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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*The
Lincoln
Centenary.* Abraham Lincoln was born on February 12 in the year 1809. The one-hundredth anniversary of his birth will be very generally celebrated this month. Centenaries of great events, such as the American Declaration of Independence and the Fall of the Bastille, have been observed as notable public occasions, but never before in the history of the world has the one-hundredth anniversary of the birthday of any man been celebrated with such depth of feeling and such widespread concurrence of opinion and sentiment as will mark the tributes paid to the memory and achievements of Lincoln at this time. Lincoln, more than any other man, typifies the American nation as it developed in the last century. The growth of the States beyond the Alleghanies, with their blended American stock and their national spirit, was what availed to hold the Union together in the time of its crisis, and Lincoln was the product of that growth. If we can even now see with some clearness that Lincoln's work was to preserve the Union, and to enable this nation to work out its destinies as one great political and social entity, that paramount fact will become ever more conspicuous as time moves on and the great landmarks of history loom up in true perspective above the smaller things.

*Lincoln's
Fore-
sight.* Lincoln saw that slavery was a bad and obsolete business, making the South peculiar, and tending to divide the country. He could see that this country had to be reasonably uniform in its racial character and in its social and domestic institutions in order to have a solid and prosperous future. He knew that slavery would have to go in any case, because its retention was in the face of the laws of

modern civilization. But he could also see that in the hot-headed and foolish strife about slavery the nation might be divided and wrecked beyond recovery, with consequences of incalculable harm through long centuries to come. There were many people in this country so fanatical and so little gifted with a sense for the real movements of political, or social, or economic history, that they would willingly have smashed forever the American Union in order that slavery might be abolished on Monday rather than on Tuesday or Wednesday. Gradually, some of the descendants of those impatient idealists have begun to see that the things in Lincoln's creeds and programs for which they have been accustomed to apologize as of the compromising sort were the very things that will establish his majestic place in history. Slowly and painfully they have been learning that the question of slavery was only part of the larger question of race, and that the exact moment of emancipation was not more important than the method and the circumstances.

*The Union
Was His
One Aim.* Lincoln made it his business to save the Union for the benefit of all peoples and all races then living and afterward to live within its boundaries. To have kept slavery out of the Territories and to have held it strictly within the lines of the slave States would have led inevitably to some orderly mode of emancipation at no distant period. Southern historians and statesmen will yet arise who will see how truly Mr. Lincoln stood for policies that would have been best for the Southern States. The unity of the country being conceded as a *sine qua non*, Mr. Lincoln would have been ready to favor any reasonable method of emancipation, whether immediate

or gradual. All the facts of modern progress were with Mr. Lincoln in his forecast of the future.

*The West
Controlled the
Future.*

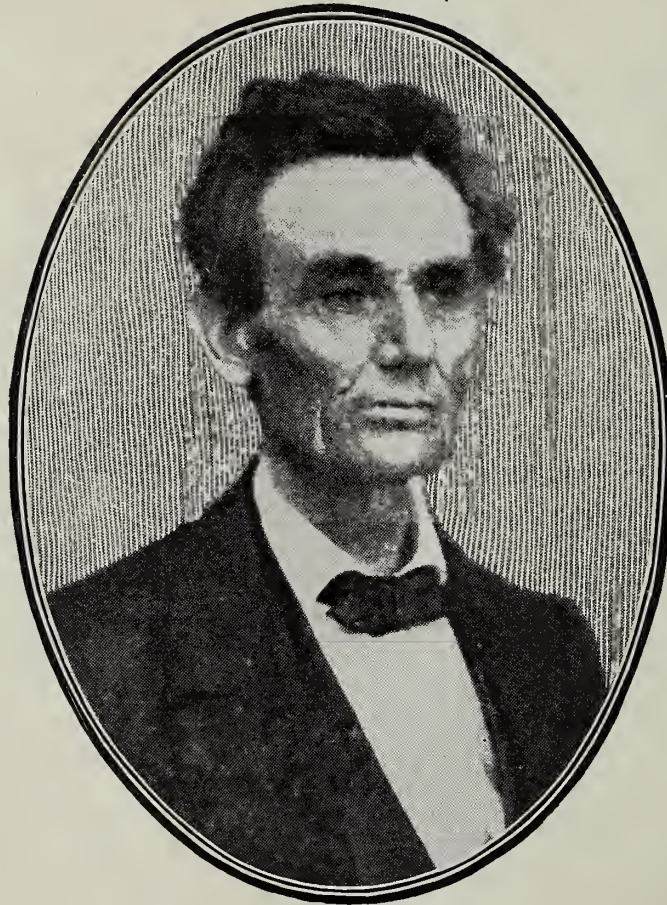
This frontiersman of Illinois, who was familiar with the natural resources of Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, and the new West at large, had only to use his mind and his imagination to see that slavery was in a hopeless position, and that the worst thing that could befall the South would be a successful secession. For it was obvious on a little thought that the future of every country must depend upon the quality of its population. Meanwhile, the great West was becoming rich and powerful through the opportunities it gave to hundreds of young men and women from New England and the Eastern States and to countless thousands from the British Isles, Germany, and other European lands. The slavery system, on the other hand, was not only keeping white immigrants from the South, but was also keeping the great majority of the Southern white people ignorant and poor, massing them in the uplands and mountain districts. With the success of secession there would have been a practical if not a legal reopening of the foreign slave trade and the growth of population in the Southern States would relatively have been a growth of the labor class,—that is to say, of negro slaves. Thus in the case of a future war with the North and West, the fighting strength of the South would have been fatally impaired through its relative loss of white population, while the West would have been rich, populous, and dominant. The growth of negro population would have brought increasing danger of race conflict, and a possible repetition in

parts of the South of the history of San Domingo. The War was better than that.

*Lincoln
Was
National.*

Thus, all the scientific facts in the situation were against disunion, and Lincoln had a keener instinct for their practical appreciation than any other public man of his time. Jefferson and others of the early Southern statesmen had grasped the same ideas; but the cotton-raisers and the technical constitutional lawyers of a generation later than Jefferson lost the power to see facts in their large bearings. Lincoln was not Northern; he was not Southern; he was not Western; he was simply national, and he happened to be wholly

and entirely right. So much for Lincoln's statesmanship. It was broad and strong, and its principles were for the welfare of all parts of the nation. The statesmanship of Douglas was temporizing and far less elevated, although it had the one great merit of being directed toward expedients that would prevent separation and war, and it was based upon the belief that if time could be gained and disruption staved off, the arguments for union and nationality would grow constantly stronger, and the postponed problems would somehow get themselves worked



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

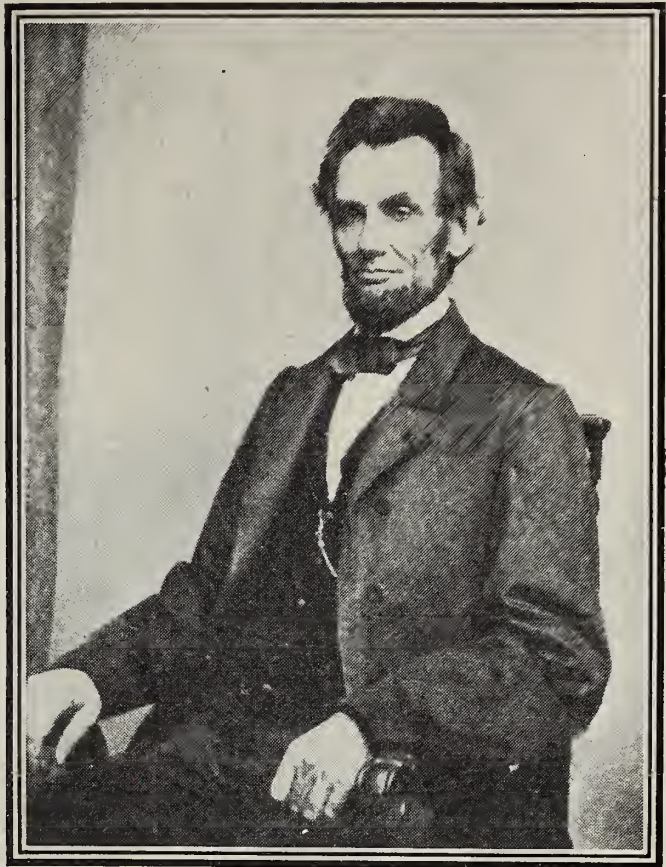
(From a photograph taken in 1860.)

out. To honor Lincoln, therefore, is above all to recognize the value of our nationality.

*Pioneer Life
as a Training
School.*

It must not be thought surpassingly marvelous that a great leader like Lincoln should have risen from humble conditions. While it may not be so easy for Europeans to understand it, Americans ought not to be unmindful or ignorant of the processes by which in this country we have developed personality and individual power to think and to lead. It is not

as if ours had been a country of crystallized castes or social orders. There has been ample opportunity for poor boys in our pioneer communities; and the practice of democratic government in localities has proved itself an excellent school. Abraham Lincoln was born with fine mental powers and great physical prowess. He was a natural leader, and his environment, while different, gave quite as good a practical training for political leadership as did Washington's in early Virginia. Like Washington, Lincoln as a youth was self-reliant and venturesome. Like Washington, also, he applied his mind to the matters in hand whether of a public or a private nature. Lincoln was naturally studious, and he trained his mind partly in the study of books and partly in the practical school of life about him. Political questions were under constant discussion, the speeches of public men were available in the newspapers, and the art of public speaking was encouraged by all the conditions of the time.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(From a photograph taken in 1864.)

A Highly Cultivated Mind. The practice of law in the West and South at that time was closely associated with current politics and with the legal and theoretical discussion of public questions; and Mr. Lincoln was in many respects better educated and better trained than if he had grown up in an Eastern town of that day and had gone through a typical Eastern college. From the very beginning of his career Lincoln had cultivated the art of expression. He had learned to speak convincingly, he had mastered the art of debate, and he had labored assiduously for exact and well-knit modes of utterance. Having found for himself a clear and concise use of words, he gradually acquired great felicity in speech, and many of his public utterances are models of the very best English style. Where a man of such power of mind is also master of such delicacy and precision in the art of expression, it is a great mistake to say of Lincoln that he was not a man of cultivation. He was not schooled in certain conventionalities of manner, and his ways were not always those of the polite society of large cities. But he was a man of a most highly cultivated mind. His interlineations could give a touch of polish and perfection to a state paper that went beyond the skill of the accomplished Mr. Seward, his Secretary of State; and he was easily master of finer and more fitting phrases than could be penned by Edward Everett, the great orator of the time.

His Fine Humanity.

Some of us, then, set Lincoln high on the pinnacle of fame for his statesmanship as our great nationalist. There are others who prefer to set him high for his mastery over men and his gifts of leadership. Still others dwell most upon his exquisite talent for speech and for literary form. But the great majority are those who prefer him for his qualities of heart,—for his humor, his tolerance, his kindness, and his humanity. In a letter to the editor of this magazine which we publish on page 171, President Roosevelt quotes a beautiful and touching letter written by Lincoln to an obscure woman whose sons had perished in the war; and the present occupant of the White House sees in that wonderful letter much that is characteristic of Lincoln's qualities and that makes his personality so cherished a memory and so fine a heritage.

Already a Colossal Figure.

Lincoln was fifty-two years old when he was inaugurated as President in March, 1861, and he was fifty-six when assassinated in April, 1865. There are hundreds of people still living who knew him, thousands who at some time heard him speak, and scores of thousands who remember having seen him. Yet so momentous was his period and so great

were his qualities that he already stands forth as one of the great figures of history, as certain of immortal fame as any other man who has ever lived. What he might have been able to accomplish if he had lived to complete his second term is beyond any one's power to conjecture. He would probably have become involved in a serious controversy with Congress. His point of view was very different from that of the harsh and implacable leaders who were responsible for the reconstruction policy and who undertook to convict President Andrew Johnson of high crimes and misdemeanors. His death was a great calamity, but doubtless it has helped to give that touch of peculiar dignity, pathos, and heroism to the accepted historical figure of Abraham Lincoln that so tragic an ending of a great career at its moment of climax must have bestowed. If he had fought Congress through four bitter years on its reconstruction policy, and then lived long afterward as an ex-President, the historical portrait would have lacked something of the bold, statuesque outlines that it now possesses.

*His
Heavy
Burdens.*

Calumny was forgotten in the mourning over his death. Few Presidents had been more belittled, or ridiculed, or misunderstood than Mr. Lincoln while in the White House. The years following the war were a period of fierce passion and prejudice, and were marked by much of that corruption that follows in the train of a great conflict. Mr. Lincoln, if he had lived, therefore, would have had a fight with Congress such as no other president had ever known. His personal burden was far greater than that which any other American President has had to bear, because, in addition to his ordinary tasks of public administration, he was carrying on a colossal war that lasted through his entire term. Mr. Lincoln was a man of peace, and the carnage and devastation of war were to him as hideous and detestable as to the most devoted member of the peace society. But he was sustained by a belief in the value of American union and nationality as a factor in the future and final peace of the Western Hemisphere and of the world.

*War for
the Sake of
Peace.*

And in this faith Mr. Lincoln has been abundantly justified. We have fought no wars since his day except only that of ten years ago, which was merely an intervention for the

sake of ending a war and establishing conditions of permanent peace. Our unity as a nation has given us such strength and prosperity that we can use our influence with good effect at critical moments to help the entire world in its steady movement away from the barbarism of war toward the conditions of peace and friendship. At the end of the Civil War we were strong enough to secure settlement of differences with England by arbitration and to save Mexico from falling back under European control. We have in recent years signed many arbitration treaties, and, better than that, we have established relations of genuine friendship with all other nations. If the South had been successful, it would have been involved in a warlike future, with declining strength and prestige. Meanwhile the Pacific Coast would also have tried to break away and establish a government of its own, with the prospect of ultimate conflicts with the Asiatic powers. The one great guaranty of peace and prosperity for East, West, North, and South alike is to be found in that perpetual union which Lincoln lived and died to maintain.

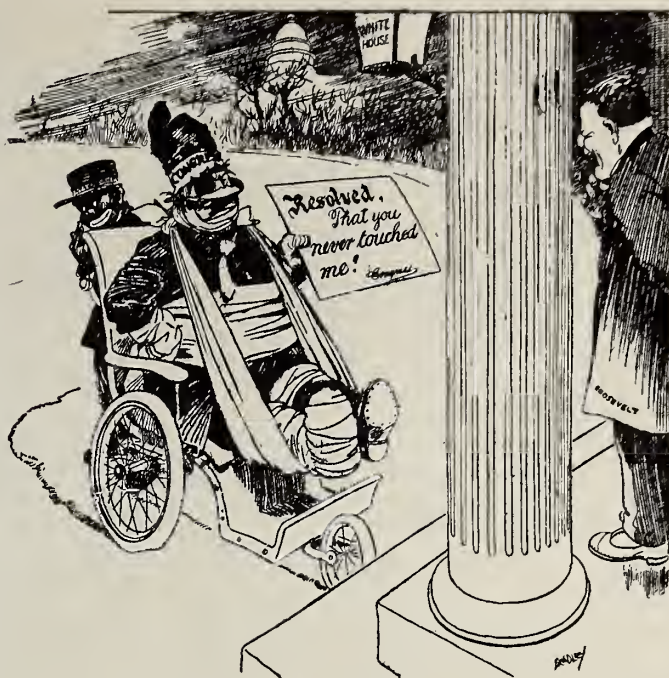
*Respect
Due the
Presidency.*

The critics and cavilers of Mr. Lincoln's time seem small and narrow as we look back upon them from our vantage ground. The Presidency is so great a position that the American people do not intend to confer it upon any man who falls short of high patriotism, or of tried and approved qualities of character, both public and private. Unless, therefore, the sense of public duty be clear, no wise man will assail the chief magistrate. Further than that, any man who attacks the President of the United States with ridicule, with vituperation, or with allegations reflecting upon his conduct or his motives, is pretty sure to get the worst of the bargain and to have his name written down unpleasantly in some footnote to history, to the mortification of his descendants. A careful and dignified discussion of public questions may indeed involve constant differences of opinion; and the President's policies are always a fair subject of adverse presentation by opponents. But personal abuse only reflects upon those who are so unwise as to indulge in it. Even President Johnson, who was not as wise and tactful as he might have been, fares a great deal better in the verdict that history passes upon his times than do his assailants. As for President Roosevelt, the

recent flurries at Washington have been important only in the opinion of those who have been involved in the attacks upon him; and they can have no other general result than to put the present Congress in a rather pitiable light, when under better guidance and control it might have rounded out its term very creditably.

*Attacks
Upon
Mr. Roosevelt.*

Mr. Roosevelt has been the most popular President who has ever filled the office. The range of his acquaintance with public affairs and the unflagging industry and vitality that mark him beyond almost any other man of his generation have led him to try simultaneously to lead the country in a double-quick march of progress in every possible direction. His public spirit has been beyond all question, his intelligence and his information have been of bewildering extent, his actual achievements form a prodigious list, and his energy has seemed to a great many excellent men at Washington to have made him a trifle impatient and dictatorial. It takes a vast amount of vigor for any man in public office to exercise all the power that is theoretically available. It is not that Mr. Roosevelt has been a usurper of authority, but that his unceasing energy has shown the country,—for the first time since Lincoln and the exigencies of a colossal war,—how vast is the power that is reposed in the hands of our Chief Magistrate. If Mr. Roosevelt had lifted his finger for another term the Republican party would have nominated him with unanimity, he would have been easily re-



CONGRESS ASSUMES A FIRM ATTITUDE.

From the *Daily News* (Chicago).

elected, and politicians, whether in Congress or out of it, would not have wished to run the risk of fighting him. This, in fact, furnished one of the reasons why it was best that Mr. Roosevelt should retire. His influence was tending to become so prodigious that his legislative programs would have seemed more authoritative than Presidential recommendations ought to be. But when Mr. Roosevelt had made it plain that he was going to retire, and when the end of his term was so near that there was little to fear by way of punishment or reward, the temptation to snarl at him was as strong for a certain class of men as was the temptation to fawn upon his successor-elect. A good-humored and disinterested public across the length of a great land is able to understand both processes,—that of the cheap detractors who snarl at the outgoing President, and that of the hopeful sycophants who try to gain favor by praising the President-elect at the expense of his most valuable friend and closest public associate.



WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

From the *North American* (Philadelphia).

A
Record Above
Assault.

Certainly the gentleman in the White House has faced the comic little storm of detraction with no seeming disturbance of poise or temper; while the President-elect, with his sense of humor and his knowledge of the situation, could not fail to see the funny side of the frantic efforts of his own recent enemies to wedge themselves in between him and his most loyal friends and supporters. The attempt to differentiate Mr. Roosevelt from

his Administration cannot succeed. The Republican party put the stamp of its approval upon President and Administration alike in its platform last summer, and went still farther, in that it adopted the Roosevelt policies in good faith and without mental reservation. The record of the Roosevelt Administration has been made up, and it has been endorsed by the party and by the country. At the very moment, a few weeks ago, when the leaders of the Senate and the leaders of the House were trying to find some means by which to assert their own dignity as against the President, they were passing a bill to have next year's census taken under the spoils system, in order that Congressmen might have the benefit of conferring appointments upon their own followers. They were perfectly aware that this method would result in poorer work and in needless delays, besides costing the Government several millions of dollars more than a census properly taken under civil-service rules of appointment. The simple, obvious fact is that the present Congress does not do its work upon the same high level of public spirit that the President habitually shows. The country knows this to be true, and no personal attacks upon Mr. Roosevelt can change the broad fact.

*A
Petty
Controversy.*

The President's annual message to Congress at the opening of the session in December was not in point of fact an affront to Congress, but was a public document of great range, in which the President did his very best to set forth the conditions of public business and to recommend what he regarded as important measures for Congress to consider at the present session. Very subordinate to the great matters presented in this message was a section devoted to the work of the Government's Secret-Service officers. Congress in the preceding session had restricted the Executive in the use of the Secret Service, and the President asked for the removal of the restrictions. He held that such restrictions made it easier for criminals to violate the laws. He stated that if Congress did not wish the Secret Service to be used to investigate members of the legislative body, a restriction could be made to apply along that line; but that the President ought to have freedom to use the Government's detectives in tracing crime in the different executive departments. The House, under the influence of some of its leaders, chose to find in the President's lan-

guage a slur upon its honor. The attitude of the House was absurd and without humor, because the President could have had no reason to assail the honor and dignity of Congress as a whole, and certainly would not have chosen to insult Congress by an incidental sentence in the course of a long message of great dignity in which he was seeking most respectfully to secure the co-operation of Congress in the support of various public measures.

*How to
Punish
a President*

In its effort to persuade itself that it had a grievance, Congress was guilty of child's play, and made a laughing-stock of itself. Long days of valuable time in which Congress should have been considering public business were devoted to twaddling debate by way of trying to decide what to do with the President's message. The President, meanwhile, in answer to inquiry, had sent a special message fully explaining the meaning of his remarks on the Secret Service, and giving ample information. Congress finally decided to punish the President by "laying on the table" that part of the annual message containing the distasteful sentences, and also the whole of the special message relating to the Secret Service. The ground for laying the special message on the table was expressed in the statement that it was "unresponsive." In hitting upon this word "unresponsive" Congress felt that it had found a happy way to vindicate its dignity and settle the score. Meanwhile, the broad grin on the face of the whole country gradually penetrated the gloom of the House of Representatives, and the members who had neither thrust themselves forward nor yet been pushed to the front in the controversy were the ones who in the end congratulated themselves on their good luck. The fact is that Congress had not intended at this session to do much except pass the appropriation bills, and the fuss about the Secret Service quickly blew over as an episode in the history of a rather inglorious term of a body that will yet see better days.

*The Dignity
of a
Senator.*

One of the incidents of the Secret-Service discussion was a disclosure that placed Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, in an embarrassing position. Senator Tillman has always seemed to be without restraint or nice scruple in the use of vituperative language. Generally it proves true that men who are reckless in speech are