

in that direction. Let us think "malice towards none, with charity for all," even when the campaign is on and kindly sentiments are drowned by the tom-toms of the politicians and the party newspapers.

To be sure, party warfare is the natural condition of representative government. Men will always struggle for political principles and for the honors — and the spoils — of office only less fiercely than on the battlefield for national existence. And a more personal element enters into the question: men will fight just as desperately for their good names as for their lives. When the political tom-toms sound false abuse, tom-toms are sounded in reply, and the opposing forces, with unseemly noise and hideous masks hiding their better natures, go forth to defeat and victory.

Mental qualities, personal tastes and temperament, undoubtedly do much to place a man in this, that, or the other party; and some men are so constituted as to be repelled by the idea of absolute allegiance to any party. The latter prefer to solve the issue for themselves, and to train, for the time, with the party they think is in the right or is provided with the safest leaders. They are a useful class of citizens, and are more conscientious than ambitious, because it is their part to serve, not to play the master. When they announce a choice the leader of their present alliance says, "Well done"; but the leader they have turned from sets the tom-toms ringing with execration. So soon as their conscience carries them again in the other direction, praise and penalties are reversed. It is as true in politics as in business and in war that the strong leader who welcomes accretions is most ruthless in his feelings towards the cooled partisan or the withdrawing ally.

These personal traits, that help to determine a man's politics, draw him naturally into certain social sets and business relations. His amiabilities, therefore, are in danger of being cultivated on partisan lines. Though

kindly in heart and courteous by nature he is capable of treating a political opponent with insolence expressed in the words of a blackguard. His feelings may be more or less involved in the abuse, but the leading motive is the time-honored necessity of beating the tom-toms. Public meetings and political clubs (and no matter how generally cultivated and high-toned the members of the latter may be) indorse and cheer resolutions that stigmatize the opposing party as base in principle and motive; and they even find it within their dignity to throw low epithets at the names of "the enemy's" leaders, even though in doing so they may be dishonoring the very public offices it is the object of their efforts to fill with their own leaders. Men seem to lose the inbred manners of civilization in beating the political tom-tom.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself" is a rule that appeals as little to a political opponent as it applies to him — when the campaign is on. And even in the lull of political strife the Republican is prone to wonder if his Democratic fellow-citizen is kind to his horse; and the Democrat, on his part, has a suspicion that his Republican neighbor supports his "style" by neglecting to pay his bills; and each respects the Independent only because, perchance, he is lending his vote, and while he is lending it.

In arguing for better thoughts and kindlier manners in political life we are, of course, paying tithes to Utopia; yet it will do good to remind ourselves after our party has been abused, and our chosen leaders defamed, that the only weapon that fills the commonplace void of routine politics is the childish tom-tom, strident and smarting perhaps, but not death-dealing, and that public men and public bodies are to be respected in proportion as they refrain from beating it. The world, by this time, ought to be too old for barbarous methods in the exercise of the duties of popular government — the most civilized of all human actions.

## OPEN LETTERS.

### The Inside Facts of Lincoln's Nomination.

THERE is a chapter in the history of the Chicago convention of 1860 that nominated Abraham Lincoln which has never been written. A majority of the delegates elected to this convention were favorable to the nomination of William H. Seward. That he was the favorite of the party there was no doubt.

At this time it was admitted that there were four doubtful States — New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. In order to elect their candidate it was necessary for the Republicans to carry three of these States. A majority of the delegates from the doubtful States were of the opinion that neither one of these States could be carried by William H. Seward if he should be nominated by the convention. This opinion was freely expressed among the delegates, and was generally believed, and it was this belief that prevented his nomination.

The State conventions of Indiana and Illinois had each instructed their delegates to vote for Abraham

Lincoln; a majority of the delegates from Pennsylvania presented the name of Simon Cameron; while those from New Jersey were desirous to secure the nomination of William L. Dayton. These names were urged because the delegates from these States were satisfied that William H. Seward could not be elected if nominated, and were of the opinion that some other candidate could.

The fact that William H. Seward could not carry the doubtful States was pressed strongly upon all the delegates, and they were told that his nomination would surely defeat the party, and insure the success of the Democratic candidate and the party's policy for the extension of slavery.

The convention was appointed to meet on Wednesday. On Tuesday a committee from Massachusetts and some of the other New England States, with John A. Andrew at its head, visited the delegates from the four doubtful States. Mr. Andrew was the spokesman for his committee. He stated that it was the desire of all that the party should succeed;

that he and others from New England were in favor of William H. Seward, but that they preferred the success of the party rather than the election of any particular individual; and when it was made apparent to them that William H. Seward could not carry the doubtful States and that some other man could, they were willing to give up Mr. Seward and go for the man who could make victory certain. "You delegates all say that William H. Seward cannot carry the doubtful States. When we ask you who can, you from New Jersey give us the name of William L. Dayton, a most excellent and worthy man in every way, and entirely satisfactory to us; but when we go to Pennsylvania they name Simon Cameron; and Indiana and Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. Now it is impossible to have all these three candidates, and unless you delegates from the four doubtful States can agree upon some one candidate, whom you think can carry these States, we from New England will vote for our choice, William H. Seward of New York; but if you will unite upon some one candidate and present his name, we will give him enough votes to place him in nomination." The talk of this committee made a profound impression upon the delegates from the four States, and the necessity of uniting upon some one candidate was felt by all. If they could unite on some one, then there were men enough ready to nominate him. If the four States did not agree, but persisted in putting forward the three candidates, then William H. Seward would be nominated and the party defeated. This was the manner it was presented to them, and certainly a very large majority of all the delegates from the four States so regarded it. The responsibility of the situation was felt, but the difficulty was not an easy one to overcome. Most of the delegates had been instructed, or at least had been elected with the understanding, that they should vote for one of these candidates. To break from them and vote for some one else was not a very easy or pleasant thing to do. This was the situation when the convention assembled on Wednesday. The writer of this was placed on the committee on resolutions, and after the adjournment on Wednesday took no part in the convention until Thursday noon, at which time the committee on resolutions had agreed upon their platform. He then learned that a sub-convention of the delegates from the four doubtful States had been called at the Cameron rooms in Chicago, and that it was then in session. He proceeded there at once and found it organized, with Governor Andrew Reeder of Pennsylvania in the chair. Much discussion was going on, and it was very evident that nothing could be agreed upon in this sub-convention. The writer proposed to Mr. Judd of Illinois that the matter should be referred to a committee of three from each State to be selected by the States. Mr. Judd made this motion and it was carried, and the delegates from each State appointed its committee. The writer cannot remember all the names of the different committees. From Illinois a committee of three was appointed with Judge David Davis at its head; from Indiana, a similar committee with Caleb B. Smith. From Pennsylvania, David Wilmot, William B. Mann, and Judge Purviance were appointed. From New Jersey Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Ephraim Marsh, and Thomas H. Dudley. This committee met at David Wilmot's rooms the same evening (Thursday) at six o'clock. The whole

committee of twelve were present. They remained in session from six until eleven o'clock in the evening. At ten o'clock the white head of Horace Greeley was thrust into the room. He asked if anything had been done, and was told that nothing had been. It was then, under the belief that the committee had failed to agree to anything, that he telegraphed to the "Tribune" that William H. Seward would be nominated the next day on the second ballot. This telegram appeared in the paper on Friday. Thus it is that "man proposes, but God disposes." After Greeley had left, one of the committee from New Jersey proposed that they should ascertain, so far as they could, the vote that each of the three candidates, Lincoln, Cameron, and Dayton, could command in the convention. This canvass was made, and it was found that Lincoln was the strongest candidate; that he could obtain more votes than either of the others in the convention. This fact being ascertained to the satisfaction of all the committee, one of the delegates from New Jersey asked the committee from Pennsylvania, if New Jersey would give up Dayton and vote for Lincoln, whether the friends of Cameron would also agree to support Lincoln. The committee from Pennsylvania stated that they had no power to bind their co-delegates, but that they were prepared to recommend it, providing the committee from New Jersey would do the same. After some discussion this was agreed to, and Abraham Lincoln, so far as this committee of twelve from the four doubtful States was concerned, was agreed upon as the candidate for the Presidency. The understanding was that the three committeemen from Pennsylvania were to submit the conclusion of the committee to the delegates from that State and urge upon them its adoption, and the committee from New Jersey agreed on their part to submit the matter to the friends of Judge Dayton, and to urge upon them the ratification of the action of the committee to vote as a unit for Lincoln. A meeting of the delegates from New Jersey who were friendly to William L. Dayton was called at the Richmond House the same night at one o'clock. All of Judge Dayton's friends were present, and after they had been informed what had been done by the committee of twelve, they ratified it and agreed that after the complimentary voting was over they would vote for Lincoln. The Pennsylvania delegates met the next morning (Friday) at nine o'clock, and after hearing the report of their committee agreed to cast their votes for Abraham Lincoln, after giving complimentary votes for Simon Cameron. The committee of twelve, before they adjourned after agreeing upon Abraham Lincoln as their candidate for President, consulted upon the question of Vice-President and selected Henry Winter Davis of Maryland; and Judge Davis of Illinois, his first cousin, was appointed to telegraph him and ask if he would accept, if nominated. An answer was received from him the next morning that he would not accept. But for this refusal Henry Winter Davis would have been placed upon the ticket with Lincoln. Before the committee of twelve adjourned it was agreed to keep the proceedings private, except to those who were immediately interested. In consequence of this injunction, the action of the committee was not generally known among the delegates when the convention assembled on Friday morning. The States were called alphabeti-

cally. New Jersey was called before Pennsylvania, and on the third ballot, when this State was called, the writer, who had been selected to make the break, arose and stated that on that ballot he should vote for Abraham Lincoln, and he was at once followed by all the other friends of William L. Dayton, who voted for Lincoln. On the same ballot when Pennsylvania was called the delegates from that State voted for Lincoln, as had been agreed upon. This gave Lincoln the four doubtful States and virtually nominated him. As soon as this was seen, some of the States that had voted changed their votes, and others that had not voted cast their votes for Lincoln, giving him a majority of the whole convention and thus nominating him. I am not aware that this part of the history of the convention has ever been made public. It is but right and proper that it should be given to history.

CAMDEN, N. J.

*Thomas H. Dudley.*

#### University Extension and the Science of Teaching.

IN failing to give direct instruction on the education of children the universities and colleges are guilty of a great wrong in thus neglecting that training which fits for the greatest responsibility of life. The indifference of the higher institutions of learning to the subject of education is also greatly responsible for its being the one great subject about which educated men generally are most ignorant.

As influences upon the lower orders of society must come from the higher orders, it is almost useless to expect any more general interest in education until the universities set the example and give to its study the prestige and the means for research and investigation given to other and less important subjects. In thus reaching out to help the teaching profession to a broader and deeper knowledge of educational principles, the universities will be brought to see their own needs and their neglect of the most important thing in life—the bringing up of children.

It is a mistake to think that a knowledge of the philosophy and science of education belongs only to the teacher. The teacher's influence and power is very great, but it is small compared with that of the parent: therefore how important to the parent is the knowledge of child-nature in its physiological and psychological aspects; the value and order of certain studies; the respective worth of educational practices and the principles upon which they are based, etc. The overwhelming amount of evil that is due to ignorance of these things on the part of parents, together with the irresponsible and unthinking way the duties of parenthood are as-

sumed, demands the attention of thinking men, and calls for some solution—some instruction from the centers of thought and learning. However, the growing need for educational knowledge will continually force on the higher institutions of learning the necessity for giving to educational research and study the moral support and the opportunities it so fairly deserves.

The world needs teachers, great ones, teachers for children and teachers for the people, and it is the university that should supply these by widening its functions and becoming, as it should, the great teacher of the people. University extension in this country is only in its infancy, but its value and practicability as demonstrated in England and Scotland assure a large and vigorous growth. University extension, too, is suggestive of such a wide scope of activities and influences that it is to be hoped that through this means will be begun in the near future some work for humanity, some work for the enlightenment and the moral uplifting of the masses. The extension of university privileges and influences to the school and to the people is a sign that the university is beginning to assume its proper sociological function.

"THE TEACHER."

*Mary Hargrove Simpson.*

#### Bloodhounds and Slaves.

IN the March CENTURY I notice an interesting article, "Bloodhounds and Slaves."

Many a Southerner will smile as he reads: "I suppose it will hardly be believed, but, as a fact, dogs were rarely used in the South for tracking human beings. I never knew of a case where they were used in Virginia. . . . I saw but one pack in Georgia, . . . and I never heard of a pack in Alabama." This only shows what Mr. Nelson knew, saw, or heard, and proves nothing as to facts. His conclusions are misleading. I, too, lived many years in Alabama, and knew, saw, and heard of many packs that were kept and trained to follow the trail of runaway negroes, and I knew several men who made it their principal business to capture fugitives.

I have often seen dogs on the trail, and have seen the runaway brought in as the result of the hunt. These dogs were not bloodhounds, though often so called. Nor were they *little* foxhounds, from which there was no danger, but they would bite, and, as a pack, would tear a man down. Safety for the pursued was in taking to a tree.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

*Observer.*

