Amendment failed to pass the House of Representatives; 93 for, 65 against, and 23 abstentions.

In December, President Lincoln urged the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution to abolish slavery.

1865 On January 6, debate in the House of Representatives resumed over the Thirteenth Amendment.

On January 31, the Thirteenth Amendment was passed by the House of Representatives, by a vote of: 119 for, 56 against, and 6 abstentions.

On December 18, by twenty-seven of thirty-six states the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified, abolishing the institution of slavery in the United States of America.

PART C. A CHRONOLOGICAL TIMETABLE OF THE POSITION OF HENRY CLAY ON  
THE SLAVERY ISSUE

1799 Henry Clay's first participation in politics was at the Kentucky Constitution Convention. When their state constitution was in the process of revision, Mr. Clay and other philanthropists attempted to have a system of gradual emancipation of their slaves adopted. Because of a lack of support, this endeavor for gradual emancipation failed.

When his father died, he left his son Henry Clay two slaves. This was Mr. Clay's first acquisition of slaves.

1800 As Mr. Clay became more prosperous, he bought another slave.

1805 By this time, Mr. Clay had acquired more property, and owned eight slaves.

1807 On January 15, Mr. Clay delivered a speech for a bill in the United States Senate proposing to forbid the importation of slaves.

1816 On December 21, in Washington, D. C., Mr. Clay was one of the founders of the American Colonization Society. The purpose of the society was to attempt to colonize emancipated slaves to Africa. The Society believed this would solve the racial problem in the United States.

1820 As Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Clay was instrumental in the passage of the Missouri Compromise. The northern states were upset when Missouri petitioned for statehood as a slave state. Through the statesmanship of Mr. Clay and others, Missouri was admitted to the Union as a free state; and slavery in the territories was prohibited north of the 36° 30' line, the northern boundary of Missouri. Because of his important role in the cooling of the tension between the North and the South, Mr. Clay was given the nickname of "The Great Pacificator."

Mr. Clay verbally attacked the Monroe Administration for having given up Texas in the Florida Treaty, believing that Texas had been a part of the Louisiana Purchase, rightfully belonging to the United States.

1827 On January 20, Mr. Clay delivered a speech at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society in Washington, D. C. He spoke at length on the success the society had had with the foundation of the African colony of Liberia.

1829 On December 17, Mr. Clay addressed an assembly of the Kentucky Colonization Society, expressing his belief that colonization and gradual emancipation of the slaves in Kentucky was a very noble and just cause.



- 1830 On September 10, Mr. Clay had his runaway slave "black Lotty" jailed until he could get her to his home in Kentucky.

Mr. Clay assisted Mrs. Warfield of Lexington in the recovery of her fugitive slave.

- 1832 On March 28, Mr. Clay spoke again of the noble cause of the Kentucky Colonization Society. In his estimation, colonization, if adopted throughout the Union, eventually would solve the racial problem in America.

Mr. Clay declared that the doctrine of nullification was an evil; that nullification was against the Constitution; and that nullification threatened the preservation of the Union.

- 1836 Mr. Clay, having served as one of the American Colonization Society's vice-presidents, now served as the society's President.

On June 8, Mr. Clay spoke at length against a bill introduced in the Senate by John C. Calhoun, which would prohibit anti-slavery literature to be carried by the United States mail.

- 1839 In a speech before the United States Senate, on February 7, Mr. Clay stated that he did not believe that the black and white races could peacefully co-exist in America.

- 1842 On October 1, after being asked by Mr. Mendenhall, in Richmond, Indiana, to emancipate his (Mr. Clay's) slaves, Mr. Clay replied that while he detested the institution of slavery, he had the Constitutional right to possess slaves in his state of Kentucky.

- 1843 Mr. Clay defended and acquitted his notorious abolitionist cousin, Cassius M. Clay, of the charge of murdering a prominent Kentucky slaveholder. The trial took place in Lexington, Kentucky, where Cassius M. Clay, because of his abolitionist views on the slavery issue, would have been executed if not for the defense of his famous cousin, Henry Clay.

- 1844 Mr. Clay now realized that the admission of Texas into the Union would renew the slavery question of the extension of slavery into the territories; and possibly trigger a war with Mexico. For those reasons, he opposed the admission of Texas into the Union. As a result, Mr. Clay lost the Presidential election to expansionist James Polk.

As he observed the split in the Methodist Church over the morality of slavery, Mr. Clay attempted to prevent the schism.

- 1848 Mr. Clay again served as the President of the American Colonization Society.



1849 On February 17, Mr. Clay wrote a letter to Mr. Richard Pindell in which he denounced slavery as an institution; stated his policy of gradual emancipation; and also stated his favor of colonization of emancipated slaves to Africa as a practical solution to the racial problem in America.

Mr. Clay and other philanthropists tried, as they had fifty years earlier, to pass a proposal in the state of Kentucky that would provide for a system of gradual emancipation. This proposal, as it had fifty years before, failed.

1850 On February 20, Mr. Clay, aging and in ill-health, brought before the United States Senate his Compromise Resolutions, which attempted to preserve the Union by compromising with the extension of slavery. With the support of Senators Webster and Douglas, the Compromise of 1850 was passed, and the Union preserved.

1851 On July 10, Mr. Clay issued his last will and testament which provided for the gradual emancipation of his own slaves.

PART D. A CHRONOLOGICAL TIMETABLE OF THE POSITION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN  
ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE

- 1837 On March 3, Mr. Lincoln entered a protest with Dan Stone in the Illinois House Journal against the anti-abolitionist resolutions that had been passed by the House on January 20. Mr. Lincoln argued against the morality of slavery, even though he did not argue the constitutionality of the institution.
- 1838 In July, Mr. Lincoln expressed his concern over mob violence and actions at the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy, at Alton, Illinois.
- 1847 In the fall, Mr. Lincoln represented Mr. Robert Matson, a slave-owner, at the Coles County Court House in Charleston, Illinois. Mr. Matson had tried to regain possession of a slave family that had escaped and claimed their freedom because they were brought to the free state of Illinois by their owner, Mr. Matson. Mr. Matson lost possession of the slave family because his lawyer, Mr. Lincoln, had shown very little enthusiasm for his client.
- 1848 In December, while in the second session of the Thirtieth Congress, Mr. Lincoln worked diligently for the Whig causes, and supported all efforts to exclude the institution of slavery from the newly acquired territory from the Mexican War.
- 1849 On January 10, Mr. Lincoln read in Congress the draft to a bill that called for compensated abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Realizing that his supporters had deserted him, Mr. Lincoln never formally introduced the bill.
- 1854 On January 23, when Stephen A. Douglas, who headed the Committee on Territories, reported on a new bill allowing for two of the territories to decide with "popular sovereignty" on the slavery issue, Mr. Lincoln became opposed to the new bill of Douglas', that would repeal the Missouri Compromise, and permit the extension of slavery into the territories.

On May 30, The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which repealed the Missouri Compromise, passed the House of Representatives, and was signed into law. Mr. Lincoln denounced this action for reopening the issue of slavery extension into the territories.

In August, when Mr. Lincoln re-entered politics to campaign for the re-election of the Whig Congressman Richard Yates, he quickly drew attention to himself as a future leader of the anti-slavery forces in Illinois.

- 1854 On October 4, at the Illinois State Capitol, Mr. Lincoln delivered an answer to Mr. Douglas' speech on "popular sovereignty" delivered the day before. From that point on, Mr. Lincoln was recognized as the leader of all opposition to Mr. Douglas and "popular sovereignty."

On October 16, at Peoria, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln spoke at length (three hours), stating that he had no prejudice against the southern people and their constitutional right to own slaves. He pointed out that he only opposed the extension of slavery.

- 1855 In March, Mr. Lincoln gave careful consideration to the troubles in Kansas regarding the homesteading by pro-slavery and anti-slavery settlers.

- 1857 In the spring, Mr. Lincoln disagreed with the Supreme Court ruling on the Dred Scott decision, but gave no support for disunion as did other Republicans throughout the Union.

On June 2, in the Illinois State Capitol, Mr. Lincoln replied in depth to the position of Mr. Douglas on the Dred Scott decision. Mr. Lincoln stated that even though he believed the decision was erroneous, it must be obeyed.

- 1858 On June 16, the Illinois Republican Convention nominated Mr. Lincoln for United States Senator, to run against Stephen A. Douglas on the Democratic ticket.

Between July and November, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas campaigned for the Senate. During this time, they met together publically for their famous seven debates, in which the extension of slavery into the territories was the central topic of discussion. While Mr. Lincoln won the popular vote, Mr. Douglas won the election.

- 1859 In October, when John Brown and his band of abolitionists attacked Harper's Ferry, Mr. Lincoln stated that he admired Brown's philosophy, but could not accept his lawlessness.

On December 20, Mr. Lincoln sent a requested autobiography to Mr. Jessie Fell, who distributed it to various Eastern newspapers to promote Mr. Lincoln as a Presidential candidate who held a moderate stand on the slavery issue.

- 1860 During his Cooper Union Address (the address that made him President), Mr. Lincoln stated that the founding fathers had intended to forbid slavery in the territories.

- 1861 In January, President-elect Lincoln reaffirmed his position on the slavery issue: no interference with slavery where it existed; enforcement of the fugitive slave law; and no extension of slavery into the territories.

- 1861 On March 4, at his First Inaugural Address to the nation, President Lincoln restated that he would not interfere with the institution of slavery where it currently existed.

On August 30, when General Fremont began to emancipate slaves from slaveholders that had fought against the Union (in the state of Missouri), President Lincoln told him that he (Fremont) had no right to emancipate the slaves. When Fremont refused to comply with President Lincoln's request, the general was relieved of his command.

- 1862 On March 10, President Lincoln's plan for compensated emancipation of slaves passed both houses of Congress. Not one vote came from the border states.

On April 12, when General David Hunter, Commander of the Department of South, ordered all slaves around Fort Pulaski, Georgia, confiscated and emancipated, President Lincoln later rescinded that order as not being within the authority of a military commander.

On April 16, President Lincoln signed an Act from Congress that emancipated the slaves in the District of Columbia.

On July 17, President Lincoln signed the Second Confiscation Act, which provided for the emancipation of all slaves of Confederates in rebellion, once they came under control of the Union; and that the President could employ blacks for military and naval service in suppression of the rebellious states.

On July 22, Mr. Lincoln presented the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet, and agreed to wait until a major Union victory to announce that proclamation to the world.

- 1862 On August 14, President Lincoln spoke before a delegation of emancipated blacks in which he expressed his hope for the colonization of emancipated blacks to Central America.

On August 22, President Lincoln publically responded to Horace Greeley that his paramount objective was not to preserve or destroy slavery; rather it was to save the Union.

On September 22, President Lincoln made his preliminary announcement for an emancipation proclamation.

- 1863 On January 1, President Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed all slaves in the states of rebellion against the Union.

1864 On June 28, President Lincoln signed a Congressional Act that repealed the Fugitive Slave Law.

On July 8, President Lincoln gave his favor in a proposed Constitutional Amendment to abolish slavery.

1865 On January 31, the Thirteenth Amendment passed the House of Representatives. Within one year, the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified by two-thirds of the states in the Union, abolishing the institution of slavery.

**THE INFLUENCE OF HENRY CLAY UPON ABRAHAM LINCOLN  
REGARDING LINES OF ARGUMENT ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE**

**BY**

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**ABSTRACT OF A THESIS**

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts at the Graduate School  
of Eastern Illinois University**

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The purpose of this study was: To discover the influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln regarding lines of argument on the slavery issue. The method of procedure entailed the following: gathering all available materials related to the problem; organizing the gathered materials into the headings of Henry Clay on the slavery issue; Abraham Lincoln on the slavery issue; and Abraham Lincoln's acknowledgements to Henry Clay on the slavery issue; analyzing the materials according to support for previous writings; contradiction of previous writings; and supplement to previous writings; reporting the findings of the study; and summarizing the findings leading to the final conclusions and recommendations for further study.

The second chapter divided the position of Henry Clay on the slavery issue (by means of classifying his own statements) into seven categories, namely: Morally, slavery is wrong; Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted; Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted; Existing slavery should be left alone; Extension of slavery should be prohibited; Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society; and Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

The third chapter divided the position of Abraham Lincoln on the slavery issue (by means of classifying his own statements) into seven categories, namely: Morally, slavery is wrong; Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted; Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted; Existing slavery should be left alone; Extension of slavery should be prohibited; Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society; and, Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.



The fourth chapter stated acknowledgements by Abraham Lincoln to Henry Clay regarding his (Lincoln's) position on the slavery issue, and divided those acknowledgements into seven categories, namely: Morally, slavery is wrong; Gradual emancipation of the slaves should be adopted; Colonization with emancipated slaves should be promoted; Existing slavery should be left alone; Extension of slavery should be prohibited; Differences between the black and white races prevent equality of citizenship in a single society; and Preservation of the Union should supercede remedies to the problem of slavery.

The fifth chapter dealt with the analysis of the findings, which: supported present writings; did not contradict present writings; and supplemented present writings by producing an extended listing of Henry Clay's statements on the slavery issue, an extended listing of Abraham Lincoln's position on the slavery issue, a striking parallel between Henry Clay's statements and Abraham Lincoln's statements regarding the slavery issue, an extended listing of Abraham Lincoln's acknowledgements regarding Henry Clay's position on the slavery issue, and no examples of Abraham Lincoln differing from Henry Clay in their respective positions on the slavery issue.

The sixth chapter concluded: Henry Clay exerted extremely high influence upon Abraham Lincoln regarding the slavery issue.