

A Great American Partnership: Abraham Lincoln and The Chicago Tribune

FIRM FRIENDSHIP SURVIVES TEST OF 10 HARD YEARS

Medill Points Out Goal to Abe—the Presidency

(Continued from page 1)

Republican party? When I finished answering him, he abruptly said: "Well, I guess I'm something of a Seward-Whig myself."

"From that day until his death, I enjoyed a peculiar and close intimacy with Mr. Lincoln."

The story of Lincoln and THE TRIBUNE is one of strong, powerful personalities, with Joseph Medill and Dr. C. H. Ray, the TRIBUNE's brilliant editor and editorial writer of that day, most frequently representing the newspaper.

The Famous "Lost Speech"

A year after this first interview with Lincoln, in May, 1856, Medill was in Bloomington, Ill., as both a reporter for THE TRIBUNE and a delegate to the Republican state convention. This was the occasion of Lincoln's famous "lost speech."

"After a full ticket had been nominated," Medill recalled, "there came a season of speech-making. Among the speakers was W. C. Lovejoy, and when he finished a cry went up for Lincoln. The convention was held in a church, and Lincoln sat in the back part of the meeting place.

"He got up as his name was called, and came forward with a giraffe-like lunge—he never walked straight, like other men—and stood in front of the pulpit. After he had spoken a few sentences, the delegates shouted to him to get into the pulpit. He did so, and there finished his speech.

"It is the regret of my life that this speech of Lincoln's was not preserved. It was easily his greatest, and very likely it was the first of the series of events which made him President. I have often tried to reproduce it from memory.

"Not Here as Delegate"

"Once, at the request of the late Thorndyke Rice of the North American Review, I attempted to reduce my recollections to paper, but I failed. I had to give it up. I will tell you how the speech came to be lost. Lincoln, after he had mounted the pulpit, began something like this:

"Gentlemen of the convention: I am not here as a delegate; I have no credentials, and might be called an interloper. But you have given me a 'call' to speak, and, like a Methodist minister, I have responded."

"A few of us got together in my office at Springfield yesterday and elected ourselves sympathetic visitors to this convention. We have no Republican party in Springfield. I foresee perturbations that will tax the wisest of men to keep American citizens from embroiling their hands in the blood of their brothers."

"Then he drew a picture of slavery, and delivered the most terrible invective upon that institution I ever heard. I remember he said at the close: 'Come what will, you may count on Abraham Lincoln to the bitter end.'

Reporters in the Same Fix

"I do not pretend to remember more. When the speech was finished I found myself standing on the top of the table shouting and yelling like one possessed. I had no notes. My fellow reporters were in the same fix.

"The speech was not reported and never can be. There were but two shorthand reporters in Illinois at that time. I went back to Chicago and hired one of them for THE TRIBUNE. He was Bob Hitt, better known as the Hon. Robert Hitt, congressman from Illinois, and long chairman of the committee on foreign affairs."

[Hitt later was secretary of the American legation in Paris and assistant secretary of state.]

Medill said in another interview that in his opinion Lincoln was just as glad the "lost speech" never was reported, since it was so radical in condemnation of slavery it would have done Lincoln no political good in central and southern Illinois.

Authors of Resolutions

Medill was not the only member of THE TRIBUNE firm actively working for and with Lincoln at this time. Dr. Ray was chairman of the resolutions committee of the Republican convention in Decatur, three months before, which issued the call for the Bloomington convention which Joseph Medill attended. Lincoln and Dr. Ray together wrote the resolutions, which disavowed intentions of interfering with slavery in the south, but protested its introduction to new territories, and opposed Know-Nothingism.

In the election of 1856, the Democrats put James Buchanan in the White House, but the Illinois Republicans, with THE TRIBUNE fighting in their van, elected a Republican governor. The Democratic national victory soon expressed its pro-slavery sentiments thru the Dred Scott decision, which affirmed that a Negro slave was a slave wherever he stood, and gave a shading of constitutional authority to slavery.

Douglas Recognizes Resentment
Sen. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the peppery Democratic champion who had drafted the Kansas-Nebraska bill opening those territories, once believed to be forever free, to slavery, recognized the resentment in Illinois against the Dred Scott decision. He was up for reelection in 1858.

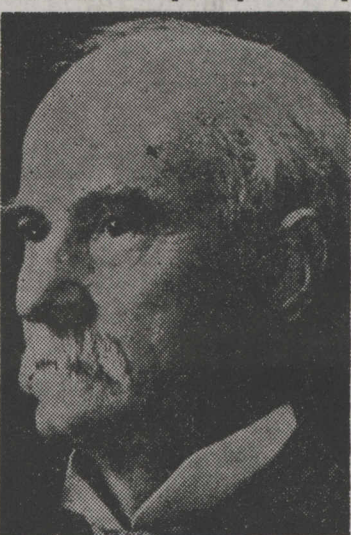
Douglas made a deal with Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune and Republican leader in that state, that he would turn Republican. Greeley came out to Illinois to put it over. He even suggested that the Illinois Republicans re-



The Wigwam building, convention hall for the Republican party in 1860, when Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency. The building stood at the corner of Market and Lake sts.

Springfield, June 15, 1856
Press Tribune Co.
Gentlemen
Keenwith is a little angry
to pay for your daily another year from today. I suppose I shall take the Press Tribune so long as it, and both live, unless I become unable to pay for it. In its devotion to our cause always, and to me personally but you I owe it a debt of gratitude, which I fear I shall never be able to pay.
Yours very truly
A. Lincoln.

Letter from Abraham Lincoln, subscribing for THE TRIBUNE. This letter is kept on public display in the lobby of Tribune Tower.



Robert Hitt, who made stenographic reports of the Lincoln-Douglas debate for THE TRIBUNE. He later was a congressman and chairman of the committee on foreign affairs, secretary of the American legation in Paris, and assistant secretary of state.

THE TRIBUNE are among the most valuable sources of material on the campaign," Prof. Strevey wrote. Joseph Medill traveled with Lincoln when he made his speeches at Galesburg, Macomb, and Freeport. He has left an account of the trip:

"On the way north on the cars," Medill wrote, "Mr. Lincoln beckoned me to take a seat beside him—I was sitting a few seats behind him at the time—which I did. He took a half-sheet of writing paper out of his pocket and handing it to me said:

"I am going to answer Mr. Douglas's question today in our discussion which he put to me at Ottawa, and I intend to ask him a few questions in return, and I jotted them down at the hotel before I left there. I wish you to read them over and tell me what you think of my questions."

Opposes Second Question
"I did so, reading one of them several times. After a considerable pause, he said:

"Well, how do those interrogations strike you?"
"I replied: 'Mr. Lincoln, I do not like the second question.'"

"What's the objection to it?" Mr. Lincoln asked. I replied:

"It opens the door thru which Sen. Douglas will be enabled to escape from a tight place in which he finds himself on the slavery question since he succeeded in getting the Missouri Compromise [which excluded slavery from the territories north of 36° 30' latitude] repealed and that included, of course, Kansas and Nebraska."

Prof. Strevey takes the story from there:
"Medill relates that he could make no impression on Lincoln, and upon arrival at Freeport acquainted Washburne and Norman Judd with Lincoln's plan. They in turn brought pressure to bear but to no avail. Lincoln was determined to force the hand of Douglas regardless of the outcome, altho to Medill and Judd it seemed as tho he did not care for the senatorship."

How the Question Ran
"The question ran: 'Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?'"

"The reply of Douglas embodied his theory of unfriendly legislation, by which 'police regulation by the local legislature could exclude or allow slavery according to the will of the majority regardless of the Supreme court.'"

It is said, in later years, that

Abraham Lincoln, after he became President, called Joseph Medill to one side and asked him if he remembered this incident. The President maintained that this one question, Douglas's answer to which angered the slave owners in the south, who counted on the Supreme court's decision to protect slavery, prevented Douglas's election to the Presidency in 1860. Lincoln said he forsook the senatorship for the greater office.

Written Into History
It is true that Abraham Lincoln lost the Illinois senatorship to Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, but what the debates and THE TRIBUNE's reporting of them in full did for his political career and his election to the Presidency two years later has been written into history.

"Following the policy which had been adopted at the beginning, THE TRIBUNE carried the fight to the people," Prof. Strevey wrote. "It was soon recognized as the most powerful Republican journal in the west, and, due to the publication of the debates and speeches, it gained in both popularity and subscribers."

"All of the members of the firm took an active part in the campaign, and Lincoln later acknowledged that, without the support of THE TRIBUNE, he would have been overwhelmed."

Advertise Lincoln to Country
Another responsible historian, Albert J. Beveridge, has written:

"The debates served to advertise Lincoln to the country, and thus made possible his nomination to the Presidency, or rather, added the final and indispensable element which rendered that outcome certain in the Republican convention of 1860."

Another writer, H. I. Cleveland, who interviewed Joseph Medill for a Saturday Evening Post article, has added that the campaign which made Abraham Lincoln's nomination for President possible was planned in the office of THE TRIBUNE by Medill, who was secretary of the Republican state central committee.

"It was arranged that Lincoln's name was to be 'mentioned' by the press," he wrote, "but THE TRIBUNE was not to take the initiative. Four or five county papers down in the old Whig belt were to broach the subject; then a paper in Springfield was to take it up; then another, say in Rock Island or Champagne, until in due time the 'boom' was to reach Chicago. This plan was carried out."

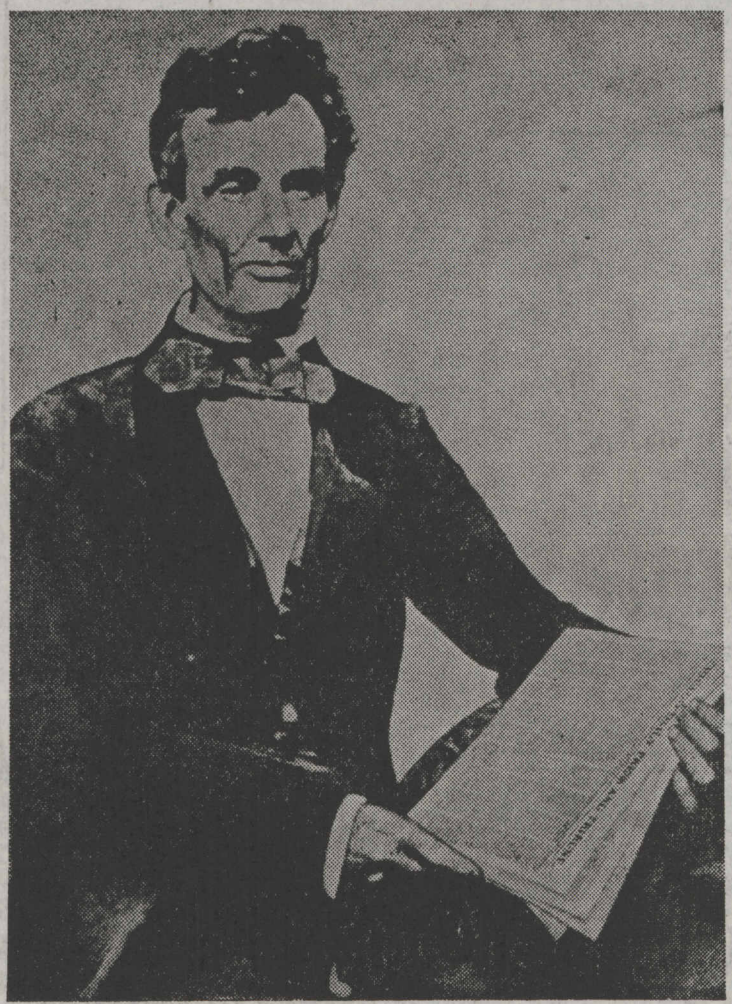
Arrange Trip to New York
"The committee arranged Lincoln's trip to New York and his Cooper Union speech. Mr. Lincoln wrote that speech in Springfield, took it to Chicago, and left it with Mr. Medill and Dr. Ray for correction, saying:

"You boys read that thru and make such changes as you think ought to be made."

"We went over it," said Mr. Medill, "and made some marginal notes suggesting changes. He took our notes to his hotel. A few of them he adopted; the others he threw away. He generally had his mind made up before he asked for advice, and he was not an easy man to swerve."

Joseph Medill was in Washington, reporting national politics for THE TRIBUNE between 1858 and 1860. He wrote letters home to his paper, continually advocating the "availability" of Lincoln as President—his ability to carry the doubtful border states nor other Republican could carry.

Incurs Enmity of Seward
He incurred the life-long enmity of William H. Seward, New York's favorite Republican son, and the personal candidate of Horace Gree-



Old photograph of Abraham Lincoln reading The Chicago Tribune, then called The Press and Tribune.

ley and Boss Thurlow Weed, by advocating Lincoln over Seward. "He blew me up," Medill reported of Seward's reaction to his Lincoln letters.

Medill told about an interview with Lincoln in Washington, about this time:

"See here! You boys have got me up a peg too high," Lincoln exclaimed. "How about the Vice Presidency—won't that do?"

"When you go to the theater," Medill explained, "always buy a box ticket, because with that you can sit anywhere; but if you buy a pit ticket, you must sit in the pit or go out."

"How do you apply that?" asked Lincoln.

"Easily," said Medill. "If you must 'come down a peg,' it will be mighty easier later on. The Seward fellows would jump at the chance. But now, it is President or nothing."

President or nothing! Medill then took a pencil and showed Lincoln how he could win the office, by adding up the states he could carry and their electoral vote.

When the time came for the Republican national convention of 1860 to select a candidate for President, the great gathering was held in Chicago's Wigwam.

Historians who have written biographies of William H. Seward of New York; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania; Edward Bates of Missouri; Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts, and the other great national figures of Whig-Republican persuasion, have chronicled the disappointment of those men at not getting that nomination.

How "Something Happened"
They have exclaimed, time and again, in the words of their heroes, how "something happened" to nominate an unfamiliar son of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. Some of them have credited a middle-western Republican daily for the "foul machinations" which brought that deed about.

Whatever the charges, it was THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE and its proprietor who nominated Abraham Lincoln in 1860, and here is the story, told in the proprietor's own words, wistfully penitent for the method, perhaps, but triumphant for the ultimate end:

"It was the meanest trick I ever did in my life," Joseph Medill wrote. "New York was for Seward, and the isolation of its delegates was desired by Lincoln men. Pennsylvania was the most important doubtful state. It followed that the New York delegates were seated at one end of the vast hall with no state for neighbor that was not hopelessly for Seward."

Joseph Medill, of course, had got himself appointed, along with Norman B. Judd, Lincoln's convention lieutenant, as head of the convention arrangement and seating committee.

Could Hardly Hear Orations
"At the other end of the hall, so far away that the voices of the Seward orators could scarcely be heard, was placed Pennsylvania. Between Pennsylvania and New York were placed the Lincoln delegates from Illinois, also those of Indiana and New Jersey."

"I took my seat among my old friends of the Ohio delegation, but Joshua R. Giddings without ceremony ordered me out. My friends came to my rescue; we had a nice little argument, and I stayed. After the second ballot, I whispered to Carter, of Ohio:

"If you can throw the Ohio delegation for Lincoln, Chase can have anything he wants."

"H—how d—ye know?" stutted Carter.

"I know, and you know I would not promise if I didn't know."

18 or 19 Votes for Lincoln
"So Carter got up and announced 18 or 19 votes of Ohio for Lincoln. Giddings challenged the vote, but on the poll it was found that Carter hadn't 'nigged' more than one or two votes."

"That settled the nomination of Lincoln. I have always believed that the way the delegates were seated in that convention had a great deal to do with this nomination."

Other unbiased observers have supported Joseph Medill on this. Dr. Humphrey H. Hood, who acted as correspondent for the Free Press of Hillsboro, Ill., told of the balloting in the letter he wrote to his newspaper.

"On the second ballot Seward gained 11, and Lincoln 79 votes; the former still having a majority," he wrote. "On the final vote, when all the states had been called, Lincoln

TRIBUNE CALLED NEW DEPARTURE IN BOTH JOURNALISM, POLITICS

The establishment of THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE 100 years ago today was "the initiative of an entirely new departure in not only journalism but politics in Chicago and the United States," Col. J. K. C. Forrest, one of the four original proprietors, declared in an historic interview in THE TRIBUNE in 1891. He said the creation of the Republican party is "as much due to the establishment of THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE as to any other cause."

still lacked two votes of the required number.

"Then Carter, of Ohio, rose and amid breathless silence, announced that Ohio changed four votes from Chase to Lincoln. This was enough, and for 10 minutes nothing was heard but the roar of human voices and then came booming thru the open doors and windows the voice of the first gun of the campaign."

So from nomination THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE helped to carry its candidate to the Presidency, its brilliant editorials quoted widely in scores of dailies and weeklies throughout the nation. People of the east began to discover the west, because of Abraham Lincoln, and newspapers of the east began to discover THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, because it spoke for him.

Lincoln stood against Sen. Douglas again. This time it was for the highest office in the land, and this time he won.

The War Comes

All issues, even the inaugural of Abraham Lincoln, were obscured under the dread secession of the southern states, which occurred before Lincoln took office.

The war came, despite all Lincoln could do to avert it—despite the fact that THE TRIBUNE wholly supported it as the only catalyst that could cleanse the nation and restore the Union and the Republic. "Let the claret be drawn!" Joseph Medill wrote, a few years before, when trouble brewed in Kansas.

Sometimes now, their views drew apart—the President's and THE TRIBUNE's—but when Gettysburg came, and President Lincoln later went there to dedicate that battle-field, it was THE TRIBUNE which printed in full the text of his historic address.

THE TRIBUNE was a day late with the Gettysburg address. It had to wait for the report of its staff correspondent there, because the first account, filed by the Associated Press, then the monopoly of the New York newspapers, contained only 300 words, mostly about "the solemn dirge of the choir and the dedicatory remarks of President Lincoln," without telling what they were.

Foretold Greatness of Speech
When THE TRIBUNE's own correspondent reported the Gettysburg address THE TRIBUNE commented that "more than any other single event will this glorious dedication nerve the heroes to a deeper resolution of the living to conquer all hazard. More than anything else the day's work contributes to the nationality of the great Republic."

The war was hardly over before Abraham Lincoln fell, in Ford's theater, April 14, 1865, victim of an assassin's bullet.

"Terrible News," THE TRIBUNE headlined, "President Lincoln Assassinated at Ford's Theater. A Rebel Desperado Shoots Him Thru the Head and Escapes."

Memorial Services in Chicago
The Presidential funeral train bore Abraham Lincoln back to Chicago and Illinois. Coverage such as newspapers seldom have given was devoted by THE TRIBUNE to that event. There were four columns on the memorial services at Chicago, and THE TRIBUNE suffered an epidemic of verse sent in by readers, receiving 100 pieces which started either "Toll, toll, ye mourning bells," or "Mourn, Mourn, ye tolling bells," Tribune Historian Philip Kinsley relates. A special Tribune correspondent accompanied the train.

Lincoln's body arrived in Chicago on May 1, and THE TRIBUNE's editorial, titled "In Memoriam," recalled the 10 years' association of a great man and a great newspaper.

"The memory of the last great martyr," it said, "is embalmed forever in the hearts of the American people. Looking upon his remains today, let us consecrate ourselves anew to the great cause of Freedom and Union, for which he yielded up his life."

MAJOR ROLE IN FOUNDING OF G.O.P. IS ATTRIBUTED TO JOSEPH MEDILL

Effort in Behalf of Party

Antedates Arrival in Chicago

The Republican party was founded in 1854, seven years after the birth of THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, but it is impossible to tell the story of one without relating the story of the other.

The reason for this lies in congeniality rather than association, because both of them are, to such a large extent, the children of one great man—Joseph Medill, pioneer editor and publisher of THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE and, in a modern sense, THE TRIBUNE's founder.

"The honor of giving birth to the Republican party," Joseph Medill wrote, shortly before his death, "ought to be divided between Steve Douglas and myself. I began preaching the death of the Whig party in my little Whig paper; Douglas hastened it by pulling down the bars and letting the south into the free territory. The north united under the name of the National Republican party to drive them out of it."

First Republican President

The wry humor of this declaration can be appreciated when it is recognized that "Steve Douglas" is Sen. Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois Democrat, author of the hated Kansas-Nebraska bill, and opponent of Republicanism, whom Abraham Lincoln defeated at the polls in 1860 to become the nation's first Republican President.

Joseph Medill began to build the Republican party in 1849, six years before he came to Chicago, when he was still proprietor of the Co-shocoon Whig, in Ohio, which he renamed THE REPUBLICAN in order to popularize the name he thought the new political party ought to bear.

The name Republican, Medill wrote, was the finest name that could be conceived because "it means liberty regulated only by law." It was a name all free and honest men could support with their whole hearts.

Letter to Horace Greeley

Medill also proposed the formation of a new Republican party in a letter to Horace Greeley in New York, who was a leader of the anti-slavery forces there. Historians have established that this letter antedates one written by A. E. Boyay suggesting the organization of a new party, being written in 1853.

The Chicago fire of 1871 destroyed the letter Greeley wrote to Medill in reply, but Medill, in later years, recalled it. It said:

"Go ahead, my friend, with your proposed Republican party and God bless you. I hope you have the best of luck. The time has indeed come to bury our beloved [Whig] party; it is dead. We have many fool friends who insist it is only in a comatose state and will recover, but I tell them it is dead."

The Whig party convention of 1852 met in Baltimore and nominated Gen. Winfield Scott for President. It adopted a platform which endorsed the fugitive slave law. This law forced the northern free states to arrest all runaway slaves and send them back to their southern masters without trial by jury.

Pierce Wins by Landslide

The pro-slavery Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce for the Presidency. Joseph Medill's newspaper supported Gen. Scott in this campaign, altho Medill "spat upon the Baltimore platform."

Pierce won the election by such a landslide—his pro-slavery Democratic platform not differing very much from the Whig platform with indorsement of the fugitive slave law in it—that the Whig party was annihilated. Four years later, in 1856, there was hardly a vestige of the party left.

Joseph Medill went to Columbus in the summer following the defeat of Gen. Scott and the Whigs, as a delegate to the convention to nominate a Whig candidate for governor of Ohio. He was a leader of the Free Soil-Whig group, a militant minority, which arose in the convention 100 strong and demanded the nomination of an anti-slavery Whig named Lewis.

Slavery-promising Whigs from southern and central Ohio were in control of the convention, however, and instead of Lewis they nominated a conservative French-American, Nelson Barriere.

Party Killed in Ohio

In the election, the Free Soil-Whigs voted for Lewis anyhow. The result was that Barriere got 80,000 votes, Lewis, 50,000, and the Democrats, 150,000. That killed the Whig party forever in Ohio.

A year after he had founded the Daily Forest City in Cleveland, Medill merged it with the free-soil newspaper then owned by John C. Vaughn, an abolitionist from South Carolina. The new newspaper, owned jointly by Medill and Vaughn, was called the Cleveland Leader.

With Vaughn's help, Medill set out again to unite all the anti-slavery elements in the state into one party. A Cleveland Leader editorial of 1853 was captioned "A New Political Formation." It said:

"An observer of the times must be convinced that the old parties are undergoing a rapid process of decomposition. Both the old parties are effete. The Whig organization seems more nearly defunct than its adversary, being out of power."

Medill wrote letters to all the leaders of the "defunct" Whig party, and other parties, asking them to help in the formation of a new "Republican" party based on Whig principles.

The Preliminary Meeting

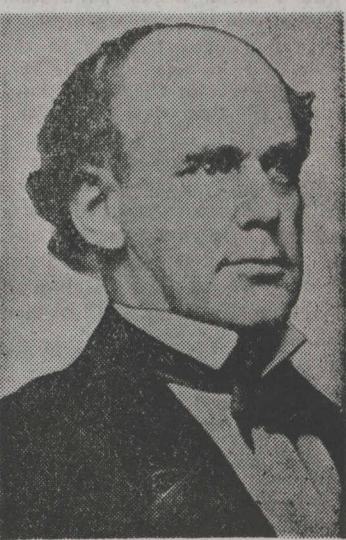
He has described the results of this campaign in his own words: "The preliminary meeting occurred one night in March, 1854, in the office of the Cleveland Leader, of which I was editor," he said.

"I sent out invitations to men, in all the parties, and I thought I could trust, and about 20 of them answered. They were Salmon P. Chase, the main part of the discussion concerned the name.

"Chase argued for 'Free Democracy,' but I held my own, and about midnight a vote was taken and two-thirds of those present assented to



HORACE GREELEY



SALMON P. CHASE

my proposition, which was reduced to form about this:

"Name of the new party—National Republican."

No More Slave States

"Platform—No more slave states; no more slave territory; resistance to pro-slavery aggression; slavery is sectional; liberty is national."

"The platform was written in part by myself and in part by Rufus Spaulding, and the last two clauses were by John C. Vaughn. Before adjourning, a public meeting was called. When the name and platform were agreed upon there were just 12 of these men in the room of the 20 who had come."

"It is not strictly true that we were the first to announce in public the new party and the new name; but it is a fact that none of these other meetings in any state antedated our little gathering in the Leader office in March, 1854."

Medill related how Whig leaders stable disagreed over the name Republican, which he had chosen for the new party, and most adamant among them was Salmon P. Chase, later Abraham Lincoln's secretary of the treasury and chief justice of the United States.

Admired Greek Federation

"He came to me afterward to persuade me to change the name," Medill wrote to Chase. "I tell you now," he said, "you must change that name or I won't go with you; and I'll get my friends to withdraw and keep out of it."

"Chase came in when he couldn't help himself, but he grumbled for years, and finally went back to the Democratic party, to which in spirit he belonged all of the time. He admired the form of the loose Greek federation rather than that of the firm and compact Roman Republic."

"And that, I think, has been the real basis of every defection from the Republican party—not the tariff or any such issue, but the question of the relative rights and powers of the states. It was the name which drew the party together, and when that name is gone there won't be much to hold the party together."

Having named the Republican party and helped to write the first platform, Joseph Medill—by this time in Chicago and at the helm of THE TRIBUNE—undertook an even more gigantic task—putting the first Republican President in the White House.

Reported in History Books

Medill's part in this great task is reported not only in newspaper accounts of the day, but in histories, the authors of which have spent many years searching the period of the Republican party's genesis.

"The campaign which made it possible for Lincoln to be first nominated for President was planned in the office of THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE by Mr. Medill and the state central committee, of which he was secretary," wrote H. I. Cleveland in 1899 in the Saturday Evening Post.

"In regard to the work of Medill in aiding the formation of a new party with the name Republican attached to it," wrote Prof. Tracy Elmer Strevey of the Northwestern university history department, "A. J. Turner, after careful investigation, states: 'The first paper to suggest the name Republican as a desirable one for a new party was the Daily Forest City, published at Cleveland and edited by Joseph Medill, the veteran editor of THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.'"

Use Entire Resources

"THE TRIBUNE used its entire resources to put Lincoln before the people. . . . Thru it all, THE TRIBUNE firm and their paper, from the days preceding the Chicago convention until the last ballot was counted and Lincoln was declared the next President of the United States, did its part."

"Some writers think it was more than that, but in either case . . . there can be little doubt but that the building up of public opinion and the publicity so valuable to a politician was directly aided and tremendously so by THE TRIBUNE. [The full story of Abraham Lincoln and THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE begins on page 1.]

Cook County Is Named for First Congressman

Cook county was incorporated in 1831 and was named for Daniel P. Cook, the first congressman who represented Illinois. Cook was son-in-law of Gov. Ninian Edwards, who was one of the first United States senators from Illinois. Cook served in congress from 1820 to 1827, when he died at the age of 32.