A Study of Some Elements of Style in Lincoln's Speeches

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared under my supervision by

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A Study of Some Elements of Style in Lincoln's Speeches.

If some prophet, nearly one hundred years ago, at the humble birth of Abraham Lincoln, had foretold that he was to rise to first place of power and honor in the nation, the prediction would have been deemed wonderful, but not impossible of fulfillment, since men not infrequently achieve political leadership through the power of will and of physical force. But had the prophet also foretold that this offspring of the wilderness, unfavored by fortune, and practically untaught, should make for himself a high place in the realm of letters - reforming and refining his roughness and crudity of speech until his crowning efforts ranked with the master-pieces of the world's oratory, - that would have been the miracle unbelieved until actually realized. Yet that miracle, through the transforming power of a great love for truth and righteousness which God had implanted in a human soul, came to pass.

A study of Lincoln's style is a study in evolution. From the time of his early attempts at public speaking there is a constant development in power and grace of expression, until his language stands forth clear, luminous, strong and beautiful in its rare simplicity, - the fit instrument of a fine, noble soul.

The final perfection of Lincoln's style resulted from a combination of inward and outward circumstances. It may be largely ascribed to the nobility of purpose shaping and directing his whole life, which led him to cultivate his power
of expression, not for mere dramatic effect, but rather that he might make the truth as he saw it, a little more evident to mankind, a little less capable of distortion, and disguise. Like Solomon of old he made the unselfish choice, and for his sincere devotion to principle, many rare gifts were added unto him also. We may believe that the following words in which Lincoln, in his "Eulogy on Henry Clay" gave the secret of the great statesman's oratorical power, expressed as well the ideal which he had consciously set up for himself, as they certainly expressed the underlying forces which brought about his own final success - "Mr. Clay's eloquence did not consist, as many fine specimens of eloquence do, of types and figures, of antitheses and elegant arrangements of words and sentences, but rather of that deeply earnest and impassioned tone and manner which can proceed only from great sincerity, and a thorough conviction in the speaker of the justice and importance of his cause. This it is that truly touches the chords of sympathy.... All his efforts were made for practical effect. He never spoke merely to be heard."

Besides this inner impulse, the love of truth which, more and more, for its own sake demanded simplicity of expression, two general causes aided the development of Lincoln's style. First, the nature of his education which literally continued throughout his entire lifetime: He was a careful reader and student, and thoroughly mastered all the information to which he had access. His Shakspere, especially was his close companion. Thus his vocabulary was ever being enriched,
and his discrimination and taste were constantly being developed. Secondly, the conditions under which his later speeches were delivered: The people of the West were his own people, and when he spoke to them he naturally used the popular, colloquial style of oratory which they appreciated and enjoyed; but the people of the East were highly cultured and critical listeners, requiring a more careful preparation. Accordingly, in the case of his most important Eastern speeches, he weighed carefully and wrote out beforehand every word of the intended address.

The aim of this investigation of the "Elements of Style in Lincoln's Speeches", has been to trace, so far as possible the gradual change in his manner of thought, expression, and to discover and to point out the most characteristic features of his literary method. In accordance with the plan of study decided upon, only the most important figures of speech, metaphor, simile and personification, have been considered, but all significant examples of the use of quotation, both the direct and the indirect, have been carefully noted. These various elements of style have been classified and counted more than once only in the cases where they markedly overlapped, as in the following passage where an indirect quotation is also a personification and a simile:

"He ever seems to have gone forth like the Egyptian angel of death, commissioned to slay, if not the first, the fairest born of every family."

Among the quotations those, which plainly were not introduced for literary effect have been disregarded. Numerous
extracts from the Declaration of Independence, and from the United States Constitution, together with passages from the speeches of various men such as Jefferson, Clay, and Douglas, have not been considered. For example, there appears in the Cooper Institute address a quotation from one of Douglas's speeches which Lincoln took as his text:

"Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood the question just as well, and even better than we do now."

This extract in whole or in part, with its variations was repeated by Lincoln no less than fifteen times in the course of his speech. The effect produced is that of a kind of sledgehammer force, which is very impressive, but the quotation is not to be regarded as a literary one. There have also been omitted from the classification expressions like the following which, although in reality examples of figurative speech, have become so common as to be passed over unnoticid by the ordinary reader:

"Let me here drop the main argument."

"Necessity drove them so far, and farther they would not go."

Long quoted passages have been entirely left out of consideration, as not belonging to a study of Lincoln's style.

Nicolay and Hay's "Complete Works" of Lincoln has been the text used throughout. The speeches and addresses examined, those illustrating the most important periods of Lincoln's public life - are as follows:

1842 Address before the Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society.
1852 Eulogy on Henry Clay, Delivered in the State House at Springfield, Illinois.

1854 Speech at Peoria, Illinois, in reply to Senator Douglas.

1858 Speech delivered at Springfield, Illinois, at the close of the Republican State Convention by which Mr. Lincoln had been named as their candidate for United States Senator.

1858 Fifth Joint Debate, at Galesburg, Illinois.

1860 Address at the Cooper Institute, New York.

1861 First Inaugural Address.

1863 Address at the Dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery.

1865 Second Inaugural Address.

Thus are represented by these selections two of Lincoln's early non-political addresses; one of his first replies to Douglas; his famous "House-divided-against-itself" speech; one of his responses to Douglas from the memorable debate series; his most finished political speech; together with the latter and most perfect examples of his oratory,—the three great addresses.

The general result of this investigation,—the details of which will be presented in the following pages, has shown, first, that Lincoln's apprentice speeches were his most flowery ones, not only in the number, but also, more especially in the character of the figurative and quoted passages,—the first tendency being toward the florid, although some notable exceptions fore-shadowed future nicety and restraint,—and that
there was a comparatively steady progression from his "first manner", to the classical severity of his later efforts; secondly, that metaphor was his favorite figure of speech, and that he was much addicted to the use of quotation; thirdly, that his most common sources of quotation were the Bible and Shakspere; and fourthly, as an interesting negative result, that his addresses do not, as is popularly supposed, show an extensive use of comic story.

Some features of the development of Lincoln's style will be brought out by the following classified list of illustrations arranged regularly according to the chronological order of the selections studied, and by the tabulated data of each speech, giving the comparison of the whole number of words of figurative and quoted passages contained, with the total number of words, together with the comparative frequency of use of the various elements of style.

Finally, Lincoln's use and source of quotation will be briefly illustrated and discussed.

While the results in choice and classification have been carefully weighed, it is evident that no assertion can be made of their complete accuracy, since the personal element, of necessity, entered so largely into the consideration. Another, following exactly the same method, would doubtless have omitted some passages here included as figures of speech, inserting others which have been left out, and would probably also have made different classifications in some cases where the line of division between the several figures was so nar-
row as to make the decision extremely difficult.

This investigation may, however, throw some new light upon Lincoln's use of the various elements of style, and may aid perhaps, even though in a slight degree, to some more exhaustive study.
1842

Address before the Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society
Metaphor, page 57. Volume 1. Although the temperance cause has been in progress for near twenty years, it is apparent to all that it is just now being crowned with a degree of success hitherto unparalleled. The list of its friends is daily swelled by the additions of fifties, of hundreds and of thousands.

Personification p.57. The cause itself seems suddenly transformed from a cold abstract theory to a living, breathing, active and powerful chieftain, going forth "conquering and to conquer."

Direct quotation. p.57. "Conquering and to conquer"...

(Revelation VI:2.)

Met. p.57. The citadels of his great adversary are daily being stormed and dismantled; his temples and his altars, where the rites of his idolatrous worship have long been performed, and where human sacrifices have long been wont to be made, are daily desecrated and deserted.

Person. p.57. The triumph of the conqueror's fame is sounding from hill to hill, from sea to sea, and from land to land, and calling millions to his standard at a blast.

Person. p.57. The warfare heretofore waged against the demon intemperance has somehow or other been erroneous.

Met. p.57. Either the champions engaged or the tactics they adopted have not been the most proper.

Met. p.58. But when one who has long been known as a victim of intemperance bursts the fetters that have bound him...
Indirect quotation p.58. ...bursts the fetters that have bound him... (St John XI.)

Direct quo. p.58. "clothed and in his right mind"
(St Luke VIII:35.)

Met. p.58. In my judgment, it is to the battles of this new class of champions that our late success is greatly, perhaps chiefly, owing. But, had the old-school champions themselves been of the most wise selecting, was their system of tactics the most judicious?

Met. p.58. When the dram-seller and drinker were incessantly told...in the thundering tones of anathema and denunciation with which the lordly judge often groups together all the crimes of the felon's life, and thrusts them in his face just ere he passes sentence of death upon him - that they were the authors of all the vice and misery and crime in the land; that they were the manufacturers and material of all the thieves and robbers and murders that infest the earth; that their houses were the workshops of the devil; and that their persons should be shunned by all the good and virtuous, as moral pestilences...

Met. p.58 & 59. To have expected them to do otherwise...was to expect a reversal of human nature, which is God's decree and can never be reversed.

Simile p.59. It is an old and a true maxim "that a drop of honey catches more flies than a gallon of gall".

So with men.

Direct Quo. (Proverb) p.59. "that a drop of honey catches
more flies than a gallon of gall" (German proverb).

Met. p.59. Therein is a drop of honey that catches his heart, which, say what he will, is the great high road to his reason...

Met. p.59. ...he will retreat within himself, close all the avenues to his head and heart; and though your cause be naked truth itself, transformed to the heaviest lance, harder than steel, and sharper than steel can be made, and though you throw it with more than herculean force and precision...

Simile p.59. ...you shall be no more able to pierce him than to penetrate the hard shell of a tortoise with a rye straw.

Indirect Quo. p.59. Benevolence and charity possess their hearts entirely; and out of the abundance of their hearts their tongues give utterance. (Matthew XII:34).

Direct Quo. p.59. "Love through all their actions runs, and all their words are mild".

Met. p.59. ...first opened our eyes upon the stage of existence...

Simile p.60. The victims of it were to be pitied and compassionated, just as are the heirs of consumption and other hereditary diseases.

Met. p.60. ...that all habitual drunkards...must be turned adrift and damned without remedy in order that the grace of temperance might abound, to the temperate then, and to all mankind some hundreds of years thereafter.
Indirect Quo. p.60  ...in order that the grace of temperance might abound, to the temperate then, and to all mankind some hundreds of years thereafter. (Romans v:20).

Person. p.60. The heart could not throw open its portals to it...

Met. p.60.  ...the generous man could not adopt it, it could not mix with his blood.

Simile p.60. It looked so fiendishly selfish, so like throwing fathers and brothers overboard to lighten the boat for our security...

Person. p.60. Great distance in either time or space has wonderful power to lull and render quiescent the human mind.

Direct Quo. (Comic story) p.61. "Better lay down that spade you are stealing, Paddy; if you don't you'll pay for it at the day of judgment."

"Be the powers, if ye'll credit me so long, I'll take another jist."

Direct Quo. p.61. "While the lamp holds out to burn,

The vilest sinner may may return."

(Hymn. Isaac Watts.)

Indirect Quo. p.61. On every hand we behold those who but yesterday were the chief of sinners, now the chief apostles of the cause. Drunken devils are cast out by ones, by sevens, by legions; and their unfortunate victims, like the poor possessed who were redeemed from their long and lonely wanderings in the tombs, are publishing to the ends of the earth how great things have been done for them. (II Corinthians, XI:5, St Luke VIII:2,27,30,38,39)
Met. p.61. On every hand we behold those who but yesterday were the chief of sinners, now the chief apostles of the cause. Drunken devils are cast out by ones, by sevens, by legions...

Simile p.61. ...and their unfortunate victims, like the poor possessed who were redeemed from their long and lonely wanderings in the tombs, are publishing to the ends of the earth how great things have been done for them.

Met. p.61. 'The ball is now rolling gloriously on, and none are so able as they to increase its speed and its bulk, to add to its momentum and its magnitude.

Met. p.61. To fit them for this work they have been taught in the true school. They have been in that gulf from which they would teach others the means of escape. They have passed that prison wall, which others have long declared impassable; and who that has not shall dare to weigh opinions with them as to the mode of passing?

Met. p.61. ...those who have suffered by intemperance personally, and have reformed, are the most powerful and efficient instruments to push the reformation to ultimate success...

Met. p.62. In such an undertaking he needs every moral support and influence that can possibly be brought to his aid and thrown around him. And not only so, but every moral prop should be taken from whatever argument might rise in his mind to lure him to his backsliding.

Person. p.62. ...he should be able to see all that he re-
spects, all that he admires, all that he loves, kindly and anxiously pointing him onward, and none beckoning him back to his former miserable "wallowing in the mire". Direct Quo. p.62. ..."wallowing in the mire"— (II Peter, II:22) Met. p.62. ...and that moral influence is not that powerful engine contended for. Simile p.62. ...Let us make it as unfashionable to withhold our names from the temperance cause as for husbands to wear their wives' bonnets to church, and instances will be just as rare in the one case as the other. Person. pages 62-63. ...the demon of intemperance ever seems to have delighted in sucking the blood of genius and of generosity. What one of us but can call to mind some relative, more promising in youth than all his fellows, who has fallen a sacrifice to his rapacity? He ever seems to have gone forth, like the Egyptian angel of death, commissioned to slay, if not the first, the fairest born of every family. Shall he now be arrested in his desolating career? In that arrest all can give aid that will...Far around as human breath has ever blown he keeps our fathers, our brothers, our sons, and our friends prostrate in the chains of moral death. Simile pages 62-63. He ever seems to have gone forth like the Egyptian angel of death, commissioned to slay, if not the first, the fairest born of every family. Indirect Quo. pages 62-63. He ever seems to have gone forth like the Egyptian angel of death, commissioned to slay,
if not the first, the fairest born of every family.
(Exodus XII:12).

Direct Quo. p.63. "Come sound the moral trump, that these
may rise and stand up an exceeding great army."

Direct Quo. p.63. "Come from the four winds, O breath! and
breathe upon these slain that they may live."

Met. p.63. In it it was the germ which has vegetated, and
still is to grow and expand into the universal liberty
of mankind.

Person. p.63. It breathed forth famine, swam in blood, and
rode in fire...

Met. p.63. ...and long, long after, the orphan's cry and
the widow's wail continued to break the sad silence
that ensued. These were the price, the inevitable price,
paid for the blessings it bought.

Met. p.63. In it we shall find a stronger bondage brok-
en, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed...

Person. p.63. And what a noble ally this to the cause of
political freedom; with such an aid its march cannot
fail to be on and on...

Met. p.63. ...till every son of earth shall drink in rich
fruition the sorrow quenching draughts of perfect lib-
erty.

Person. p.63. Happy day when - all appetites controlled, all
poisons subdued, all matter subjected - mind, all con-
quering mind, shall live and move, the monarch of the
world. Glorious consummation! Hail, fall of fury!
Reign of reason, all hail!
And when the victory shall be complete... How proud the title of that land, which may truly claim to be the birth place and the cradle of both those revolutions that shall have ended in that victory. How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species.

To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked deathless splendor leave it shining on.
1852

Eulogy on Henry Clay

Delivered in the State House at Springfield, Illinois.
Person. p.137. ...the people...made their appeal to the justice of their cause and to the God of battles....

Person. p.167. The infant nation and the infant child began the race of life together. For three quarters of a century they have traveled hand in hand. They have been companions ever. ...and now the nation mourns the man.

Met. p.170. Even those...who have been preferred to him for the highest office have run far briefer courses than he, and left him still shining high in the heavens of the political world. Jackson, VanBuren, Harrison, Polk, and Taylor all rose after, and set long before him. The spell - the long-enduring spell— with which the souls of men were bound to him is a miracle.

Met. p.171. This it is that truly touches the chords of sympathy;...

Met. p.171. In the construction of his measures, he ever carefully surveyed every part of the field, and duly weighed every conflicting interest.

Met. p.171 ...and he burned with a zeal for its advancement prosperity, and glory,...

Person. p.172. The speech now lives only in the memory of a few old men, ...

Person. p.172. The precise language of this speech we shall never know; but we do know...that with deep pathos it pleaded the cause of the injured sailor, that it invoked the genius of the Revolution, that it apostrophized the names of Otis, of Henry, and of Washington, that it
appealed to the interest, the pride, the honor, and the
glory of the nation, that it shamed and taunted the
timidity of friends, that it scorned and scouted and
withered the temerity of domestic foes, that it bearded
and defied the British lion, and, rising and swelling and
maddening in its course, it sounded the onset,...

Met. 172. ...till the change, the shock, the steady strug-
gle, and the glorious victory all passed in vivid review
before the entranced hearers.

Person. p.172. ...the parent State...

Person. p.172. ...Missouri...knocked at the door of the
Union for admission,...

Met. p.173. Not so with the Missouri question. On this a
geographical line could be traced, which in the main
would separate opponents only.


Met. p.173. ...his great eloquence was a mere embellishment,
or at most but a helping hand to his inventive genius,...

Met. p.174. Cast into life when slavery was already widely
spread and deeply seated,...

Met. p.174. Those who would shiver into fragments the Union
of these States, tear to tatters its now venerated Constitute-
tion, and even burn the last copy of the Bible,...

Met. p.174. ...and the name and opinions and influence of
Mr. Clay are fully and, as I trust, effectually and en-
duringly arrayed against them. But I would also, if I
could, array his name, opinions, and influence against
the opposite extreme...
Met. p.174  ...the white man's charter of freedom, the declaration that "all men are created free and equal."

Indirect Quo. p.176. Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues, and his hosts were lost in the Red Sea, for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them more than four hundred years.

Met. p.176. ...He will not fail to provide us the instruments of safety and security.
1854

Speech at Peoria, Illinois, in reply to Senator Douglas
Met. p.180. I felt confident you would stay for the fun of hearing him skin me.

Met. p.131. Mr. Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and otherwise a chief actor in the Revolution...

Met. p.132. ...in 1848, the last scrap of this Territory came into the Union as the State of Wisconsin.

Met. p.132. ...in the pure, fresh, free breath of the Revolution, the State of Virginia and the National Congress put that policy into practice. Thus...did that policy steadily work to its great and beneficent end. And thus, in those five States, and in five millions of free, enterprising people, we have before us the rich fruits of this policy.

Met. p.182. But now new light breaks upon us.

Met. p.132. We even find some men who drew their first breath - and every other breath of their lives - under this very restriction, now live in dread of absolute suffocation if they should be restricted in the "sacred right" of taking slaves to Nebraska.

Met. p.182. Repeated p.183. ...and the present bone of contention, Kansas and Nebraska.

Met. p.184. It created a great flutter...

Sim. p.184. ...but it stuck like wax...

Person. p.185. ...she...was knocking for admission into the Union. The proviso men...were for letting her in, but the Senate...would not consent to her admission, and there
California stood, kept out of the Union because she would not let slavery into her borders.

Met. p.135. ...a sort of negro livery-stable...

Sim. p.135. ...droves of negroes were collected, temporarily kept; and finally taken to Southern markets, precisely like droves of horses...

Met. p.137-88. ...a bill for Nebraska itself was within an ace of passing without the repealing clause, and this in the hands of the same men who are now the champions of repeal.

Sim. p.139. No less absurd than it would be to say that because I may have refused to build an addition to my house, I thereby have decided to destroy the existing house! And if I catch you setting fire to my house, you will turn upon me and say I instructed you to do it!

Met. p. 139. I think this is weak enough on its face.

Sim. p.139-90. It had no more direct reference to Nebraska than it had to the territories of the moon.

Direct Quo. p.191. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." (St. Matthew, VI:34.)

Sim. p.191. It is as if one should argue that white and black are not different.

Met. p.192. And it is proposed, and carried, to blot out the old dividing line of thirty-four year's standing...

Met. p.192. After an angry and dangerous controversy, the parties made friends by dividing the bone of contention. The one party first appropriates her own share, beyond
all power to be disturbed in the possession of it, and then seizes the share of the other party.

Sim. p.192. It is as if two starving men had divided their only loaf; the one had hastily swallowed his half, and then grabbed the other's half just as he was putting it to his mouth.

Met. p.192. This is a palliation, a lullaby.

Person. p.192. Slavery pressed entirely up to the old western boundary of the State, and when rather recently a part of that boundary at the northwest was moved out a little farther west, slavery followed on quite up to the new line.

Met. p.192. The Yankees who are opposed to it may be most numerous; but, in military phrase, the battlefield is too far from their base of operations.

Met. p.193. Others are brought, and move in on the same track.

Met. p.193. To get slaves into the Territory simultaneously with the whites in the incipient stages of settlement is the precise stake played for and won...

Met. p.193. Another lullaby argument...

Met. p.194. He watches your necessities, and crawls up to buy your slave, at a speculating price.

Met. p.194. ...but with the slave-dealer, you avoid the ceremony - instinctively shrinking from the snaky contact.


Met. p.195. At the hazard of being thought one of the fools of this quotation, I meet that argument - I rush in - I
take that bull by the horns.

Met. p.195. I say that this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor of American republicanism.

Met. p.198. ...and the disadvantage is against us the whole chapter through.

Met. p.198. But when I am told that I must leave it altogether to other people to say whether new partners are to be bred up and brought into the firm, on the same degrading terms against me, I respectfully demur. I insist that whether I shall be a whole man, or only half of one, in comparison with others, is a question in which I am somewhat concerned....then, after he shall have exercised that right, and thereby shall have reduced me to a still smaller fraction of a man than I already am, I should like for some gentleman, deeply skilled in the mysteries of sacred rights, to provide himself with a microscope, and peep about, and find out, if he can, what has become of my sacred rights. They will surely be too small for detection with the naked eye.

Met. p.198-99. If this question of slavery extension were an insignificant one...it might be shuffled aside in this way; and being, as it is, the great Behemoth of danger, shall the strong grip of the nation be loosened upon him, to intrust him to the hands of such feeble keepers?

Indirect Quo. p.199. ...and being, as it is, the great Behemoth of danger... (Job XL;15.)

Person. p.199. I have done with this mighty argument of self-government. Go, sacred thing! Go in peace.
Direct Quo. p.199. It hath no relish of salvation in it.

(Hamlet, Act III, Scene III, Line 92.)

Person. p.199. ...the Genius of Discord himself could scarcely have invented a way of again setting us by the ears but by turning back and destroying the peace measures of the past. The counsels of that Genius seem to have prevailed.

Met. p.199. ...this is the naked front and aspect of the measure...These principles are an eternal antagonism, and when brought into collision so fiercely as slavery extension brings them, shocks and throes and convulsions must ceaselessly follow.

Met. p.199. Repeal the Missouri Compromise...repeal all past history, you cannot repeal human nature.

Indirect Quo. p.199. It still will be the abundance of man's heart that slavery extension is wrong, and out of the abundance of his heart his mouth will continue to speak.

(St. Matthew, XII:34.)

Met. p.200. Through all this bowie-knives and six-shooters are seen plainly enough, but never a glimpse of the ballot box.

Met. p.200. ...but if they had literally formed a ring and placed champions within it to fight out the controversy, the fight could be no more likely to come off than it is. And if this fight should begin, is it likely to take a very peaceful, Union-saving turn? Will not the first drop of blood so shed be the real knell of the Union?
...we shall have repudiated, discarded from the councils of the nation, the spirit of compromise...
The spirit of mutual concession - that spirit which first gave us the Constitution, and which has thrice saved the Union - we shall have strangled and cast from us forever.

It would be worth to the nation a hundred years' purchase of peace and prosperity... They only surrender to us what they gave us for a consideration long, long ago; what they have not now asked for, struggled or cared for; what has been thrust upon them, not less to their astonishment than to ours.

In both you stand on middle ground, and hold the ship level and steady...

This is good old Whig ground. To desert such ground because of any company, is to be less than a Whig - less than a man - less than an American.

Thus the thing (slavery) is hid away in the Constitution, just as an afflicted man hides away a wen or cancer which he dares not cut out at once, lest he bleed to death, - with the promise, nevertheless, that the cutting may begin at a certain time.

They hedged and hemmed it in to the narrowest limits of necessity.

Henceforth it is to be the chief jewel of the nation - the very figure-head of the ship of state.

Little by little, but steadily as man's march to the grave, we have been giving up the old for the new faith.
Sim. p.203. These principles cannot stand together. They are as opposite as God and Mammon.

Indirect Quo. p.203. They are as opposite as God and Mammon, and whoever holds to the one must despise the other.
(St. Matthew, VI:24.)

Met. p.203. In our greedy chase to make profit of the negro let us beware lest we "cancel and tear in pieces" even the white man's charter of freedom.

Direct Quo. p.203. ..."cancel and tear in pieces"...
(Macbeth, Act III, Scene II, Line 49.)

Met. p.203. Our republican robe is soiled and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white in the spirit, if not the blood, of the Revolution.

Indirect Quo. p.203. Let us turn and wash it white in the spirit, if not the blood, of the Revolution.
(Revelations I:5. Psalms LI:7.)

Met. p.203-204. Let us turn slavery from its claims of "moral right" back upon its existing legal rights and its arguments of "necessity" - Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it, and there let it rest in peace.

Indirect Quo. p.204. We shall have so saved it that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed to the latest generations.

Sim. p.204. You can as easily argue the color out of the negro's skin. Like the "bloody hand", you may wash it and wash it, the red witness of guilt still sticks
and stares horribly at you.

Direct Quo. p.204. "bloody hand" (Macbeth, Act III, Scene II, Line 48.)

Indirect Quo. p.204. ...you may wash it and wash it, the red witness of guilt still sticks and stares horribly at you. (Macbeth, Act II, Scene II, Lines 47, 60.; Act V, Scene I, Line 48; Act V, Scene II, Line 17.)

Person. p.205. If the Nebraska bill is the real author of the benevolent works, it is rather deplorable that it has for so long a time ceased working altogether.

Indirect Quo. p.205. God did not place good and evil before man, telling him to make his choice. On the contrary, he did tell him there was one tree of fruit of which he should not eat, upon pain of certain death. (Genesis II:17.)

Met. p.207. ...but however this may be, are men now to be entrapped by a legal implication, extracted from covert language, introduced perhaps for the very purpose of entrapping them?

Sim. p.208. As Phillips says of Napoleon, the Nebraska act is grand, gloomy and peculiar, wrapped in the solitude of its own originality, without a model and without a shadow upon the earth.

Indirect Quo. p.208. ...grand, gloomy and peculiar, wrapped in the solitude of its own originality, without a model and without a shadow upon the earth. ("The Character of Napoleon", Charles Phillips.)
Sim. p. 208. In his view the question of whether a new country shall be slave or free, is a matter of as utter indifference as it is whether his neighbor shall plant his farm with tobacco or stock it with horned cattle.

Met. p. 208. It lies at the very foundation of their sense of justice, and it cannot be trifled with. It is a great and durable element of popular action, and I think no statesman can safely disregard it.

Met. p. 208. We were thunderstruck and stunned, and we reeled and fell in utter confusion. But we rose, each fighting, grasping whatever he could first reach - a scythe, a pitch fork, a chopping-ax, or a butcher's cleaver. We struck in the direction of the sound, and we were rapidly closing in upon him. He must not think to divert us from our purpose by showing us that our drill, our dress, and our weapons are not entirely perfect and uniform. When the storm shall be past he shall find us still Americans.

Indirect Quo. p. 209. He came to his own and his own received him not; and lo! he turns unto the Gentiles. (St. John I:11, Acts XIII:46.)

Met. p. 209. I think I can answer the judge so long as he sticks to the premises; but when he flies from them, I cannot work any argument into the consistency of a mental gag and actually close his mouth with it.
1858

Speech delivered at Springfield, Illinois

at the close of the Republican State Convention by which Mr. Lincoln had been named as their candidate for U. S. Senator.
Met. p.240. 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.


Met. p.240. Let any one who doubts carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery, so to speak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design and concert of action among its chief architects, from its beginning.

Met. p.242. And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision "squatter sovereignty" squatted out of existence...helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds.

Sim. p.242. "squatter sovereignty"...tumbled down like temporary scaffolding, - like the mold of the foundry, served through one blast and fell back into loose sand,-

Met. p.242. The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas's "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery in its present state of advancement...The working points of that machinery are:...

Met. p.245. It will throw additional light on the latter, to
go back and run the mind over the string of historical facts already stated.

Met. p.243. ...it was an exactly fitted niche for the Dred Scott decision to afterward come in, and declare the perfect freedom of the people to be just no freedom at all...the adoption of it would have spoiled the niche for the Dred Scott decision.

Sim. p.243. These things look like the cautious patting and petting of a spirited horse preparatory to mounting him, when it is dreaded that he may give the rider a fall.

Met. p.243. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen, - Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance, - and we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding - or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such piece in - in such a case we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck.

Met. p.244. Put this and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may,...see filled with another Supreme Court decision...
Met. p.244. ...Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is with which to effect that object.

Direct. Quo. p.245. But "A living dog is better than a dead lion."
(Eccles. IX:4.)

Met. p.245. Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one.

Met. p.245. His avowed mission is impressing the "public heart" to care nothing about it.

Met. p.245. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gather from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then to falter now?—now when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered, and belligerent?

Indirect Quo. p.245. We shall not fail— if we stand firm, we shall not fail. (Macbeth, Act I, Scene VII, Lines 59,80,81.)
1858

Fifth Joint Debate, at Galesburg, Illinois
Met. p.437. I make these remarks for the purpose of excusing myself for not passing over the entire ground that the judge has traversed.

Met. p.439. The South have not taken hold of our principles as we announce them; nor does Judge Douglas now grapple with those principles.

Met. p.440. I ask his attention to the fact that his speeches would not go as current now south of the Ohio river as they have formerly gone there.

Met. p.440. ...I see the day rapidly approaching when his pill of sectionalism, which he has been thrusting down the throats of Republicans for years past, will be crowded down his own throat.

Met. p.442. ...And from this difference of sentiment--the belief on the part of one that the institution is wrong, and a policy springing from that belief which looks to the arrest of the enlargement of that wrong; and this other sentiment, that it is no wrong, and a policy sprung from that sentiment which will tolerate no idea of preventing that wrong from growing larger, and looks to there never being an end to it through all the existence of things--arises the real difference ...

Met. p.442. ...having due regard...to all the constitutional obligations which have been thrown about it;...

Simile (Comic story) p.444. As the fisherman's wife, whose drowned husband was brought home with his body full of eels, said when she was asked what was to be done with
him, "Take the eels out and set him again," so Harris and Douglas have shown a disposition to take the eels out of that stale fraud by which they gained Harris's election, and set the fraud again more than once.

Met. p.444. It has been clung to and played out again and again as an exceedingly high trump by this blessed trio. Direct Quotation, p.444. "a most honorable man!... (Julius Caesar Act III, Scene 2, line 87.)

Met. p.444. The Illinois "State Register"...then, as now, the central organ of both Harris and Douglas, continues to din the public ear with these assertions...

Met. p.445. The essence of the Dred Scott case is compressed into the sentence which I will now read:...

Met. p.447. I have asked his attention to the fact that the Cincinnati platform, upon which he says he stands, disregards a time-honored decision of the Supreme Court, in defying the power of Congress to establish a national bank...

Met. p.447-448. if you were going to get the best instrument you could, and then set it to work in the most ingenious way,...could you find an instrument so capable of doing it as Judge Douglas, or one employed in so apt a way to do it?

Met. p.449. If Judge Douglas's policy upon this question succeeds and gets fairly settled down, until all opposition is crushed out, the next thing will be a grab for the territory of poor Mexico...
1860

Address at the Cooper Institute, New York
Indirect Quo. p.602. ...as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder. (Proverb).

Met. p.603. The Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, plant themselves upon the fifth amendment...while Senator Douglass and his peculiar adherents plant themselves upon the tenth amendment...

Met. p.604. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience.

Met. p.606. Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address.

Met. p.606. ...is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you?

Met. p.606-607. ...you with one accord reject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy...

Met. p.608. ...and then, to give point to the charge, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood, and thunder among the slaves.

Met. p.608. You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion...

Met. p.308. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary freemen, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains.

Person. p.609. There is a judgment and a feeling against
slavery in this nation, which cast at least a million and a half of votes.

Met. p.609. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?

Person. p.609. That instrument is literally silent about any such right.

Indirect Quo. p.609. You will rule or ruin in all events.

(Dryden, "Absalom and Achitophel" Pt. I, Line 174.)

Met. p.610-611. In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!" To be sure, what the robber demanded of me - my money - was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and the threat of death to me, to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

Met. p.611. We must pull down our free-State constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint
of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

Met. p.612. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away.

Met. p.612. ...but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories, and to over run us here in these free states?

Met. p.612. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored.

Sim. p.612. ...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...

Met. p.612. ...reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance...

Indirect Quo. p.612. ...and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance... (St. Mark II:17.)
1861

First Inaugural Address
Met. p. 4. Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric... Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from...

Indirect Quo. p. 4. ...the ills you fly from... the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from... (Hamlet, Act III, Scene I, Lines 81, 82.)

Met. p. 5. All... are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Met. p. 5. Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

Met. p. 6. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured...

Met. p. 6. Physically speaking, we cannot separate... A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this.

Person. p. 7. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

Met. p. 7. In your hands, my dis-satisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war.

Indirect Quo. p. 7. You have no oath registered in heaven... (Merchant of Venice, Act IV, Scene I, Line 228.)
Met. p. 7. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth stone 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.
1863

Address at the Dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery
Met. p.439.  Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers
brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived
in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all
men are created equal....that nation, or any nation
so conceived and so dedicated...
Met. p.439.  ...this nation...shall have a new birth of
freedom...
1865

Second Inaugural Address
The progress of our arms...

...men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of men's faces...

...but let us judge not, that we be not judged.  (St. Matthew, VII:1.)

"Woe unto the world because of offenses: for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh."  (St. Matthew XVIII:7.)

American slavery is one of those offenses which...must needs come...and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war; as the woe due to those by whom the offense came...

...this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword...

"The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether"...  (Psalms XIX:9.)

Let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds...
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Table XVI
In the attempt to trace and to explain, as far as possible, Lincoln's development of style, various factors have been considered, which will be treated in order as follows: The comparative number of figurative and quoted words in the various speeches; the purpose of each speech; and the choice, use, and character of the elements of style included. All of these points are brought out in the classified list of figurative and quoted passages, and in Table I.

As regards the comparative percentages and the general object of delivery, the Peoria Speech 1854, the Galesburg Speech 1858, the Cooper Institute Address 1860, and the First Inaugural Address 1861, may be roughly classed together. They are examples of almost pure argumentation, the aim of which was primarily to win the audience by appeal to reason. Closely allied to this group is the Eulogy on Henry Clay, 1852,—the only address of its kind ever given by Lincoln,—which is largely exposition. As is to be expected from their nature and purpose, these Addresses show a comparatively slight percentage of figurative and quoted words—the Galesburg Speech containing the smallest percentage. This general showing is further explained by Lincoln's own words, as reported by Arnold (p. 145) in reference to the Douglas Debates;

"I do not seek applause, or to amuse the people, but to convince them."

Connected in much the same way as the preceding ones, the remaining speeches under consideration may also be tak-
en together, as follows: The Temperance Address 1842, the Springfield Speech 1858, the Gettysburg Address 1863, and the Second Inaugural Address 1865. These addresses are not as largely argumentative in character as those of the first group. In each the style of expression, due largely to the circumstances of delivery, was modified and colored by warmth of feeling. In the Temperance Address Lincoln made a sincere protest against the evil of drink, which to him was the twin-curse of slavery. In this Springfield Speech, as Dr. D. K. Dodge in his study entitled, "Abraham Lincoln: The Evolution of his Literary Style," points out concerning the Bloomington Speech, he was addressing not opponents, but "friends whom he wished to arouse." This was also true of the solemn Gettysburg Address: The man and the occasion were perfectly met and the result was a supreme utterance of national sorrow and patriotism: In the Second Inaugural Address Lincoln showed a deep religious feeling expressed in all the somber beauty of Hebraic prophecy.

These four speeches, among the whole number studied, contain the largest percentages of figurative and quoted words, the Temperance Address ranking first, with the Second Inaugural Address next in order.

The percentages, therefore, go to show that it was the occasion rather than the mere place in the chronological order that determined the comparative use of elements of style in the different speeches.

Some interesting conclusions, however, in regard to
the general course of Lincoln's literary development, are furnished by a consideration of the choice, use and character of his elements of style, as illustrated in Table I. The total number of figures and quotations is 222, of which 131 are metaphors, 41 quotations, 19 direct and 22 indirect, 25 personifications, 23 similes, and 2 comic stories. Moreover 166 of these examples occur before the time of the Galesburg Speech in 1858, when personification and simile practically ceased to be an important feature of Lincoln's style. Metaphor and quotation, the latter in less extent, are found throughout the selections, metaphor appearing in every address, and quotation in all except one. And since metaphor and quotation are more restrained figures than personification and simile, the numbers are highly significant of an advance toward simplicity of expression. They show that Lincoln's choice and use of elements of style were important factors in his literary development.

The character of the figures and quotations used, is the third factor to be considered regarding Lincoln's advance in style. It will be remembered that the Temperance and the Second Inaugural Addresses rank together in the largest percentages of figurative and quoted words contained in any of the speeches studied. This does not, however, indicate that they are equal in literary merit. A casual reading convinces at once of the marked superiority of the latter address in choice of language and in fitness of expression. To be sure there is not, perhaps, anywhere
in Lincoln's writings, a more beautiful figure than the one closing the Temperance Address:

"To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked deathless splendor leave it shining on." But such passages are unusual among his early speeches. It is by a comparison of two figures like the following,—the first also from the Temperance Address, and the last from the Second Inaugural Address, that the true scope of Lincoln's development and style is revealed:

"...with such an aid its march cannot fail to be on and on, till every son of earth shall drink in rich fruition the sorrow-quenching draughts of perfect liberty."

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

Lincoln's development in style consisted then, not in a lessened dependence upon figures in general; but rather in an increased care and discrimination in use of language and in choice and character of elements of style. In his early addresses the figures of speech, however striking and effective, were added ornaments, often florid and in poor
taste; but in his later efforts they were one with the main structure in strength and beauty.

Tables II, III, and IV give a summary of the use and source of quotations in Lincoln's speeches. The figures of these tables do not exactly correspond with those of the preceding table, due to the double-counting of several quoted passages, each of which contains distinct references to two different books of the Bible. The addresses studied include in all 41 separate quotations, of which the Temperance and Peoria Addresses contain 14 each. No other single speech contains more than 3 quoted passages, and the Gettysburg Address is the only one entirely without quotation. Of these passages, 23 are Biblical, 8 Shaksperean, and 10 Miscellaneous. Of the Biblical quotations 8 are direct and 15 indirect; of the Shaksperean ones 4 are direct, and 4 indirect.

The fact that such a large majority of the quotations are from Biblical and Shaksperean sources, and that only in the Miscellaneous examples does the number of direct exceed the number of indirect quotations, indicates how far Lincoln's knowledge of the Bible and Shakspere was superior to his knowledge of other literature. His mind was so thoroughly saturated with Biblical lore that its words and phrases were perfectly natural to him. Regarding his intimate acquaintance with Shakspere we have his own words in a letter written to James H. Hackett, the actor, in 1863. (See Nicolay & Hay's "Complete Works", v.1, p.392.)

"...Some of Shakspere's plays I have never read; while others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unpro-
fessional reader. Among the latter are 'Lear', 'Richard III', 'Henry VII', 'Hamlet', and especially 'Macbeth'. I think nothing equals 'Macbeth'. It is wonderful."

As to the source of the Biblical references, 19 are from the New Testament, and 8 from the Old Testament. St. Matthew furnished 6 of these references, St. Luke 3, St. John, St. Mark, Revelations, Psalms, and Exodus 2 references each, and Romans, II Peter, Acts, II Corinthians, Job, Proverbs, Genesis, and Ecclesiastes 1 reference each. The Shakspere quotations are from 4 separate plays as follows: 4 from Macbeth, 2 from Hamlet, and 1 each from Julius Caesar, and the Merchant of Venice. As the heading implies, the Miscellaneous quotations come from widely different sources. Some of them were probably gained from the reading of newspapers and almanacs. Of these quotations, 3 have not been identified, 1 is a comic story, 2 are common proverbs, and there is one each from Pope, Dryden, Watts, and Charles Phillips.

In his fondness for indirect quotation, Lincoln resembled somewhat, Bacon and Lamb. He seemed oftimes to quote unconsciously. Many of his indirect quotations are literally pieced together,-a line from some portion of the Bible, a word or phrase from another part, and so on. Except in the case of his latest speeches Lincoln evidently quoted from memory, and even the quotations which are given as direct, usually do not correspond exactly with the original.

Such are the main results of this study of "Some
Elements of Style in Lincoln's Speeches." As stated at the beginning of the investigation, it has been the purpose to show that an inborn love of truth impelled Lincoln to shape his language into clear and beautiful form that it might be a more perfect medium for the message which he felt himself called to speak; and that this inner impulse toward development was aided by the influence of books, and later by the demands of a critical environment: It has also been the aim to point out by means of classified lists of figurative and quoted passages, and by summaries, that there was a steady advancement in finish of style which was chiefly expressed in the growing care and refinement in the use of language, and in the more exact choice of restrained and simple illustrations: But above all it has been the desire to interpret truly through the study of his writings, the man,-Abraham Lincoln,-great as author and orator, but greater still, as the devoted servant of his country.