

















# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN 150TH ANNIVERSARY

### Table of Contents

#### Envelope No. 1 - Articles \*

1. Lincoln's Leadership ..... by President Dwight D. Eisenhower
2. Lincoln Is Not Dead ..... by Robert L. Kincaid  
former President,  
Lincoln Memorial  
University
3. Lincoln Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow ..... by Carl Sandburg  
Lincoln historian  
and poet
4. Lincoln and Democracy ..... by T. V. Smith  
Professor Emeritus of  
Poetry, Politics and  
Philosophy, Syracuse  
University
5. Lincoln as the Great Image of America ... by Arnold Gates  
author of Lincoln  
books
6. Lincoln: Self-made Man ..... by Louis A. Warren  
former Director,  
The Lincoln National  
Life Foundation
7. Mr. Lincoln -- Lincoln in Shirtsleeves .. by Benjamin Barondess  
Lincoln scholar

\* All articles in this packet are being translated for posts in Spanish-speaking countries.



8. Lincoln, Plain Man of the People ..... by Bell Irvin Wiley  
Professor of  
American History,  
Emory University
9. Lincoln and Human Rights ..... by Harvey Wish  
Professor of His-  
tory, Western  
Reserve University
10. Lincoln's Views on Government ..... by Ralph G. Lindstrom  
author of Lincoln  
books
11. Lincoln -- Liberal or Conservative ? ... by Donald W. Riddle  
Professor of His-  
tory, University  
of Illinois
12. Lincoln, the Emancipator ..... by Kenneth A. Bernard  
Professor of His-  
tory, Boston  
University
13. Lincoln and the Meaning of the  
American Union ..... by David M. Potter  
Professor of  
American History,  
Yale University
14. Lincoln as Politician ..... by David Donald  
Professor of His-  
tory, Columbia  
University
15. Lincoln: the Diplomat and Statesman ... by Jay Monaghan  
author of Lincoln  
books
16. Lincoln, the Lawyer ..... by William H. Townsend  
author of Lincoln  
books
17. Lincoln, Man of Peace ..... by William F. Zornow  
Assistant Professor  
of History, Kansas  
State College

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2011 with funding from  
The Institute of Museum and Library Services through an Indiana State Library LSTA Grant

18. Lincoln, Man of God ..... by David C. Mearns  
Lincoln scholar,  
Chief, Manuscript  
Division, Library  
of Congress
19. Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters ... by Earl Schenck Miers  
author of Lincoln  
books
20. Lincoln and Poetry ..... by Richard Hanser  
Lincoln scholar
21. Lincoln's Imagery ..... by Theodore C. Blegen  
Professor of His-  
tory, University  
of Minnesota
22. Lincoln and Music ..... by Carl Haverlin  
Lincoln scholar
23. Lincoln and the Sciences ..... by Robert V. Bruce  
Instructor in His-  
tory, Boston Uni-  
versity, author of  
Lincoln books
24. Lincoln, the Military Strategist ..... by T. Harry Williams  
Professor of His-  
tory, Louisiana  
State University,  
author of Lincoln  
books
25. Lincoln, Husband and Father ..... by Richard N. Current  
Professor of His-  
tory, University of  
North Carolina
26. Lincoln in Drama, Novel and Poetry .... by Roy P. Basler  
Lincoln scholar,  
Director, Reference  
Department, Library  
of Congress
27. Lincoln's Journey to Greatness ..... by Philip Van Doren  
Stern  
author of Lincoln  
books





28. The Death of Lincoln ..... by William E. Baringer  
Professor of Social  
Sciences, University  
of Florida, and  
author of Lincoln  
books
29. Lincoln Memorialized ..... by Randle Bond Truett  
Chief Park Historian,  
Department of the  
Interior
30. Lincoln Literature, Collections and  
Societies ..... by R. Gerald McMurtry  
Director, The Lin-  
coln National Life  
Foundation
31. Two Contemporaries on Abraham Lincoln --  
Walt Whitman and Herman Melville
32. The Worldly Wisdom of Lincoln
33. Wit and Humor of Lincoln
34. Lincoln Letters
35. Lincoln Speeches
36. Fifty Lincoln Quotations
37. Lincoln Bibliography
38. Chronology of Abraham Lincoln

Pamphlets:

1. The Lincoln Museum and the House where  
Lincoln Died, Washington, D.C..... by Stanley W. McClure
2. Abraham Lincoln From His Own Words  
and Contemporary Accounts... edited by Roy Edgar Appleman
3. Lincoln Sesquicentennial 1809-1959 -- Handbook of Information



- 4. Abraham Lincoln -- the great emancipator
- 5. Abraham Lincoln Chronology 1809-1865 (Illustrated)  
..... by Harry E. Pratt

Envelope No. 2 - Photographs

71 photographs (on 51 prints)

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER ON LINCOLN'S LEADERSHIP

There is nothing in Lincoln's life or in Lincoln's writings that could lead any of us to believe that he recognized or believed that he himself was a source of power. He was a director of power, a man who might give it its trend to go somewhere, but he had no ambition to associate the source of power with himself and, thereby, rule others. He served others. That, to me, is the true essence of liberty and of freedom.....

Very naturally, when we talk about a man so great, of such overwhelming stature, the thought comes to us: "Well, what relationship has that got to us; we are not Lincolns?" But the principles by which he lived, the faith he had in freedom and liberty was exemplified, for example, in his very great and, I believe, it was called an unconstitutional act, in the Emancipation of the slaves. His passion for individual liberty of thought, of worship, freedom to act, freedom of opportunity, is the virtue that each of us can emulate and more than that, I believe, it is the virtue that each of us must emulate if we are to preserve to ourselves the



opportunities which, I believe, I recognized in my boyhood and which I am certain that you.....see around you on every side.

(From an address delivered before the First Columbia College Forum on Democracy, Columbia University, New York, February 12, 1949. President Eisenhower was at that time president of Columbia University)

\* \* \*

Abraham Lincoln has always seemed to me to represent all that is best in America, in terms of its opportunity and the readiness of Americans always to raise up and exalt those people who live by truth, whose lives are examples of integrity and dedication to our country.....

He was a great leader. I would like to remind you of the methods he used in leadership. You can find no instance when he stood up in public and excoriated another American. You can find no instance where he is reported to have slapped or pounded the table, and struck the pose of pseudo-dictator, or of an arbitrary individual. Rather, the qualities he showed and exhibited were forbearance in the extreme -- patience.....

Lincoln's leadership was accomplished through dedication to a single purpose, the preservation of the Union. He understood deeply the great values that unite us all as a people, Georgia with New York and Massachusetts with Texas -- California with Florida. He knew that there were divisive influences at work, but he knew also that they were transitory in character -- they were flaming with heat, but they were made of stuff that would soon burn itself out. The true values of America, he understood,





are enduring, and they hold us together. And so he was patient. He was forbearing. He was understanding. And he lives today in our hearts as one of the greatest that the English-speaking race has produced.....

(From a speech made on April 23, 1954 at the traditional Lincoln birthplace cabin in Hodgenville, Kentucky)

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

LINCOLN IS NOT DEAD....

By  
Robert L. Kincaid

The author was President of Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, from 1947 to June, 1958. He is the author of several books.

Years ago an eminent American paid tribute to the sixteenth President of the United States in these words: "There is no new thing to be said of Lincoln. There is no new thing to be said of the mountains, or of the sea, or of the stars. The years may go their way, but the same old mountains lift their granite shoulders among the drifting clouds, the same mysterious sea beats upon the shore, and the same silent stars keep holy vigil above a tired world. But to mountains and sea and stars men turn forever in unwearied homage. And thus with Lincoln. For he was mountain in grandeur of soul; he was sea in deep undervoice of mystic loneliness; he was star in steadfast purity of purpose and of service. And he abides."

Lincoln stands out as the most inspiring example in American history of the opportunity which the nation gives to its humblest citizens.



No one can follow the career of the young Lincoln, who strode his solitary way to greatness, without a warming glow in the heart. He asked no favors of a benevolent government; he sought no easy road to achievement; he traveled no shortcut to success. All he had was within himself -- a great mind, a keen ambition, and an earnest and humble heart. But he had something more than that. He had citizenship in a free land, where he could rise to the fullest extent of his abilities and efforts. He lived in an atmosphere of true freedom and his life blossomed into greatness because of that rich heritage.

Studying the biography of Abraham Lincoln in the years of his youth and early manhood, one sees the growth of his mind as he formed a philosophy of freedom and equality for all men and developed his life purposes.

In today's world where hate too often appears as a motivating force in man, one dominant characteristic of Lincoln's life should be thoughtfully considered. In a careful search of his long career, one cannot find a mean, petty, or dishonest thing which Lincoln did consciously and deliberately. Honest Abe, they called him! A political tag but one which shines like a gem of indestructible luster. It epitomizes a life and career which shall ever stand as an example for all who would give themselves to public service. Lincoln never lied to gain an end. He never compromised a conviction to secure a political advantage. With vision and wisdom he faced realities, recognized shortcomings, understood weakness, and accepted human frailties; through it all, he never lost



sight of the honest and just determination of every problem he faced. That fixity of purpose and honesty of character carried him and the United States through fiery trials when he was the Nation's President.

There is another characteristic of Lincoln which should be reviewed over and over again to be fully appreciated -- his love and trust of the common people. He believed in the dignity of the individual, however poor and humble. Long before "the forgotten man" became a political shibboleth, Lincoln was espousing the cause of the common man without regard to race, color, or creed. He came into his nation's life after it had grown up with the institution of slavery. He hated slavery and early in his life took a stand against it. But he saw the danger of too precipitate action. He preferred to work out the problem through the orderly processes provided in the U.S. Constitution, to avoid if possible the tragic dismemberment of the Union of States. He understood the dilemma of the South, granted to the southern people their legal rights, but was firm and unmoved in his conviction that there was no moral justification for slavery -- that it must be contained and ultimately abolished if America was to have a free and democratic society.

This position of Lincoln's was but one aspect of his belief in freedom and equality in a democracy. He would have no enslavement of any kind -- political, economic, or social. He would lift the masses by according to every citizen, regardless of race, color, or creed, freedom of ballot, of speech, of worship, and of assembly, and he would expand the scope of public education. With Jefferson, he believed that a democracy can survive only if there is an enlightened citizenship.





Another characteristic of Lincoln was his simple humility. Considering the long years of struggle and disappointment which preceded his success, he must have felt a justifiable pride when he was nominated and elected to the Presidency. But no other President in the history of the United States approached his new responsibilities with greater understanding of his limitations. In the early days of his Presidency Lincoln appeared to many people to be without a fixed course of action as the nation was breaking asunder over the issues of slavery and States' Rights. But he was not an equivocator or an opportunist to be swept along by the tide of public opinion; he hesitated only until he had completed his search for a course which would be right and just. Here his honesty of purpose and humility of spirit dominated his every thought.

While Lincoln's hatred of slavery was acute and positive, he was not willing to do violent injustice to the South. He preferred to bring about compensated emancipation. He resisted the radical demands and offered to pay slaveholders for their losses. It was not until the Confederacy (Eleven southern States seceded from the Union in late 1860 and 1861 and formed the Confederate States of America) became a warring enemy upon the Union that Lincoln was willing to declare all slaves emancipated in the rebellious States. He reached this decision in the counsels of his own mind. He alone deserves the credit for the act which freed an enslaved people, and which has been regarded as one of the greatest single decisions ever made by a national leader because of its lasting effect upon the destiny of all Americans. As Lincoln himself phrased it:



"In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free -- honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve...."

On a visit to Lincoln's home in Springfield, Illinois, the writer visited the cemetery where Lincoln is interred. It was an unforgettable experience. When the visitors stood before a plaque containing the words of the Gettysburg address, the famous speech made by Lincoln in 1863 at the dedication of a national cemetery during the Civil War, the guide said, "This address has been read and re-read, recited and re-recited, in all our schools, from the turbulent waves of the Atlantic to the peaceful slumbers of the Pacific, from the pineries of Maine to the everglades of Florida, and will be read and re-read, I dare say, until time shall be no more."

Undoubtedly the words of the guide had been spoken many times before, to many groups of people but they seemed fresh and new. Hearing them, one felt engulfed by emotion at the realization that Lincoln belongs to the centuries. The ageless Lincoln is not dead but lives and speaks to the hearts of men in words and deeds that will never die.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions.

2. It also highlights the need for regular audits to ensure the integrity of the financial data.

3. Furthermore, the document emphasizes the role of transparency in building trust with stakeholders.

4. In addition, it notes that clear communication is essential for the successful implementation of any financial strategy.

5. Finally, the document concludes by stating that a strong financial foundation is critical for long-term organizational success.

6. The following table provides a detailed breakdown of the financial performance over the last quarter.

7. This data shows a steady increase in revenue, which is a positive indicator for the company's growth.

8. However, it also identifies areas where costs have increased, which may require further investigation.

9. Overall, the financial results are promising, and the company is well-positioned to continue its upward trajectory.

10. The management team is committed to maintaining this level of performance and ensuring the company's long-term sustainability.

11. We will continue to monitor the financial landscape closely and adjust our strategy as needed.

12. Thank you for your attention and support. We look forward to your feedback and suggestions.

13. Best regards,  
[Signature]

14. [Name]  
[Title]

15. The second part of the document focuses on the operational aspects of the business.

16. It details the various processes and procedures that are in place to ensure efficiency and quality.

17. These processes are designed to minimize waste and maximize the use of resources.

18. Additionally, the document describes the quality control measures that are implemented to maintain high standards.

19. The goal is to provide our customers with the best possible experience and service.

20. We are confident that these operational practices will contribute to our overall success.

21. The following section outlines the key performance indicators (KPIs) that we track to measure our progress.

22. These KPIs include customer satisfaction, operational efficiency, and financial performance.

23. By monitoring these metrics, we can identify areas for improvement and take corrective action.

24. We are committed to continuous improvement and will regularly review and update our operational processes.

25. We appreciate your interest in our operations and look forward to your input.

26. Thank you,  
[Signature]

27. [Name]  
[Title]

28. [Name]  
[Title]



# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### LINCOLN YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW

By  
Carl Sandburg

One of the most celebrated authors in the United States, poet, novelist and biographer Carl Sandburg established his reputation as poet in 1915 with "Chicago Poems." He has written a six-volume biography of Abraham Lincoln and other books dealing with Lincoln and his times. He received the Pulitzer Prize for History in 1940 and the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 1951.

What is the gist and the main substance, briefly, of what is to be learned from the life and the personality of Abraham Lincoln? What would Lincoln do now -- if he were living today? An image of Lincoln has been projected making him out to be a man who never did wrong, and never made a wrong decision, who was always right with a mind, heart and conscience that were perfect. That was the impression I got of Lincoln when I was a boy. He sat at a desk and there the written and spoken proposals came to him and he said yes or he said no and his yes or his no was always right, never wrong. Later I learned how mistaken was this boyish impression of mine. I learned there were all sorts of issues and questions on which neither Lincoln nor any other public man of the time could give a clear



answer, a definite yes or no as to this or that solution or procedure. He became known for sudden, breathtaking decisions and actions -- and he made a reputation in some quarters for indecision, for hesitation, for what was termed, and a favorite term it was, "vacillation." As he moved in his personal twilights of indecision and inaction there was a word for it, "expediency." And yet even the word expedient is not strictly correct: there were those several occasions when he polled his cabinet on a proposed action and a majority were against him: they were opposed to what he considered an expedient action.

The VIP's in general, the very important persons in Washington, New York, Boston and in cities westward saw Lincoln as washed up politically, finished and through, destined to be a lame duck, in early 1864.

To many important men of his own party in Washington in early 1864 Lincoln looked wrong. Not a member of the United States Senate spoke out for him as good enough to succeed himself for a second term.

There were, as men go, some mighty good men in that Senate. But opinion at the national capitol agreed with the "Detroit Free Press" correspondent at Washington writing: "Not a single Senator can be named as favorable to Lincoln's renomination for President." The Illinois Senator, Lyman Trumbull, always keen in reading political trends, wrote to a friend in February of 1864: "The feeling for Mr. Lincoln's re-election seems to be very general, but much of it I discover is only on the surface. You would be surprised, in talking with public men we meet here, to find how few, when you come to get at their real sentiment, are





for Mr. Lincoln's re-election. There is a distrust and fear that he is too undecided and inefficient.... You need not be surprised if a reaction sets in before the nomination, in favor of some man supposed to possess more energy."

This was the mild comment of an extraordinarily decent politician and statesman from Lincoln's home state of Illinois. What other Senators of Lincoln's own party were saying and writing was neither mild nor decent. Thus the Senate. What of the House of Representatives? There only one member took the floor to say Lincoln was worth keeping in the White House.

A Pennsylvania editor visiting Washington said to Thaddeus Stevens, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and Republican-party floor leader, "Introduce me to some member of Congress friendly to Mr. Lincoln's renomination." Stevens took the editor to the desk of Isaac N. Arnold of Chicago, saying: "Here is the only one I know, and I have come over to introduce my friend to you." "Thank you," said Arnold. "I know a good many such and I will present your friend to them, and I wish you, Mr. Stevens, were with us." Thus the very scrupulous Arnold recorded the incident. The other friends of Lincoln in Congress to whom Arnold referred were not named by him, nor did their wish to continue Lincoln as President show in their speeches.

Yet Lincoln had hidden strengths among politicians and plain folks out over the country. These won him nomination for the Presidency yet the outlook for ending the war was so dark in the summer of 1864 that



a movement arose in the National Union Party to replace Lincoln with another candidate. Lincoln himself wrote a memorandum in August that the election in coming November looked lost. When Sherman took Atlanta and Sheridan swept the enemy out of the Shenandoah Valley the Union cause looked up and Lincoln won in November.

It might be asked, "Why bring up such unpleasant facts as these?" The answer might be: You can't look at the rough and dark going that Lincoln had as President and feel easy about it. There was endless trouble and toil, hours of torment and agony. The howling and fury that followed issuance of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in late September, 1862 found Lincoln writing his straightaway thought. The same thought might have its application to the question that comes too careless and too easy, "What would Lincoln do now -- if he were living today?" What Lincoln wrote he left on his desk, not for publication. His secretary, John Hay, made a copy of it and published it some 30 years later:

"The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party; and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect His purpose. I am almost ready to say that this is probably true; that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By His mere quiet power on the minds of the contestants, He could have



either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And having begun, He could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds."

The great American poet, Walt Whitman, saw Lincoln as "the grandest figure on the crowded canvas of the drama of the nineteenth century." The portents of so tremendous and many-sided a personality cannot be told in a few well-chosen words. A Brazilian ambassador to the United States, Joaquin Nabuco, in a speech on the 100th birthday anniversary of Lincoln, said: "With the increased velocity of modern changes, we do not know what the world will be a hundred years hence. For sure, the ideals of the generation of the year 2000 will not be the same of the generation of the year 1900. Nations will then be governed by currents of political thought which we can no more anticipate than the seventeenth century could anticipate the political currents of the eighteenth, which still in part sway us. But whether the spirit of authority, or that of freedom, increases, Lincoln's legend will ever appear more luminous in the amalgamation of centuries, because he supremely incarnated both those spirits."

Was he an authoritarian moving toward the totalitarian in the spring of 1861 when he took to himself the powers of a dictator? He started a war without asking Congress, declared a blockade, called for troops to put down an insurrection, lifted for immediate use millions of dollars from the United States Treasury without authorized appropriation by Congress. And his call for Congress to meet and ratify these arbitrary acts of his named July 4, months ahead, as the date.



When his powers to do these things were bitterly questioned he asked whether he must stick strictly to the Constitution while trying to save the government of which the Constitution was the written instrument. They were dizzy days and he told his secretary John Hay one day, "My policy is to have no policy."

This same viewpoint stood forth in a letter made public in April of 1864 written to a Kentucky man. It staggered some readers in its confession. "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me." What -- no policy? Yes, that was what he was saying. Except on the one issue of saving the Union and no extension of slavery, he had no fixed paramount policy.

His own party then he saw split forty ways on what to do about slavery. The moderates divided into those who with Lincoln favored the government buying the slaves and setting them free and those who thought this wouldn't work. The radicals divided into the abolitionists who, like Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner, called for an emancipation proclamation as soon as the war started and those like William Lloyd Garrison and Harriet Beecher Stowe who favored going slower and making sure. There were sections and factions always to be considered as to principles and offices and patronage, and they tore their shirts when they didn't get what they wanted. There were cliques and individuals wanting contracts, subsidies, special favors. Some wanted greenbacks, others "hard money." The tariff, banking, and Pacific-railway blocs never stopped looking toward their particular goals, their special interests.





Through this chaos of clashing ideas Lincoln had to ride. Every day came pressure and he had to say Yes or No. And in these pressures did he have a choice between right, on the one hand, and wrong, on the other? Hardly. Day after day and hour on hour he had to decide between what was partly right and partly wrong, on the one hand, and what on the other hand was partly right and partly wrong. Many a time when making his decision he admitted it was partly wrong but it was the best he could do. He had a word for this. He would point to what he would like to do that would be perfectly right and then show how what was perfectly right wouldn't work -- in the end it would get worse results than another course which he termed "expedient."

The saving of the Union was the only major issue where he held his cause completely just as well as politic and expedient. On the other major issue, slavery, what did he do that was "expedient" rather than right? Look at his Emancipation Proclamation. It says plainly that he issues it because of "military necessity." He means the Union armies will win sooner if the slaves are made free. Of course, as he said later, he believed slavery to be wrong. He believed in freedom for the black bought and sold as livestock and assessed on the tax books as were cattle and sheep. But he felt he couldn't say so in the Emancipation Proclamation. There he said they were given freedom "as an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity."

Did this mean that he freed all slaves in all slave states? No. In the states named in the Emancipation Proclamation the so-called Border



States were left out. In the slave states of Missouri, Kentucky, Delaware, Maryland, were the slaves declared to be free? No. Those states had not seceded, were not "in rebellion," as he phrased it. And did he declare all slaves in the seceded states to be forever free? No, he made exceptions. He named 13 parishes of the State of Louisiana, including the city of New Orleans, as exceptions. There the slaves were not declared free. Likewise in seven counties and two cities of the State of Virginia, including the 48 slave-soil counties of West Virginia, the slaves were not declared free. They were excepted.

Of course, he had reasons, arguments that look good today, for doing what was expedient rather than right. Lincoln now, if alive and effective, would often be doing the expedient thing rather than the right thing. Otherwise he would go down politically and be swept out of use, which didn't happen to Lincoln while he was alive. The mystery of justice tangled in realities stood forth in Horace Mann sniffing to Samuel J. May, "I hate your doctrine that we should think only of the right and not of the expedient," and May sniffing in return, "And I hate your doctrine that we should think of the expedient, and not only of the right."

Not merely day after day but month on month and year after year the two leading and most widely circulated newspapers of the country challenged, attacked, belittled Lincoln's course of action or inaction. These were "The New York Herald," conservative and hating abolitionists, and "The New York Tribune," radical and anti-slavery. And the Herald nearly always saw Lincoln going too far while the Tribune hardly ever failed to



find fault with Lincoln for not going far enough. The Herald in early '64 hoped to get Grant nominated for President instead of Lincoln. The Tribune named several who would make better candidates than Lincoln and said some other man ought to be nominated if only to respect "the salutary One Term principle."

Also day after day Lincoln was the target of slander, scandal, misrepresentation, vituperation, lies, false rumors, half-truths, insinuations, lampoons, caricatures from a free press that hated him and his ways. They poured it on him. He took it meekly and bowed low before it. He took it with laughter and cheer at times when on the face of it a lie couldn't get by. He writhed and twisted when he knew it harmed his cause and that of the boys who had answered his call to service. That was his mood when in Philadelphia at a Sanitary Fair dedication in April of 1864 he said, "It is difficult to say a sensible thing nowadays." So much of what he had been saying was tortured into something else that he didn't mean. A hundred voices and as many journals over and again used the word "imbecile" to describe his administration.

When a military authority, without asking Lincoln about it, shut down a treasonable newspaper with a neurotic editor in Chicago, an editor at a later time declared by a jury to be "mentally unsound," Lincoln said nothing, did nothing. When coolheaded friends of Lincoln in Chicago pleaded with him to revoke the military order and let the Chicago newspaper run its free presses again, Lincoln issued the order, so the newspaper was again free to spread sedition and teach treason. When the same military



authority arrested an Ohio Congressman on charges of giving comfort and aid to the enemy, Lincoln said he would have done it differently if he had been asked about it -- and then ordered the treason agitator sent into the Confederate Army lines, "banished" from Ohio and the United States of America. In each of these actions Lincoln was before and after denounced by his political opposition as "tyrant," "despot," "dictator," "imbecile." When the foremost Democratic-party newspaper, "The New York World," published a bogus and forged defeatist proclamation as signed by the President, Secretary of State William H. Seward said that as a newspaper it had been published "a minute too long." War Secretary Stanton wrote an order for its suppression. Lincoln signed the order. The paper was shut down, couldn't run its presses, couldn't print and sell because of Federal troops in possession of the plant. Then Lincoln issued another order and "The New York World" again printed its papers, packed with denunciations of the President.

Widely published was Lincoln's little query "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert?" That is a terrible question. It carries its own answer. It was in the minds of some of the men who joined mobs that wrecked or burned a score of newspaper plants, dailies and weeklies, and came to no punishment from local or Federal authorities.

An Illinois politician and soldier who had for years watched Lincoln thought the best key to the man and his style as a statesman was an odd little speech that Lincoln gave to this one man, John M. Palmer, an Illinois Union Democrat and a brave and tested soldier.





Palmer found Lincoln in the hands of the barber, and Lincoln called, "Come in, Palmer, come in. You're home folks. I can shave before you. I couldn't before those others, and I have to do it sometime." They chatted about politics, Palmer finally speaking in a frank and jovial mood. "Mr. Lincoln, if anybody had told me that in a great crisis like this the people were going out to a little one-horse town and pick out a one-horse lawyer for President I wouldn't have believed it." Lincoln whirled in his chair, his face white with lather, a towel under his chin. Palmer at first thought the President was angry. Sweeping the barber away, Lincoln leaned forward, put a hand on Palmer's knee, and said, "Neither would I. But it was a time when a man with a policy would have been fatal to the country. I have never had a policy. I have simply tried to do what seemed best as each day came."

There were many fool talkers and writers in Lincoln's generation. They let themselves go. They had a good time and indulged their passions and their hate. Today their words look pathetic or ridiculous. We may read the "Congressional Globe" of the 1860's with amazement at how large a majority of Congressmen did not know the history in the making before their own eyes. We feel sorry they had such loose mouths and so little care and anxiety as to how their utterance would look in the future.

Lincoln was one of the few who had precisely and deeply that care and anxiety about what he said or wrote. He could be musical of speech, but there are times when he hedges and cribs and confines what he is saying till it seems crabbed and clumsy. What is he doing? He is



circumscribing the area where he says he knows something for sure. He is taking care to mislead no one. So the people over the states trusted him when the Senate and the House and "The New York Herald" and "The New York Tribune" and the London "Times" didn't. He foreshadowed something. The people took him as a new figure of hope for them. This hope ranged around wider freedom, political and economic, for the common man. It might be long in coming. But Lincoln held the lights and the high torch for it.

The people of this and many other countries take Lincoln now for their own. He belongs to them. To many the word "freedom" or the word "democracy" is hard to get at. And the Constitution -- sure, we are for the Constitution, though we are not sure what it means and we have even heard of lawyers who don't know what the Constitution means and they prove it by arguing and disputing about what it means.

But Lincoln -- yes -- he stands for decency, honest dealing, plain talk, and funny stories. Look where he came from -- don't he know all us strugglers and wasn't he a kind of a tough struggler all his life right up to the finish? Something like that you can hear in any near-by neighborhood -- and across the seas in far continents. Millions there are who take Lincoln as a personal treasure. He had something they would like to see spread everywhere over the world. Democracy? We can't say exactly what it is, but he had it. In his blood and bones he carried it. In the breath of his speeches and writings it is there. Popular government? Republican institutions? Government where the people have the say-so, one way or another telling their rulers what they want? He had the idea.



It's there in the lights and shadows of his personality, a mystery that can be lived but never fully spoken in words. A London "Spectator" writer tried to analyze Lincoln's message to Congress in December of 1862, found it having a "mystical dreaminess," and "the thoughts of the man are too big for his mouth."

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN AND DEMOCRACY

By  
T. V. Smith

The author, Professor Emeritus of Poetry, Politics and Philosophy, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, has written some 20 books, among them "Abraham Lincoln and the Spiritual Life."

### I. Democracy Described

In a world where the very meaning of democracy is made ambiguous by diverse usages, it is best to indicate our understanding of the term before we utilize it to appraise and to praise Abraham Lincoln. Our description must be ample to do justice to complexity. Democracy is an ideology; it is a way of life; it is a form of government.

As an ideology, democracy is such emphasis upon the ideal of equality as prevents liberty from turning into license (which it is wont to do) and prevents fraternity from becoming fanaticism (which it is most prone to do). As a way of life, it is ability to stomach if not to love cultural variety. And as a form of government, democracy is organization to facilitate compromise, despite deep differences among participants as





to what in particular cases is just and right. Democracy is, in short, a pluralistic way of thought and a tolerant way of action.

Abraham Lincoln is America's best exemplification in the flesh of both this way of thought and this method of collective action. Before we turn to these points, however, let us observe that Lincoln's democracy was a profound feeling before it was either thought or action. Lincoln was not only a democrat; he was a "democratical" sort of man. He spontaneously accorded the other man the rights he claimed for himself. "As I would not be a slave," said he, "so I would not be a master." This attitude is no deduction from dogma but a simple extension of feeling that lay deep in his frame. His feeling was furthered by the biographical fact that Lincoln had none of the external trappings for any of the elites to which he belonged. He was a natural aristocrat without the desire to exclude anybody from any rank to which nature had assigned him. America, like Whitman the poet, had come "more and more to rely upon his idiomatic western genius, careless of court dress or court decorum." Lincoln had the ready friendliness of a man lonesome from too much solitude. Whitman's question, addressed as it was to the social cosmos, would have appeared to Lincoln the rhetorical query it was to Whitman: If you meet me and I meet you, why should we not speak to one another?

## II. Lincoln's Conduct was Democratic

Lincoln was a democrat in action because he believed that no basis for common action exists save by achieved agreement. No man is wise enough, not even Abraham Lincoln, to dictate public policy, not even



out of his private conscience. Since good men do as a matter of observation differ, and differ profoundly, and differ permanently, the "engineering of consent" becomes the only way of getting men together for common action. This spells the odious thing to idealists called "compromise."

It was the "Dred Scott decision" of the American Supreme Court which awakened Lincoln from his civic slumber. This decision set aside, or Lincoln thought it did, a national compromise which had long kept the tenuous peace over slavery and for which no substitute compromise was in sight. Lincoln puts this matter more feelingly than any other man of his time. His words are these:

"The Missouri Compromise ought to be restored.

For the sake of the Union it ought to be restored...the spirit of national compromise -- that spirit which has thrice saved the Union...We thereby restore the national faith, the national confidence. We thereby reinstate the spirit of concession...which has never failed us in past perils, and which may be safely trusted for all the future."

In a democracy, action must rest on agreement; and between men equally honest and equally intelligent, there is no basis for agreement save compromise. Lincoln speaks of compromise not to damn it but to praise it as a method, the method, of reaching agreement between equally patriotic men. And of the Southerners, Lincoln said: "They are just what we would be in their situation." This commitment to compromise means,



however, that in a democratic culture -- is it really different in any culture? -- action lags behind thought in ideality.

### III. Lincoln's Thought was Democratic

So saying, we must now make explicit what is already implicit in the relation of action to thought. Thought is better -- both freer and more ideal -- than is action, and it must remain so. As touching thought, Lincoln said: "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel." As to action, however: "Yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling." It will be remembered in this connection that Lincoln did not justify his Proclamation of Emancipation upon moral grounds, but upon the grounds (and with the timing) of political expediency and military advantage. His principle in the matter is made clear by another declaration of his: "Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation."

There is a scrupulosity of thought, imperative upon an honest soul; but there is leeway of action; and the two are not one and the same. Some things right can be wrong to perpetrate, and some things wrong can be right to do. Each must be recognized in its own time and place and be properly adjudged.

Democracy requires complete freedom for private conscience, but for a price which is often overlooked; and the price is that public



agreement must be publicly arrived at, not dictated by the private conscience in question. Privacy remains sacrosanct only so long as it does not pretend to be public. It is a fearful price to pay, but not too grievous. Common action must rest on common thought, and the only way to attain common thought is by the leeway of give-and-take. Consent comes only by concession. Whoever insists upon short-cutting this laborious discipline is not a democrat but a fanatic. Think what you will, and treasure it as you may, but do only what can be agreed upon (at the least by a majority). "I aver," says Lincoln, "that to this day I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery."

Lincoln is a perfect example of democracy because he illustrates in the crucial matter of slavery both the necessity of compromise and the immunity of conscience from compromise. He illustrates, too, that when these two realms meet, heroism requires either total sacrifice of one party or partial sacrifice of both parties -- or it implies a creative ambivalence which has not yet clearly emerged in our analysis. Lincoln appropriated this creative principle, and becomes our supreme symbol of democracy. I speak of something "creative" because we are not reduced to a rigid dualism, with thought forever on the one side, and action on the other. There is fraternization and so a certain resiliency. What is private today may become collective tomorrow, and vice versa. Lincoln was unique in finding a working monism permeating this metaphysical dualism. How he did this concludes our story.





IV. The Surplusage of Value

In every meeting of the public and the private there emerges what we may call a surplusage of value, something privately imagined yet collectively unrealizable in full. This is to say that sensitive men are urged by their better natures to demand more, not only of others but of themselves as well, than the situation allows. This is true if for no other reason than the simple one that different natures demand discrepant values in the name of common ideals.

When have all good men been agreed upon goodness, or just men on justice, or holy men on holiness? When others fall short of the demands made by this surplusage, the will to perfection easily turns one to fanaticism, and all is lost because too much is demanded. When one himself falls short before the surplusage of demand, a sense of guilt naturally supervenes. Either way (and it may go both ways at once), the principle of surplus value reduces the total ideality of any conflict situation below the level of comfort -- and perhaps of safety. The best becomes enemy of the better; and a value-minimum ensues partly because a value-maximum has been required. Conscience always leans toward despotism.

A good man, that is to say, can become a dependable democrat only when he learns to accept for public action less of ideality than his private insight demands. He must lower his sights for action in order to keep from having to lower his sights for thought. The surplusage of thought over action must be privately contained. This is the more intimate and the harder discipline which democracy requires. Lincoln had "insides"



(imaginative amplitude) roomy enough to contain such ideals as for the time and place could not be made fully to inform action by means that were amiable. Let us resort in conclusion to Lincoln's own example of this recondite point: his doctrine and strategy as touching the reconstruction of the defeated South.

Just before his assassination, Lincoln was charged in Congress with trying to pacify the South (the so-called Louisiana Reconstruction Plan) without having faced the question as to whether the Confederacy was in or outside the Union. Had the seceding states withdrawn or only tried to withdraw? It was a question on which honest men might differ, indeed had differed to the point of war. Men might differ on this and still unite on a common course of action.

To the charge in Congress Lincoln admitted that he had not raised the previous question as to the nature of the Union. He went further and declared he would not entertain that question. He went still further and explained why the question should not be put. Such a question, said he, is "practically immaterial." Such a question, said he, is "a pernicious abstraction." Such a question, he said, "could have no other effect than the mischievous one of dividing our friends." Settle the practical question as to how neighbors could again be neighborly and then, he concluded, each might "forever after innocently indulge his own opinion" -- as to speculation on the nature of the Union.

It was his clearing the road to action of such sectarian roadblocks that made Lincoln the very voice of Western democracy. If men know that all ideals transcend action, they will not be so quick to



persecute each other for divergence in ideals. Lincoln knew this. If men understand in advance that the price of common action is compromise for all concerned, they will not so adamantly stick up in conference for their own interpretation of the ideal. Lincoln knew this. If men understand that the options of action are more narrowed than the amplitude of thought, they will not insist that all of any ideal be embodied in its appropriate action. Lincoln knew this. He knew that for many questions, and for all collective questions, it is more important to get them settled than to get them settled exactly "right."

Lincoln knew, finally, what ideals are not good for. And so he could use all ideals that are relevant for all the difference they can make -- and could then contain the rest as objects of wonder and as manna for the soul. Only such insight can make common action possible through peaceful compromise and can leave private thought uncommon through individual celebration of its transcendent worth.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN AS THE GREAT IMAGE OF AMERICA

By  
Arnold Gates

The author is editor of "The Round Table," official publication of the Civil War Round Table of New York, and a Lincoln scholar.

To some people Abraham Lincoln, as "the great image of America," is represented by a man who, as the noted biographer Benjamin P. Thomas said, "embodied the easygoing, sentimental, kindly spirit of America, which revolts at extreme measures but moves steadily, if haltingly, toward lofty goals." To others he represents a country which English historian Edward Crankshaw, writing in a "New York Times Magazine" article, said was "an upright society of self-respecting human beings banded together in mutual support against the elemental forces, against tyrants, against everything that threatens the free development of individual decency, freedom and responsibilities."

While Lincoln is not to be easily defined, there is no doubt or uncertainty about his belief in the American Declaration of Independence, which proclaims "all men are created equal" and are "endowed...with certain unalienable rights" among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of

1900

1901

1902

1903

1904

1905

1906

1907

1908

1909

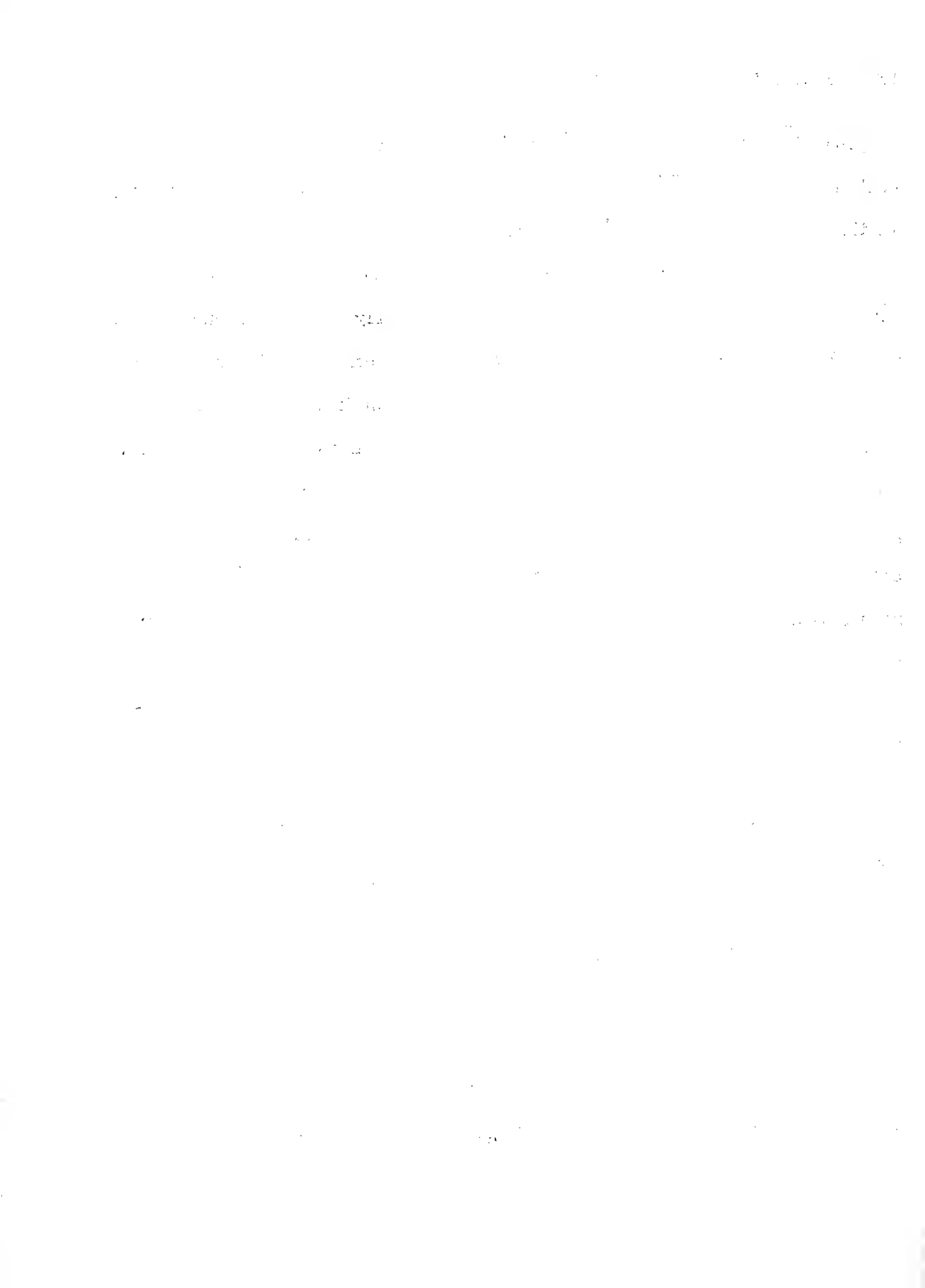
1910



happiness." According to historian James G. Randall, Lincoln "was not content with lip service to" these words and took its "doctrines seriously in their stress upon equality of men."

Born in a crude Kentucky log cabin Lincoln was, as "The New York Herald" after his death described him, "essentially a mixed product of the agricultural, forensic and frontier life of this continent -- as indigenous to our soil as the cranberry crop, and as American in his fibre as the granite foundations of our Appalachian range...taking him for all in all, the very noblest impulses, peculiarities and aspirations of our whole people -- what may be called our continental idiosyncrasies -- were more collectively and vividly reproduced in his genial and yet unswerving nature than in that of any other public man of whom our chronicles bear record."

As to his early years Lincoln, himself, gave the best description when he said they were fully described in Gray's "Elegy": "The short and simple annals of the poor." In many ways his was the rather common experience of his time: shaping a livelihood in the wilderness of America and trying his skill at any job that came his way. What was uncommon was his purposeful scrabbling for what education was available, reading every book he could get his hands on, and the ceaseless probing of his logical mind. In these shaping years he was a postmaster, store clerk, and surveyor. Meeting men he talked over their problems, was respected for his plain common sense and honesty, was elected to the Illinois State legislature and eventually to the United States Congress. After a single



term in Washington he returned to his home to continue the practice of law. But slavery in the territories was to kindle a fire within him.

The famous debates with Stephen A. Douglas over the slavery problem, during the senatorial campaign of 1858, paved Lincoln's way to the White House. Out of this simple, uncomplicated life came a "breath of tolerance and sympathy, a generous humanity" which kindled an interest in him that was to spread beyond the borders of his own country. Leo Tolstoy told of that interest when he recorded a personal experience:

"If one would know the greatness of Lincoln one should listen to the stories which are told about him in other parts of the world...I have heard various tribes of barbarians discussing the New World, but I heard this only in connection with the name Lincoln. Lincoln as the wonderful hero of America..."

While traveling in the Caucasus Tolstoy was the guest of a Circassian chief who lived in a remote mountain region. After they had talked a while the devout Mussulman wanted to hear about the "outside world." But it was not until Tolstoy started to talk about great leaders that the chief showed an interest. At that point he interrupted to call in others to listen. When Tolstoy had finished the tall, gray-bearded chief said:

"But you have not told us about the greatest general and greatest ruler of the world. We want to know something about him. He was a hero. He spoke with a voice of thunder, he laughed like the sunrise and his deeds were strong as the rock and as sweet as the fragrance of roses...He was so



great that he even forgave the crimes of his greatest enemies and shook brotherly hands with those who had plotted against his life. His name was Lincoln and the country in which he lived is called America...Tell us of that man."

Tolstoy told them all he knew of Lincoln.

The next day the chief presented Tolstoy with an Arabian horse and an escort to the nearest town. There he bought a photograph of Lincoln to be sent to the chief. The escort's hand shook as he accepted this gift and his eyes filled with tears. Tolstoy asked him why he looked so sad.

"I am sad," the weatherbeaten tribesman answered, "because I feel sorry that he had to die by the hands of a villain. Don't you find, judging from his picture, that his eyes are full of tears and that his lips are sad with secret sorrow?"

To Tolstoy greatness was based on humanity, truth, justice and pity. All of these, in his opinion, Lincoln possessed and because he did, his example was "universal and will last thousands of years." To Tolstoy, Lincoln was "a humanitarian as broad as the world."

Men of the past as well as of today have ventured equal judgments of this uncommon, common American. In a poem titled "The Murder of Abraham Lincoln" Henrik Ibsen, who felt a great sorrow over the assassination, lashed at the show of sympathy displayed by such rulers as the Emperor of France and reminded them of "vows forgotten and words untrue," of "treaties ye tear and despoil" and of "perjured oaths" and thought the expressions of grief were the epitome of hypocrisy when only a few months before they had ridiculed the American president.



In a letter to his wife the Marquis Adolphe de Chambrun, French diplomat in the United States during the Civil War, wrote that Lincoln "was well aware that in a free democracy close union must always exist between the authority which represents the nation and the nation itself... He had found in the Declaration of Independence the principle of liberty and equality." And, after meeting Lincoln, the Canadian Finance Minister, Alexander Galt, said, "I liked him for his straightforward, strong commonsense."

Many newspapers in many countries devoted space to comments in the tone of the French paper which stated that "Lincoln represented the cause of democracy in the largest and most universal acceptance of the word."

In his book "The American Spirit in Europe" Halvdan Koht states that at that time "People in Europe had identified themselves so completely with the contest of universal ideas in America as to be equally afflicted by losses as cheered by successes."

Sun Yat-sen, first President of China, was reported to have turned to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address as an outline for his basic philosophy of government. Using Lincoln's phrase "government of the people, by the people, for the people" he translated it into "min yu" (the people to have), "min chih" (the people to govern) and "min hsiang" (the people to enjoy).

It was recorded that the Brazilian Minister, Joaquin Nabuco, said, "...whether the spirit of authority, or that of freedom increases,





Lincoln's legend will ever appear more luminous in the amalgamation of centuries, because he supremely incarnated both those spirits."

In Italy, Giuseppe Garibaldi signed an address to Lincoln, "Emancipator of the Slaves of the American Republic" during the Civil War, saying: "Heir of the aspirations of Christ and of John Brown, you will pass to posterity with the name of the Emancipator; more enviable than any crown or any human treasure." The French historian Henri Martin predicted that Lincoln "will stand out in the traditions of his country and the world as an incarnation of the people and of modern democracy itself."

There were other words of praise from Lord Curzon and Bismarck, and José Martí, Cuban patriot, expressed the feelings of men in many places when he said, "Lincoln's life and his philosophy were universal in their greatness" and that in "loving Lincoln, one could also come to love his country."

That Lincoln is an "image of America" to people around the world is no less true today than it was at the time of his death. Prime Minister Nehru of India keeps a brass mold of the right hand of Lincoln in his study. "It is a beautiful hand, strong and firm and yet gentle," he said, "and I look at it every day, and it gives me strength."

It seems a little unusual that a man of Nehru's intellectual background should admire the mold of a hand used to hard manual labor. Full photographs of Lincoln reveal his hands as large and strong. One of the stories told portrays Lincoln as joking about being conditioned for his chores as President. Rubbing his right arm, made sore by too much handshaking,

1870  
1871  
1872  
1873  
1874  
1875  
1876  
1877  
1878  
1879  
1880  
1881  
1882  
1883  
1884  
1885  
1886  
1887  
1888  
1889  
1890  
1891  
1892  
1893  
1894  
1895  
1896  
1897  
1898  
1899  
1900

he illustrated what he meant by picking up an axe to cut a log and then holding the axe straight out at arm's length by the end of the handle.

Even Lincoln's hands have become part of the "image" for although big and strong they could pen warm letters to those who had suffered a loss in the war as when he wrote to a young girl who had lost her father, "In this sad world of ours, sorrow comes to all and to the young, it comes with bitterest agony, because it takes them unawares." And they could be firm as when he wrote to Horace Greeley that his first and only purpose was to save the Union, "I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause."

During an official visit to Washington President Soekarno of Indonesia was reported to say that Lincoln had been one of his teachers and that he looked to America as "the center of an idea." John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, was described as a reader of the writings of Lincoln for the counsel he found in them. Arturo Frondizi, President of Argentina, has never visited the United States according to a news story but has formed a picture of the country out of his admiration for Lincoln. Interesting also is the fact that Lincoln societies are being organized in places like India and Canada for the purpose of studying the man and his words.

As a "great image of America" Lincoln is well suited for the role. James G. Randall drew attention to his physical appearance. "The Americanism of the man," he said, "is revealed with an effect that is



almost startling if one looks at the full standing form and then tries to imagine that figure in court costume, with knee-breeches, close fitting stockings, and buckles." In the physical sense Lincoln was a product of the American frontier which attracted and mixed men from many parts of the world. But this alone was not to make him mirror his country to peoples in distant places. It is rather, as "The New York Herald" of 1865 pointed out, the "impulses, peculiarities and aspirations of our people," somehow merged in the spiritual portrait of Lincoln, which is more readily recognized.

As the doctor pronounced Lincoln dead on the morning of April 15, 1865 Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, said: "Now he belongs to the ages." It could as well be said that he belongs to the world.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

LINCOLN: SELF-MADE MAN

By  
Louis A. Warren

The author, Director Emeritus of The Lincoln National Life Foundation, author of "Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood," has also published 50 pamphlets and brochures on Lincoln.

Immortal men usually come from old civilizations. Often it takes centuries of culture for a country to raise up one who personifies those ideals which have characterized the development of her people. It appears almost preposterous in the light of this assertion to center attention on a character, created by one of the youngest nations, who appears to have captured the admiration of men everywhere. H. G. Wells, famous historian, selected Abraham Lincoln as the greatest character the world has produced in the last 650 years, and pronounced him "the striking phenomenon in modern history."

It is of importance to those who will shape the destiny of men for tomorrow to learn if possible how Lincoln achieved renown, as he is known to have been "a self-made man."





The youth lived all of his early years in a one-room log cabin with poor but pious parents. He spent the first 21 years of his life on the frontier in Kentucky and Indiana doing the most arduous types of manual labor. He had an ax put in his hand when but seven years of age and was first employed in cutting down the underbrush. As he grew up he worked in the timber, felling trees out of which rails were made for fences. He labored for the neighboring farmers and at 16 was working on a ferry boat. At 19 he received eight dollars a month as a hired hand on an Ohio River flatboat. Later, self-instructed, he prepared himself to qualify as a surveyor. He went about studying law with no assistance, eventually becoming an outstanding attorney. After he was 40 years of age he mastered the "Six Books of Euclid." He was always learning. A term in the U.S. Congress and his debates with a political opponent over the slavery issues were experiences which prepared him for the supreme task of guiding his country as the chief executive through four years of civil strife.

When asked by a reporter for some facts about his early life, Lincoln stated that "it could be condensed into a single line found in Gray's Elegy, 'The short and simple annals of the poor.'" To a biographer seeking personal data he wrote, "herein is a little sketch as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason that there is not much of me. If anything be made of it I wish it to be modest." Asked for a listing of his accomplishments up to the time he became President he used but 49 words. Upon being nominated for the Presidency he stated that his name was "the humblest of all whose names were before the convention." After



his election to the Presidency he commented that he had been raised to this high office "without a name, perhaps without a reason, why I should have a name." John Ruskin once said: "I believe that the first test of a truly great man is his humility."

Most of the immortals have been awarded recognition by their exceptional ability to excel in one specific objective such as: art, education, law, literature, philosophy, politics, science or theology. In a eulogy that Lincoln pronounced on Henry Clay, one of his most admired political leaders, he stated that the departed "owed his pre-eminence to no one quality but to a fortunate combination of several, ... no one of them very uncommon, but all together are rarely combined in one individual, and this is probably why such men are so rare in the world." No one could have prepared a more accurate statement about Abraham Lincoln's rise to fame than this tribute, made to another, presents. It was a combination of accomplishments in which he was successful, that set Lincoln apart from his contemporaries and from men of other generations.

Naturally the question presents itself: What factors contributed largely to Lincoln's fame and what were the sources upon which he drew to achieve distinction in so many fields of endeavor?

Possibly his most pronounced contribution to America was his profound statesmanship. Creating as a slogan "The Union must be preserved" he followed through to its ultimate preservation. Like heroes of many other nations he was called "the savior of his country." His martyrdom sealed forever the esteem in which his countrymen revere his memory.



As a small lad not more than 10 or 12 years of age, he secured a biography of Washington, the "Father of His Country." As President-elect Lincoln made a speech in which he referred to this book of his boyhood days and made this remarkable comment: "I remember thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something out of common for which the fathers of the country fought, something more than national independence, something that held out a great hope to all the world for all future time to come." It is exceptional that a boy so young should be thinking of a type of government that might be embraced by peoples everywhere.

The essence of Lincoln's political philosophy was grounded in the declaration drawn up by the nation's founding fathers. Lincoln said while standing in Independence Hall, where the instrument was signed: "I have never had a feeling politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence." Politically, at least, Lincoln was a self-made man.

The world admires Lincoln primarily for his humanitarian measures. Lincoln's "Proclamation of Emancipation," freeing the slaves, was his own composition. This document set in motion a series of enactments that struck the shackles from four million Negroes and caused Lincoln to be known as "The Emancipator of a Race."

The origin of his earliest reactions to keeping men in bondage can be traced back to his infancy. He was brought up in a home where his parents were opposed to the slavery system. Visited at the White House by a delegation from the slave state of Kentucky, where he was born, he made this statement which he put in writing. "I am naturally anti-slavery.



If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel."

This places his initial impressions about slavery as having been received at his mother's knee, where he first heard from his parents about the wrongs of the institution. At different periods in his life we observe the evolution of his views about a social order that would allow some men "to eat their bread by the sweat of other men's faces."

Most of the world's heroes have been soldiers. While Lincoln is not usually associated with military men, yet as commander-in-chief of the Union forces he was the first great leader to direct armies from a central office, far withdrawn from the scenes of hostilities. One authority in the field of military science has referred to Lincoln as a strategist who was "the forerunner of what we now call the higher command." Lincoln did not attend a military academy, in fact, he was never in a college in his lifetime, as a student. He did serve as a captain of a military company when a young man but saw no combat action. Such instruction in this branch of information as in others he "picked up under the pressure of necessity," as he put it. While President of the nation however, he said that he had "secured and read every modern military book." If there ever was a self-made military leader Abraham Lincoln was such a one.

Possibly the most unaccountable achievement of Lincoln, unless we are familiar with his early training, is his contributions in the field of literature. His Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural are masterpieces in eloquence. The London "Spectator" commented: "He is one of the





greatest masters of prose ever produced by the English race." When we are advised that his total schooling would not amount to more than a year, we must be convinced that it was through his own efforts that he became proficient in speaking and writing. Here again the books of his boyhood became the basis of his self-taught course in literature.

His parents were uneducated, so his progress in literary pursuits was largely through his own endeavor. However, he did receive much encouragement to study from his father and mother and they must have perceived, by the time he was seven years old, that they had a gifted child in their midst. He was fortunate indeed in the acquisition of books which gave him the basic principles of oratory and a keen appreciation of good literature. His political speeches were made more forceful by the use of appropriate anecdotes because he had a keen sense of humor. Here again the influence of his father, a recognized story teller and the proud possessor of such books as "Aesop's Fables," which he memorized, were important contributions to his self-directed course in public speaking.

Possibly the most important volume which influenced his literary style was the Bible which was read daily in the home. Both parents as well as Abraham were constant readers of the scriptures. There were at least 25 different books, most of them borrowed, to which Abraham had access as a youth. An unusually good memory allowed him to retain most of what he read as he went over the volumes again and again. Literary critics have lamented the fact that when Lincoln passed away at 56 years of age a life was cut short that was just entering an unusually promising career in the field of literature.



In his first prepared public address, when but 23 years of age, Lincoln said, "I am young and unknown to many of you. I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relations to recommend me."

To a company of soldiers returning home at the close of the war he said: "To the humblest and poorest among us are held out the highest privileges and positions ... I happen temporarily to occupy this White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has come." Surely Abraham Lincoln was a self-made man.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958

12  
13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22



# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

MR. LINCOLN -- LINCOLN IN SHIRTSLEEVES

By  
Benjamin Barondess

The author has published various Lincoln studies, among them "Three Lincoln Masterpieces." He is a Past Vice-President and Director of The Civil War Round Table of New York.

What was Abraham Lincoln like -- this man born in a log-cabin, whose education in its entirety consisted of less than one year in public school, but who, nevertheless, by dint of his own efforts, rose to the office of President of the United States? What were his traits? What was his character?

Carl Schurz, an 1848 émigré from Germany, who fought in the Civil War as a brigadier general and ultimately rose to a place in the President's cabinet and to office as ambassador to Spain, met Lincoln on a train one day. He has drawn this picture for us:

"There he stood, overtopping by several inches all those surrounding him. Although measuring something over 6 feet myself, I had, standing quite near to him, to throw my head backward in order to look into his eyes. Lincoln's face was swarthy, features strong and deeply furrowed, eyes benignant and melancholy. His face was clean shaven and looked even more haggard and careworn than later, when it was framed



in whiskers. On his head, Lincoln wore a somewhat battered stove-pipe hat. His neck emerged long and sinewy, from a white collar turned down over a thin black necktie. His lank, ungainly body was clad in a rusty black dress-coat with sleeves that should have been longer; but his arms appeared so long that the sleeves of a 'store-coat' could hardly be expected to cover them all the way down to the wrists. His black trousers, too, permitted a full view of his large feet. On his left arm he carried a gray woolen shawl, which evidently served him for an overcoat in chilly weather. His left hand held a cotton umbrella of the bulging kind and also a black satchel that bore the marks of long and hard usage. His right hand he kept free for hand-shaking, of which there was no end until everybody in the car seemed to be satisfied. I had seen in Washington and in the West, several public men of rough appearance; but none whose look seemed quite so uncouth, not to say grotesque, as Lincoln's."

There is another picture of Lincoln drawn by a fellow lawyer named Whitney, which corroborates the fact that Lincoln was a man who cared naught for externals; he was more concerned with the great ends of life: liberty and democracy. Whitney says:

"His mobile face ranged, in modes of expression, through a long gamut; it was rare that an artist could catch the expression, and Lincoln's face was of that kind that the expression was of greater consequence than the contour of the features.....

"He probably had as little taste about dress and attire as anybody that ever was born; he simply wore clothes because it was needful and customary; whether they fitted or looked well was entirely above or beneath his comprehension."

Lincoln was no ordinary man. There has never been another like him. He was and has remained an original. Yet throughout life, he was, as he began, a man of the plain, common, people.

As for his personal habits, Joshua Speed, who owned a general store in Springfield, and was his closest friend, tells us that:





"In all his habits of eating, sleeping, reading, conversation and study, he was regularly irregular; that is, he had no stated time for eating, no fixed time for going to bed, none for getting up."

Lincoln was a fitful sleeper and arose early. He would then often walk alone across the White House lawn to find a newsboy and buy the morning newspapers. By 8 a.m., when breakfast was served, he had already been toiling at his desk for an hour. Meals were interruptions to him. Breakfast would consist of an egg and a cup of coffee. Lunch would be similarly Spartan -- a raw apple and a glass of milk. Dinner would involve greater consumption of food under Mrs. Lincoln's watchful eye and urging. In fact, she often had guests to dine at the White House, to make certain that he would eat and thereby conserve his strength.

Of his modesty and humility, there were many witnesses. Relatives and close personal friends were not allowed to call him "Mr. President." Such a formality he reserved for strangers and for official visitors. To intimates, it was always either "Mr. Lincoln" or just plain "Lincoln." Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts both found him blacking his own boots. In the late evening hours, his feet encased in worn slippers and his body draped in a faded old dressing gown, he would relax in the company of close friends. Nothing of self-importance or grandeur attached to him. The case for the use of the slippers, an almost daily practice, arose from the corns with which he was afflicted. The long legs often were elevated to the desk top, where they rested, allowing him to recline at ease. In fact, during the Civil War, he could often be seen at the window of his office in the



White House, gazing through a telescope, one end of which was at his eye and the other resting on his stockinged feet which were propped on the window-sill, to observe enemy fortifications across the Potomac River.

The humility of Lincoln began early in life and remained with him to the end. Thus, when he ran for his first public office, in 1832, seeking election to the Illinois House of Representatives, and lost ("the only time he was ever defeated by the people") the opening announcement of his campaign contained this statement:

"I am young, and unknown to many of you. I was born, and have ever remained, in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relations to recommend me."

Twenty-seven years later, in 1859, after he had reached years of maturity and had won the nomination of the Republican Party for the Presidency, he replied to a request for a campaign autobiography, made by his close friend Jesse W. Fell, in these modest words:

"Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, ...."

Lincoln almost never smoked tobacco or drank liquor. Though one of the nation's greatest orators, strangely enough, he did not possess the sonorous tenor or baritone voice that actors, who impersonate him, employ. On the contrary, his was of a high-pitched, even piercing, quality, that occasionally rose to a treble; yet withal, it reached to the outermost fringe of the crowd listening to him.



Lincoln had a gift for pithy, epigrammatic expression. To those who refused to trust the common sense of the voters, he is said to have warned: "You can fool some of the people all the time; and all the people some of the time; but you can't fool all the people all the time." As for those who sought to discredit him in the public eye, by accusing him of advocating social and political equality of whites with slaves, Lincoln replied that, though the slave was not his civic or political equal, yet "in the right to eat the bread that he earns with the sweat of his own brow, he is my equal, and the equal of every other white man."

Lincoln had a complex character. He was a man of many moods. He alternated between periods of elation and deepest gloom. "I laugh because I must not cry; that's all" he told friends. He believed in dreams, all of which had a portent of doom about them. He had a penchant for poems and songs which dealt with the futility of life and the inevitability of death. One of them, "Mortality," by William Knox, was a favorite. It began: "O why should the spirit of mortal be proud?"

Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, said of him:

"He was a sad-looking man; his melancholy dripped from him as he walked....He was gloomy, abstracted and joyous -- rather humorous -- by turns; but I do not think he knew what real joy was for many years."

Milton H. Shutes writes:

"He seemed to shed tears easier than most men. He wept so uncontrollably at the funeral of his old friend, Squire Green, of New Salem, that he was unable to proceed with the eulogy. He cried over poetry, over beautiful singing and instrumental music, over Sunday School children, mourning homes, the slaughter of soldiers, and even at the sight of their marching."

The history of the United States is a story of growth and development. From the first settlers in the 17th century to the present day, the nation has expanded its territory and diversified its economy. The early years were marked by the struggle for independence and the establishment of a new government. The 18th century saw the growth of the young nation, and the 19th century was a period of westward expansion and industrialization. The 20th century has been a time of great change, with the United States emerging as a world power and a leader in technology and science. Today, the United States continues to face new challenges and opportunities, and its history remains a source of inspiration and guidance for the future.

The United States is a land of diverse people and cultures. It is a nation of immigrants, and its strength lies in the diversity of its population. The American dream is a vision of a better life for all, and it is a dream that has inspired millions of people around the world. The United States is a nation of freedom and democracy, and its values are the foundation of its success. The history of the United States is a story of progress and achievement, and it is a story that continues to inspire and motivate us today.

On the other hand, examples of his wit and humor are legion. In a note to Major Ramsay, October 17, 1861, he wrote:

"The lady -- bearer of this -- says she has two sons who want to work. Set them at it, if possible. Wanting to work is so rare a want that it should be encouraged."

In a message to Secretary of War Simon Cameron, November 13, 1861, he wrote:

"Please have the Adjutant General ascertain whether 2nd. Lieutenant of Co. D. 2nd. Infantry -- Alexander E. Drake, is not entitled to promotion. His wife thinks he is."

When stricken with variola, a mild form of smallpox, while besieged in the White House by hordes of office-seekers, Lincoln told his secretaries, with relief, that he was happy, for "Now I have something I can give everybody." A group of clergymen presented to Lincoln an address in which they called him "a pillar of the church." He replied: "You would have done better to call me a steeple."

It is related that a young man came to Lincoln to thank him for an appointment as American Consul at a South-American port. The nominee was dressed in the height of fashion. It appeared the office was not altogether a joy to the young man. He told the President: "I can't say I'm so very glad of this appointment after all. I hear they have bugs down there that are liable to eat me up inside of a week." Replied Lincoln: "Well, young man, if they do, they'll leave behind them a mighty good suit of clothes."

One of the greatest afflictions the kind-hearted Lincoln had to suffer, was the persistence with which his generals demanded the death





penalty for soldiers who had violated some rule of war. But he went right on pardoning the unhappy victims. To one commander who wanted a deserter shot, Lincoln said: "Can he help it if he has a pair of cowardly legs that run away with the rest of him?"

In his domestic life, Lincoln was a devoted husband and father. True, he annoyed his wife, Mary. He came to table in shirt-sleeves; he read a book lying on the floor of the hallway of his home, his head and back propped up on an overturned chair; similarly reclining, he dangled his babies overhead; he answered the door-bell to two haughty ladies, who came to call on Mrs. Lincoln, likewise in shirt-sleeves, and not yet content, announced to them in street parlance, that he "would trot the women folks out." To counter the parsimoniousness of his wife, he secretly paid the housemaid one dollar per week extra, as salary. What his wife would have said, had she discovered this, can be imagined, for she had a fiery temper. Yet she practised economy with cause. Coming as she did from a home of wealth, it must have required the self-control of a Stoic for her to take up married life at the Globe Tavern in Springfield, Illinois, where board and lodging came to four dollars per week.

The four children, all boys, were notoriously spoiled. Lincoln worshiped them. While practising law at Springfield, he could be seen on winter mornings, walking to market, basket in arm, an old gray shawl around his neck, with little Tad or Willie at his heels, both of them propounding questions which the father was too abstracted to hear. On Sunday mornings, when Mary went to church, the neighbors would see Lincoln pulling a little



wagon behind him, with his babies in it, reading absorbedly an open book which he held in his hand. Once, a youngster fell out and lay crying in the street, but the father kept on, completely oblivious. There was, however, one who was no sharer of Lincoln's partiality for his children. That was his law partner, Herndon. When Willie or Tad came to the office of the firm, the papers of clients would go flying to the floor, inkwells would be overturned, lawbooks would be stripped of pages, all to the steadily rising anger of Herndon, accentuated by the peals of laughter the children's antics provoked in Lincoln. To Herndon, they were brats, whose necks he was often tempted to wring.

Lincoln hated slavery from his earliest days. To him it was a moral wrong. Until he attained the Presidency, he could strike no blow against this evil. Then, in September 1862, the opportunity came. But it was no simple problem. Whether or when to take advantage of the chance, was to him the subject of anxious and prolonged consideration. Finally, he determined to act. A special cabinet meeting was held to hear Lincoln's proposal. Before laying his plan in the open, there was yet something to be done. The tension he felt had to be eased. He needed it; his cabinet would also need it. So Lincoln resorted to a characteristic maneuver. He took up a book by Artemus Ward, a noted humorist, and read from it a chapter entitled "High-Handed Outrage at Utica," a hilarious account of an attack by a simpleton on a wax figure, which he had mistaken for a human being, Judas Iscariot.

The story drew laughter from Lincoln as he read aloud, and even from some of the cabinet members. The others were annoyed at what seemed



to them an undignified proceeding. But the maneuver succeeded. The tension Lincoln had suffered was gone; the cabinet could hear his proposal to strike at slavery in an atmosphere of relaxation.

The proclamation Lincoln then read announced that the slaves would be declared free, unless the states in rebellion returned to their former allegiance. They persisted. So on January 1st, 1863, an Emancipation Proclamation was issued by Lincoln. In the end, it resulted in making free four million men, women and children. Lincoln could now declare that this proclamation would be regarded, in due time, as the main achievement of his administration -- if anything, an understatement. A great wrong was righted. Yet the sad man, who set in motion the chain of events that brought this about, had to have his laugh, first. As the poet, Hartley Coleridge, said:

"And laughter oft is but an art  
To drown the outcry of the heart."

Such was the man -- Abraham Lincoln.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### LINCOLN, PLAIN MAN OF THE PEOPLE

By  
Bell Irvin Wiley

The author is Professor of  
American History, Emory  
University, and a Lincoln  
scholar.

"I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life," wrote Abraham Lincoln in 1832 when he was making his first bid for public office. Twenty-eight years later, while seeking the Presidency, he replied to a biographer's request for material about his early years: "It is a great piece of folly to attempt to make anything out of my early life. It can be condensed into a single sentence and that sentence you will find in Gray's Elegy -- 'The short and simple annals of the poor.'"

Thus did the man who was destined to lead the American nation through its greatest crisis identify himself with the plain people. There was no pretension in his claim to humble beginnings. He was born in poverty. While yet a boy he toiled in forest and field with axe, hoe and plow. As he attained maturity he worked as a hired hand, splitting rails, building a flatboat and transporting cargoes of farm goods from





his home country to New Orleans. Later he clerked in a store, served as a village postmaster and practiced surveying. Until he moved to Springfield in 1837--and to a large extent thereafter--his most intimate associates were the plain working people of the American frontier. He ate the simple fare and wore the unpretentious clothing to which they were accustomed. He shared their superstitions, enjoyed their rough humor, entered heartily into their song fests and excelled in their manly sports. He was one with them in thought, word and deed.

These early associations impressed on Lincoln the solid virtue of the common people and instilled in him a deep desire to promote their welfare. He developed a profound conviction that the future of America depended on the progress of the ordinary folk. America was "a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Its strength reposed in the character of the masses. "It is upon the brave hearts and strong arms of the Country," he said to a group of common soldiers during the Civil War, "that our reliance has been placed in support of free government and free institutions."

The influence of Lincoln's humble background and associations is apparent in his often expressed belief in the worth and dignity of labor. About the time he took his seat in Congress he wrote: "In the early days of the world the Almighty said to the first of our race, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' and since then, if we except the light and the air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labor: And inasmuch (as) most



good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them." In a speech in 1859, Lincoln declared that "Labor is the great source from which nearly all if not all human comforts and necessities are drawn." And in 1861, while en route to Washington, he told a Pittsburgh audience that "Labor is the true standard of value."

Lincoln was deeply concerned that those who toiled should be fairly compensated and should have full opportunity to improve their status. The right of laborers to strike Lincoln specifically defended on a number of occasions. In 1860, he declared "I am glad to know that there is a system of labor where the laborer can strike if he wants to. I would to God that such a system prevailed all over the world." To a New Haven audience he said: "I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to and wish it might prevail everywhere."

One of his basic objections to slavery was that the system prevented the worker from bargaining with his employer as to the conditions of his labor and denied to those who toiled any hope of lifting themselves in the social and economic scale.

Lincoln was firmly committed to a system of free enterprise. But he believed that those who worked for wages should have a full and free opportunity to attain a position where they in turn could hire the services of others. "There is no such thing as a free man being fatally fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer," he said on one occasion.



In a speech in March 1860, Lincoln stated: "I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. So, while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humble man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else."

During the Civil War Lincoln on many occasions manifested an interest in the laboring classes and in their support of the Union cause. In March 1864 he "gratefully accepted" honorary membership in the New York workingmen's Democratic Republican Association and congratulated that organization on its realization that the conflict between North and South was "in fact a war upon the rights of all working people." He added: "The strongest bond of human sympathy outside of the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations, and tongues and kindred." Early in 1863 he sent messages to the workingmen of London and Manchester, thanking them for their expressions of sympathy for the Northern cause. To the latter he wrote: "I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workingmen at Manchester and in all Europe are called to endure in this crisis ... I cannot but regard your decisive utterance upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism (and) ... reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity and freedom."



As he climbed the ladder of success Lincoln showed no inclination to forget or deplore his humble origins. In 1860 he stated: "I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flat-boat--just what might happen to any man's son."

His acquaintance with poverty and hardship gave him an abiding sympathy for the needy and the oppressed. He advocated liberal policies of immigration so that people of other lands threatened with political persecution or ground down by poverty might share in America's "new life." And he also urged humane and generous treatment of foreigners after they reached the American shore. In February 1861 he told a Cincinnati audience: "In regard to the Germans and foreigners ... It is not my nature when I see a people borne down by the weight of their shackles--the oppression of tyranny--to make their life more bitter by heaping upon them great burdens; but rather would I do all in my power to raise the yoke, than to add anything that would crush them."

Lincoln's sympathies for the lowly extended to people of all creeds and colors. He was especially interested in the welfare of the Negro. "I want every man to have the chance--and I believe the black man is entitled to it--in which he can better his condition," he declared in March, 1860. In a letter of August 24, 1845 to his Kentucky friend, Joshua F. Speed, he wrote: "In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip on a Steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis ... there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me."





The end that he hoped for was assured by the Emancipation Proclamation, the Thirteenth Amendment and the triumph of Federal arms. Once he committed himself to the adoption of emancipation, Lincoln worked diligently toward helping the colored people along the road to freedom and the full opportunity for advancement that he believed the inherent right of every human being. He insisted that Negroes in the army be treated as soldiers by their white comrades. He also followed with great interest the work of private and government agencies which undertook to promote the physical and spiritual welfare of the families of colored soldiers and the other Negroes who were involved in the tortuous transition from slavery to freedom.

Lincoln's concern for the plain people and the attitude of the Northern masses toward him during the crisis of the Civil War is vividly recorded in the letters and diaries of the common soldiers.

In July, 1862, while General McClellan's army lay at Harrison's Landing President Lincoln made one of his fact-finding visits to the field. Shortly afterward Sergeant Felix Brannigan of a New York regiment, wrote his homefolk:

"Old Abe was here a few days ago and saw for himself the state of things. He, we are all convinced, is the soldier's friend, and the man above all men in the right place. We feel that he takes an interest in us, that he has done what not one of ten thousand in a similar position would have brains enough

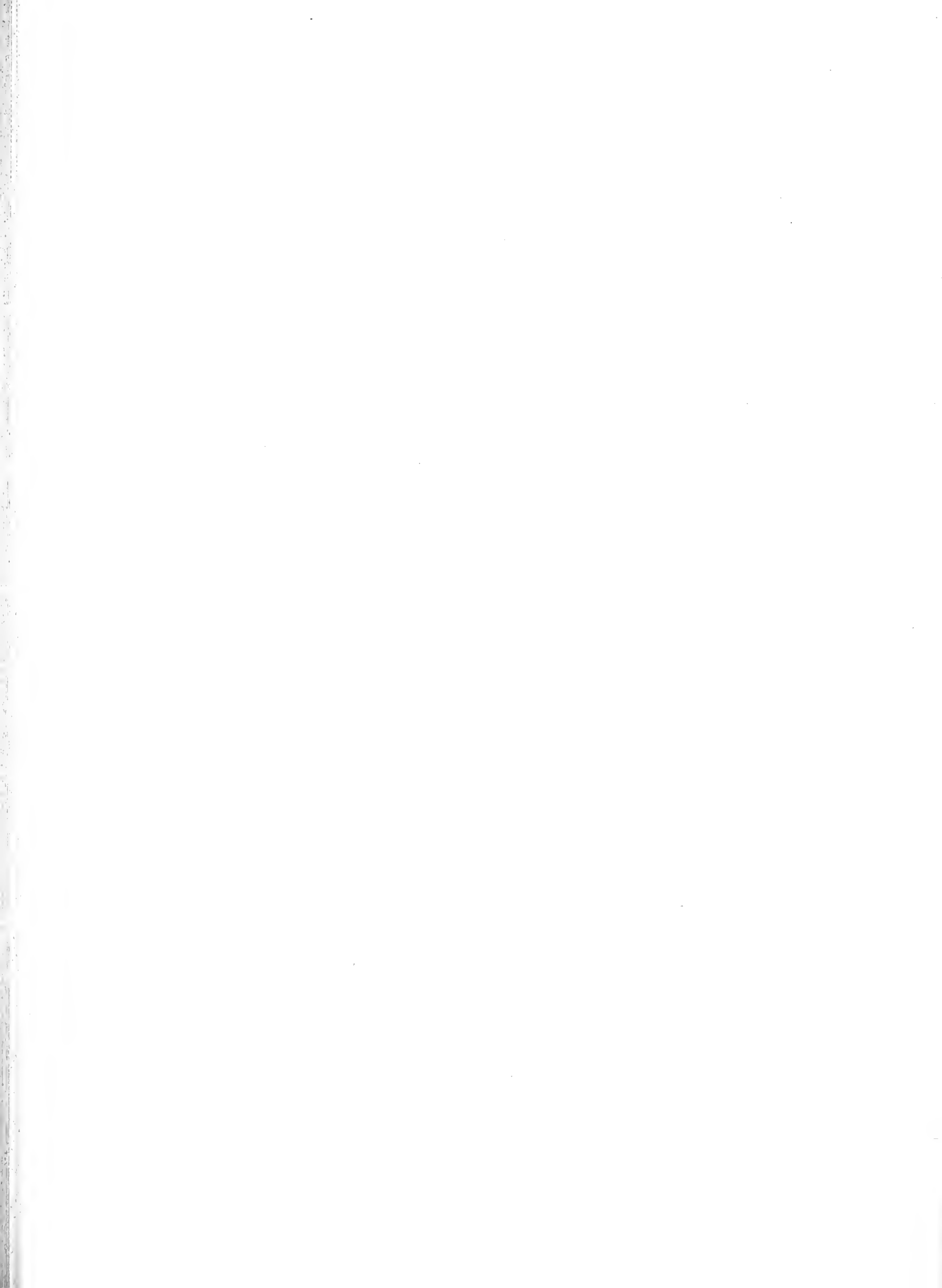


to think of doing, i.e. to take nobody's word or reports got up for effect. He came and saw for himself ... Such cheers as greeted him never tickled the ears of Napoleon in his palmyest days."

Sergeant Brannigan's estimate of Lincoln's popularity among the rank and file was not exaggerated. It is doubtful if any war president in American history ever elicited as enthusiastic admiration among the fighting forces as did the railsplitter from Illinois. The warmth with which he was regarded is suggested by the nick-names applied to him. Relatively few soldiers spoke of him as "President Lincoln," "Mr. Lincoln," or "the President." But thousands referred to him as "Old Abe," "Father Abraham," or "Honest Abe"; and a popular song in camp was entitled "We are Coming Father Abraham." But far and away the most widely used nickname for the President was the intimate and affectionate "Old Abe."

Of the various factors contributing to Lincoln's popularity among the rank and file, none was more important than the interest which he manifested in the soldier's individual welfare. Scores of references appear in soldiers' letters to reviews by the President, and these camp visits were frequently cited as evidence of his concern for the men who carried musket and carbine.

The thing which probably did most to impress Lincoln's kindly concern for the soldiers was his frequent interposition to soften the harsh discipline of the Union Army. Study of Lincoln indorsements on court martial proceedings plainly shows the President's softening influence



in cases calling for the death penalty. It is well known that in no instance did a Union soldier forfeit his life for sleeping on post. Less publicized but equally true is the fact that Lincoln frequently ordered lesser punishments where courts had prescribed death for purely military offenses, such as insubordination, mutiny and desertion.

Another factor promoting Lincoln's popularity was his reputation for plainness and lack of pretension. The soldiers liked the simplicity of his dress and the plainness of manner which marked his appearance among them. They also appreciated his reputed fondness for unrefined stories of the sort which brought chortles when seasoned campaigners held forth about the campfire. His alleged enjoyment of a chew of tobacco also tended to bring him down to the level of the common soldier.

Another factor contributing greatly to Lincoln's esteem by the soldiers was their almost unanimous belief in his integrity. The concept of "Honest Abe" may have had its beginning as a mere shibboleth, but in the crucible of war it became a conviction, based on emotion, but for that very reason sacred and beyond question.

To the overwhelming majority of the rank and file Lincoln was not a politician in the usual sense of the word. Rather, he was a plain, honest citizen, brought forward by a combination of the democratic process and the workings of Divine Providence to save the nation in a time of peril. And with the help of the soldiers and other good people, save the Union he would.



The feeling of Lincoln's oneness in kind, purpose and suffering with themselves, caused many enlisted men to write letters to him detailing their woes.

Lincoln repeatedly manifested his appreciation of the esteem in which he was held by the soldiers. Regiments passing through Washington sometimes called at the White House to see "Uncle Abe." If he was at home, the President usually favored his visitors with a short speech. In these informal talks Lincoln was wont to dwell upon the preservation and perpetuation of "a free government where every man has a right to be equal with every other man." He also tried to impress upon them the stake which they as ordinary citizens had in the conflict. "This government must be preserved," he said to members of the 148th Ohio Regiment in 1864. "It is worthy your every effort. Nowhere in the world is presented a government of so much liberty and equality. To the humblest and poorest among us are held out the highest privileges and positions. The present moment finds me in the White House. Yet there is as good a chance for your children as there was for my father's."

Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy, on the other hand, made no effort comparable to Lincoln's to convince the masses that the cause he represented was the cause of the people. He remained relatively aloof from the masses. Apparently he did not realize the necessity of winning their minds and their hearts for the Confederacy. It may well be that Lincoln's closer identity with the plain people, and his greater success in rallying them to the cause that he represented was the most influential factor in the triumph of the North and the preservation of the Union.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958







# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By  
Harvey Wish

The author, Professor of History, Western Reserve University in Cleveland, has published "Society and Thought in America" and "Contemporary America."

During 1808-9 two pioneer families in backwoods Kentucky living about 80 miles apart celebrated the birth of boys destined to be linked in an ironically strange fate. The first child was Jefferson Davis whose family later settled in the rich Mississippi black belt, acquired vast plantations, and became wealthy slaveowners. Davis rose to become president of the Confederate States of America dedicated to Negro slavery. The other was Abraham Lincoln, son of a small farmer who chose to move out of the slave area into southern Indiana and Illinois. Young Lincoln's final destiny was the White House leading the Union forces against the Confederate armies of Davis until all America was cleansed of slavery.

Lincoln, like the average Illinois farm worker, store clerk, and self-made lawyer of his day, probably never had more than ten months of formal schooling; yet he acquired a sensitive prose style that is



notable in American literature and an even greater sensitivity to social ills and the universal struggle for human rights. He undoubtedly saw slavery when he took a flatboat down the Mississippi River to New Orleans and, even in his early years as an Illinois state legislator, he worked for its abolition, called for mass schooling as the bulwark of free institutions, and introduced laws to protect the small farmer from high interest rates.

At no time was Lincoln a radical given to violent methods. While he said that labor had superior rights over capital, he always added that capital also deserved protection. But capital must not own labor as under slavery. Besides, he believed firmly in the frontier ideal of equality of opportunity and in a fluid society. "There is no permanent class of hired laborers amongst us. Twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer. The hired laborer of yesterday labors on his own account today and will hire others to labor for him tomorrow." Even in the 20th century of large industry, this small enterprise ideal influenced Americans because society and opportunity continued to be fluid as in Lincoln's day. He was a younger contemporary of Karl Marx, but the notion of an implacable class struggle was wholly foreign to him as it was to his countrymen.

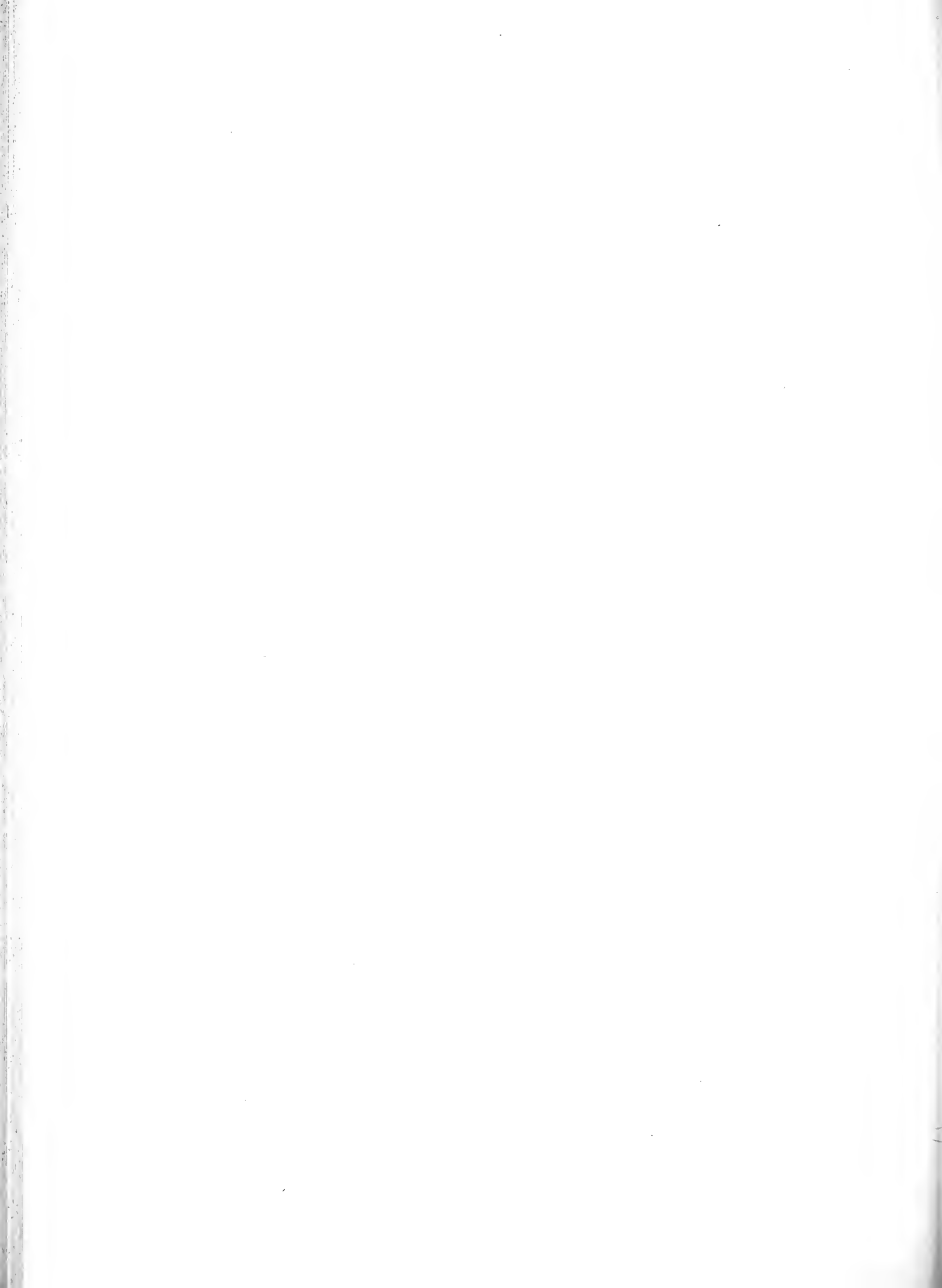
His early reputation was based on his simple dramatic skill as a trial lawyer gifted with the ability to reach the minds of ordinary men and sympathetic to the feelings of plain farm jurors. His frontier neighbors trusted him. When he spoke before a lecture audience occasionally, his message was for social justice. He denounced frontier mob incidents



asserting that liberty must be "hewn from the solid quarry of pure reason" combining "general intelligence, sound morality, and a reverence for the Constitution and the laws." A law partner later recalled his platform appeal: "Lincoln's gray eyes would flash fire when speaking against slavery or spoke volumes of hope and love when speaking of liberty, justice, and the progress of mankind."

When Britain and France abolished slavery in their colonies, this example influenced many antislavery men like Lincoln. Elected to Congress for the 1847-49 session, he joined his fellow-Whig Party members in combating the spread of slavery westward. He thought that the War with Mexico was merely a slaveowners' conspiracy to create more slave states out of the West. Therefore he voted against the war and voted, so he said later, about forty times for the Wilmot Proviso which forbade slavery in any territory acquired from Mexico.

Returning to Illinois, he reopened his law practice and joined the newly-organized Republican Party which had proclaimed Jefferson's doctrine of human equality. It is not the purpose here to relate the significant story of emancipation, but it should be noted that he refused to join the left-wing abolitionists who demanded immediate abolition regardless of violent consequences. Not an academic man, he was perplexed by the "scientific" anthropologists of his day who insisted that Negroes were innately inferior to whites. No one aroused him more than George Fitzhugh, an extremist Virginian lawyer who went far beyond slavery to attack modern liberty altogether, "Slavery, white or black, is right and necessary,"



Fitzhugh said and drew from the same racialist doctrines of the French diplomat Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau which later served modern racists. Free competitive society, he argued, was a recent development that had already failed judging from the factory exploitation of labor in Western Europe and America and the appearance of socialism, another form of coercion. Slavery and liberty, he said, "cannot long co-exist in the Great Republic of Christendom."

This basic attack on human rights aroused Lincoln to write his most famous political speech, the so-called "House-Divided" address delivered on June 16, 1858:

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Lincoln's House-Divided speech meant that he believed that in a democracy where public opinion was dominant, a single "central idea," as he put it, eventually won out in the competition of ideas. This central idea in our government had always been the equality of men. "And although it (public opinion) has always submitted patiently to whatever of inequality there seemed to be as a matter of actual necessity, its constant working has been a steady progress toward the practical equality of all men."





Thus he made clear his belief that the basic incompatibility of freedom and slavery in a land possessing a free public opinion was to be solved by the peaceful advance of free society. Unfortunately, the seceding South, ever fearful of race wars emerging from antislavery pressure, decided that the presidential election of Lincoln was an immediate threat to them and therefore they chose the path of civil war.

During those decades before the war, immigrants arrived in such numbers as to frighten those who feared domination by alien groups. One secret organization, the American Party, worked to reduce the political power of newcomers by greatly extending the time of naturalization. Lincoln attacked those within his party who had joined this group and denounced discrimination against immigrants. As President, too, he appealed to Congress to liberalize its immigration policy. Bar only the enemies of the human race, he asked and praised each national group for its special contributions.

In 1848, when revolutions swept Europe, he led political meetings to express sympathy for the liberal Forty Eighters. He secured resolutions praising the struggle for liberty of Louis Kossuth and the Hungarian patriots. When the entire world was shocked by the Russian Czarist troops which destroyed Hungarian freedom, Lincoln secured a vehement public protest condemning Russia's act and encouraging resistance. Lincoln felt the current public enthusiasm for Louis Kossuth and the Hungarian struggle at the time that this leader visited America and was hailed by huge demonstrations in the larger cities.



As President, Lincoln found himself face to face with the grim reality of war which he had always condemned as arousing the worst traits of mankind--deception, suspicion, and brutality. But he saw no alternative but resistance to the slave states and despite the nature of civil war, when the enemy is frequently within the gates, he managed to preserve a large measure of peacetime civil liberties.

He never felt hatred to the South--only against slavery itself. His law partner later said, "He was certainly a very poor hater. He never judged men by his like or dislike for them ... If a man had maligned him or been guilty of personal ill-treatment, and was the fittest man for the place, he would give him that place just as soon as he would give it to a friend." In wartime, as so many stories show, he felt as much sympathy for the suffering Confederate boy as for his own Union wounded. Once, during his numerous visits to military hospitals, a dying Confederate soldier called for him, evidently thinking to get some diversion at the sight of the man whom Southerners regarded as the homeliest man in the world. Lincoln paused in his rounds, listened patiently to the boy, inquired after his parents, brothers, and sisters, and remained there during the last hours of death. The Confederate was obviously captivated by this humane man.

Lincoln suffered the necessity of sending armies forth to their ordeal, though this hatred of war did not prevent him from becoming a great war President leading his cause to victory. Many stories are told of his intervention to save prisoners from execution by military courts,



of his heroic efforts to find time and patience to listen to innumerable mothers, wives, and others pleading for the lives of their dear ones. Once he told his former law partner, "Get out of the way, Swett; tomorrow is butcher day, and I must go through these papers and see if I cannot find some excuse to let these poor fellows off." Secretary of War Stanton was not always happy about the way that Lincoln used the pardoning power, but recent biographers feel that he used careful judgment, not mere sentimentality. But his personal suffering was immense.

Critics complained that the President was too generous in his policy of freeing prisoners willing to take an oath of loyalty (providing their cases showed that they could be trusted). He intervened to protect Negro Union troops whom their former masters refused to treat as prisoners of war when captured. "To sell or enslave any captured person on account of his color, and for no offense against the laws of war, is a relapse into barbarism, and a crime against the civilization of the age," he said. The South yielded on this point.

Once the objectives of war were attained, he was ready to offer a magnanimous peace, permitting the Confederates to return at once to their homes, and discouraging most efforts to punish their leaders. "We would welcome Jefferson Davis' escape from the country," he told a friend. His kindness is memorably reflected in his speech:

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan--to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for consistent data collection procedures and the use of advanced analytical techniques to derive meaningful insights from the data.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in data management and analysis. It discusses how modern software solutions can streamline data collection, storage, and processing, thereby improving efficiency and accuracy.

4. The fourth part of the document addresses the challenges associated with data management, such as data quality, security, and privacy. It provides strategies to mitigate these risks and ensure that the data remains reliable and secure throughout its lifecycle.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes by summarizing the key findings and recommendations. It stresses the importance of a data-driven approach in decision-making and the need for continuous monitoring and improvement of the data management process.

In December, 1862, Lincoln issued the famous Emancipation Proclamation freeing slaves in all rebel areas and thus proved to world opinion that the North was fighting not only for the Union but for human freedom. Middle-class people and workmen felt enthusiastic and issued resolutions of solidarity. In England, overflowing crowds of workmen, many of them thrown out of work because the Civil War had cut off supplies for their factories, nevertheless praised Lincoln and the Union. Manchester workmen declared:

We honor your Free States, as a singularly happy abode for the working millions where industry is honored... The erasure of that foul blot upon civilization and Christianity--chattel slavery--during your presidency will cause the name of Abraham Lincoln to be honored and revered by posterity...Our interests moreover are identified with yours. We are truly one people, though locally separate.

Lincoln replied understandingly:

I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workmen of Manchester and in all Europe are called to endure in this crisis...Under the circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country.

The import of the struggle for human freedom everywhere was as easily understood in Europe as in the United States.

This same world context for Lincoln's ideas is clear in the famous Gettysburg address. Lincoln said that "our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." He also said that the war tested "whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure." He called upon his hearers who were mourning the





dead that they must dedicate themselves to this unfinished task of freedom---  
"that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not  
perish from the earth." Here was a timeless message that could have been  
said in 1959 as well as in 1863.

While waging a war for freedom that cost 600,000 lives on both  
sides, Lincoln also advanced the interests of all classes at home. He  
urged successfully that Congress fulfill its promise to give "land to the  
landless." He said: "A homestead shall be granted to every poor man who  
needs and desires it and will cultivate it." Immigrants were welcomed,  
offered exemption from military service, though many gladly served in the  
war for freedom.

One singularly wise step was the appointment of the highly  
civilized Anson Burlingame as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipo-  
tentiary to China, then in danger of disintegration. So successful was  
Burlingame in fulfilling the anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic policy  
of the Lincoln administration that the Chinese took the unusual step after  
Lincoln's death of making Burlingame their own envoy to the United States!  
Lincoln's championship of human rights had circled the globe!

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN'S VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT

By  
Ralph G. Lindstrom

The author, a prominent attorney in Los Angeles, has written extensively on Lincoln.

To Abraham Lincoln the American Declaration of Independence set forth the basis of government for free people, the world over. He said:

"The assertion that 'all men are created equal' was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. . . .

"They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all, constantly looked to, constantly labored for . . . constantly spreading and deepening its influence, and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere."

Thus no man should enslave any other, no group should dominate any other group, no nation should make a satellite of another nation.

Lincoln lived, he gave his life, to preserve this concept of government; government created to foster and protect genuine equality



among men, equality of opportunity, the equal and unfettered start in life, without regard to race, creed, color or nationality; free enterprise and individual initiative, in the business of making a life, no less than in making a living.

His thinking embraced all men, everywhere. Of the work of the authors of that Great Declaration he said:

"This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty, and wise, and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures. Yes, . . . to all His creatures, to the whole great family of man. . . . In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the Divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on, and degraded, and imbruted by its fellows."

Lincoln thought in terms of sovereignty of the individual man in his personal affairs, sovereignty of each group of people as a unit of government, for their internal affairs. So he said:

"No matter in what shape it (the excuse for depriving any people of their liberty) comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race (or group) of men as an apology for enslaving another race (or group), it is the same tyrannical principle." (Parenthetical matter added.)

When the working men of Manchester sent Lincoln a message of support of his purpose in the Civil War, he answered with gratitude for their "re-inspiring assurance . . . of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity, and freedom." He thought so much in terms of universal good that he came to talk of "man's vast future."

Thus as he journeyed to Washington to be inaugurated, he said to the New Jersey Senate:



"I am exceedingly anxious that that thing which they (the revolutionary fathers) fought for; that something even more than national independence; that something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come; . . . shall be perpetuated in accordance with the original idea for which that struggle was made.

He pleaded that each generation of Americans "readopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it the practices and policy, which harmonize with it. . . . Let all Americans -- let all lovers of liberty everywhere join in the great and good work." Why? So "that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed, to the latest generation."

To Lincoln democracy was not merely a political phrase. It was no mere slogan. It was a way of life. So he said:

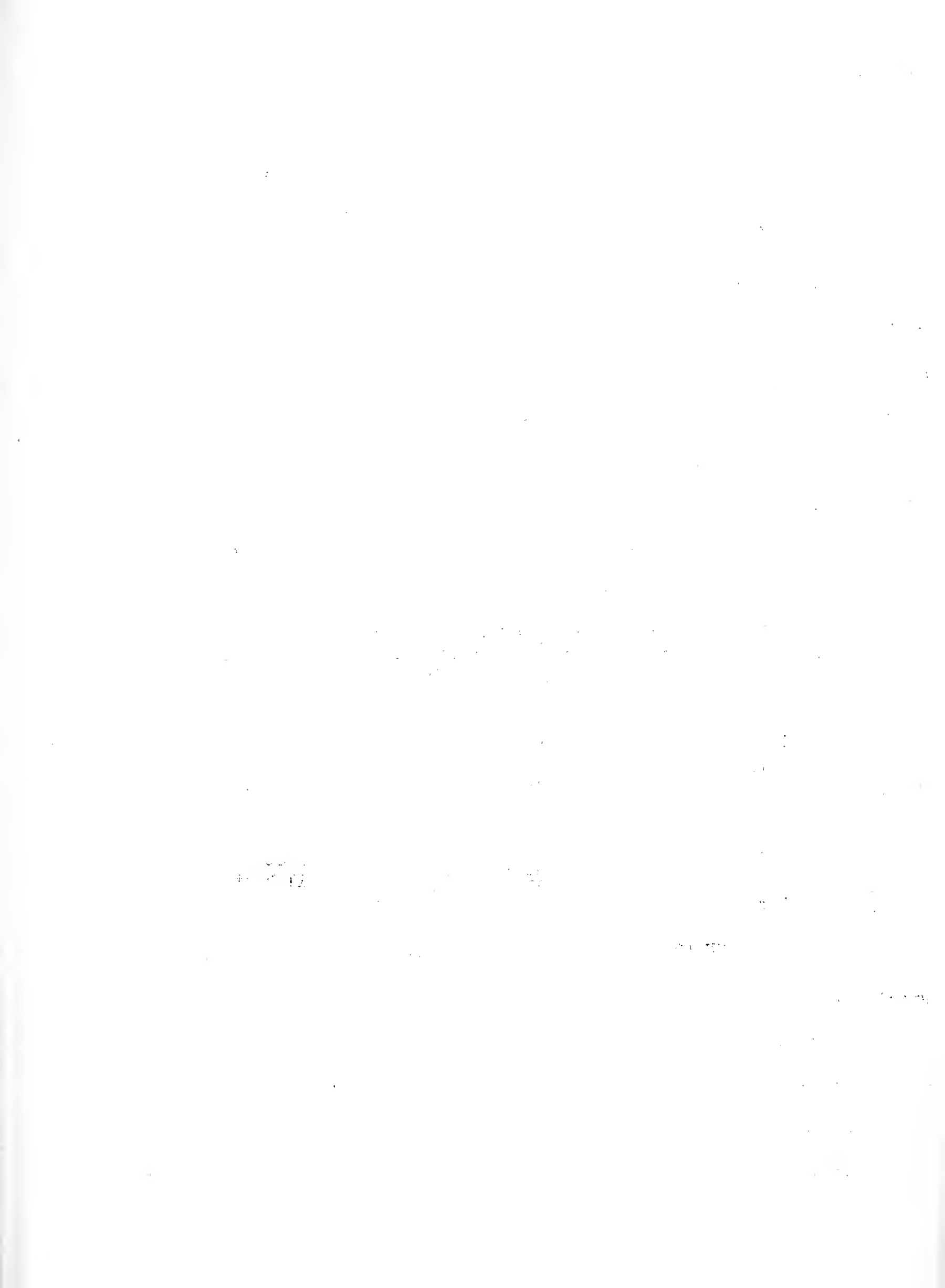
"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is not democracy."

Yes, he meant government to assure the opportunity to progress to all men; to leave men free to achieve and improve their status. He said:

"We propose to give all a chance; and we expected the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant, wiser, and all better, and happier, together."

Such is our task, our "duty to posterity, and love for our species in general. . . ."

To Lincoln, even free enterprise was the way to advance the general good through the individual good. Sometimes he soliloquized in writing. Fragments later found in his files show how deeply he thought about man's welfare. Once he asked himself: What was "the primary cause"





of America's prosperity? Was it the combination of the American "Constitution and the Union"? These were documents of basic importance; but he went even deeper to see and say that

"there is something back of these, entwining itself more closely about the human heart. That something is the principle of 'liberty to all' -- the principle that clears the path for all -- gives hope to all -- and by consequence, enterprise and industry to all.

Here is no demagogic promise of ease to one class at the expense of another class. Here is no ascendancy by class or color. To every man, everywhere, there must be the promise and assurance of good, in the degree of his "enterprise and industry." National and universal prosperity will be attained and retained so far, and only so far, as we extend and keep open, clear paths of equal opportunity to achieve. So he went on:

"No oppressed people will fight, and endure, as our fathers did, without the promise of something better than a mere change of masters."

There must be no bestridden nor bestriding class. We must never surrender freedom of initiative for promised prosperity through a totalitarian state. He warned those "who toil up from poverty" to "beware of surrendering a political power . . . which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the doors of advancement . . . and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all liberty shall be lost."

What did Lincoln think governments should do, and should not do? He wrote another soliloquy to say:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people what they need to have done, but cannot at



all do, or cannot so well do, for themselves -- in their separate and individual capacities . . . . In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

This was just another way of saying that people will be free, that individual initiative will thrive, to the extent that people are courageous, energetic, and stand upon their own feet. If they seek government interference for their business, there will be government interference with and against their business.

Why did Lincoln accept Civil War in America? Because it was "a struggle for maintaining in the world, that form and substance of government, whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men -- to lift artificial weights from all shoulders . . . to afford an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life." This he said in his first Message to Congress.

No man should be fixed in inferior status. Lincoln rejected the view "that whoever is once a hired laborer is fatally fixed in that condition for life." "This," he said, "is the 'mud-sill' theory." The mud-sill of pioneer log cabins was the bottom log, permanently embedded in the mud, and forever held down by all the logs above it in the building, which rested upon it, and held it down. No man, no race, no people anywhere should be held down. Men must be free to rise as high as their own efforts and initiative can take them.

Well Lincoln knew that America had not yet fully or nearly attained that ideal of full equality of opportunity; but he knew that



government based upon and practicing the civic truths of the Great Declaration will finally liberate all men from the tyranny which would fix any man in debased or unfavored status.

At Gettysburg he dedicated more than a cemetery. He rededicated his people and their government, in fact all liberty-loving people everywhere, to a forever "new birth of freedom, that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, should not perish from the earth."

As individuals must strive to attain perfection in their own lives, so must peoples, through their governments, honestly strive increasingly to assure the equality of opportunity by means of which all men, everywhere, may achieve "man's vast future."

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958

1	10	100	1000	10000	100000	1000000	10000000	100000000	1000000000
2	20	200	2000	20000	200000	2000000	20000000	200000000	2000000000
3	30	300	3000	30000	300000	3000000	30000000	300000000	3000000000
4	40	400	4000	40000	400000	4000000	40000000	400000000	4000000000
5	50	500	5000	50000	500000	5000000	50000000	500000000	5000000000
6	60	600	6000	60000	600000	6000000	60000000	600000000	6000000000
7	70	700	7000	70000	700000	7000000	70000000	700000000	7000000000
8	80	800	8000	80000	800000	8000000	80000000	800000000	8000000000
9	90	900	9000	90000	900000	9000000	90000000	900000000	9000000000
10	100	1000	10000	100000	1000000	10000000	100000000	1000000000	10000000000



# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

LINCOLN -- LIBERAL OR CONSERVATIVE ?

By

Donald W. Riddle

The author is Professor of History at the University of Illinois in Chicago. Among his books are "Lincoln Runs for Congress" and "Congressman Lincoln."

When Abraham Lincoln was born, government under the American Constitution was 20 years old. When he first voted political parties were emerging. Party lines were indistinct, and candidates were not classified as liberal or conservative. One must discover what Lincoln became.

His environment was a factor of deep influence. He was a child of the frontier, where conditions were fluid. He was born in poverty but he accumulated property. There was no permanent social status; he began without educational or cultural advantages and attained gentility. There were optional ways of making a living -- as a farmer, an artisan, or a professional man. Lincoln's choice put him on the path to political distinction, usefulness, and fame.

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header.

Handwritten text in the upper middle section of the page.

Handwritten text in the middle left section of the page.

Handwritten text in the middle right section of the page.

Handwritten text in the bottom section of the page, appearing as a list or series of entries.

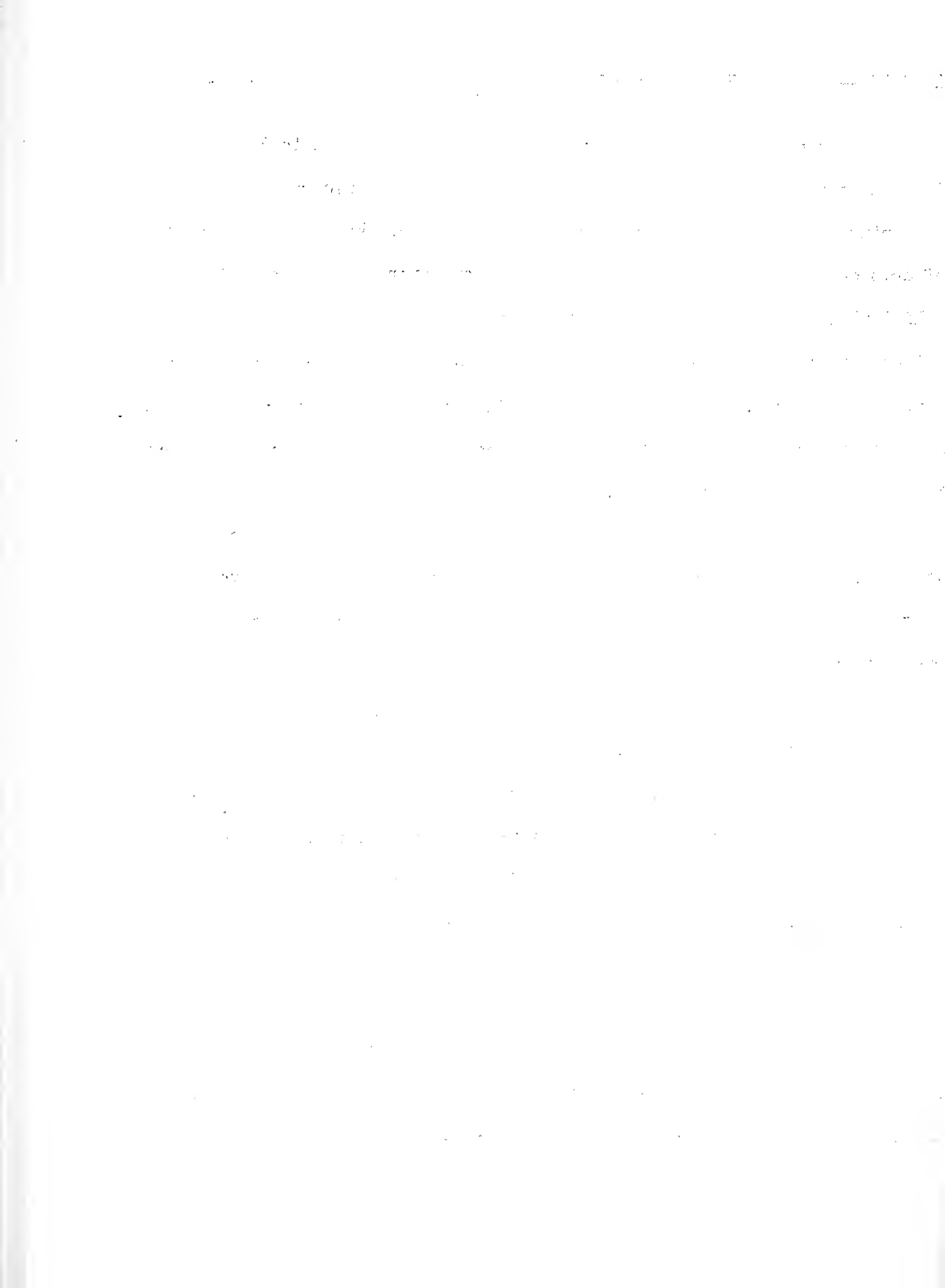


Taken by his parents from Kentucky to Indiana and to Illinois, Lincoln found himself, when he came of age, in the Sangamo region settled by Kentuckians, where rich soil promised prosperity. He was among people of aristocratic manners and attitudes, of whom several had already become political leaders. He determined to become one of their kind. The young rail-splitter, flatboatman, and storekeeper became a lawyer; a professional man, not a laborer. Assiduously cultivating knowledge of law, mathematics, writing, and reading, he also cultivated people of education and refinement and of social status and wealth.

Lincoln undertook a political career together with his legal practice. He was elected to the State Legislature four times and to Congress once; he also canvassed as a Presidential elector for his political party.

His choice of party was important. In the year he was born Thomas Jefferson was President, and the party which Jefferson had formed was dominant. Indeed that party in subsequent elections completely defeated the rival Federalist party, so that when Jefferson died there was but one party in existence. Thus when Lincoln entered politics voters adhered to men, not to parties. But the advent of Andrew Jackson upon the political scene ushered in a second era of parties, so that by 1834 distinction between Democrats and Whigs was sharp. Lincoln became a Whig.

Lincoln's party was conservative. It looked to the interests of wealth and property. It favored a National Bank and a high protective tariff. With its commitment to property interests members of the Whig



party accepted slavery; three-fourths of the slaves in America were owned by Whigs. While all social and economic classes were represented in the party, its leaders were merchants, capitalists, and professional men. The Jacksonian Democrats, not without justice, asserted that the Whigs were a party of aristocrats. Lincoln represented such Whigs in the Legislature and Congress. He sought their support. His marriage related him to prosperous, conservative Whig families.

In the State Legislature and in Congress Lincoln generally followed the conservative principles of his party. His manifest ability led to success as a politician. Although his party was always a minority in Illinois, its strength was concentrated in his home district, so that he was successful in running for office.

A decisive change came with his election to Congress. Previously Lincoln's experience had been on the municipal, county, district, and State level; now it was national. But on the higher level Lincoln closely followed party leaders. Congressman Lincoln was usually an orthodox, conservative whig.

Yet he voiced liberal principles worthy of Jefferson, most frequently when liberty was concerned. For example, after his return from Congress in 1849 he was active in organizing public sentiment in support of Kossuth and the revolutionary party in Hungary, and urging the diplomatic recognition of the revolutionary Hungarian government.

Lincoln's record as Congressman was so unpopular that he was forced to retire from politics until he could live down his failure.



But he did not abandon his goal: he aspired to election to the United States Senate. He was a Whig candidate for Senator in 1855, but by that time the Whig party was dying. Lincoln joined the new Republican party, recently organized in 1854. As that party's candidate for Senator and for President all that was liberal in Lincoln was brought out, expressed, and made effective.

It was his commitment to liberty which led Lincoln to liberalism. He saw that there was only one issue upon which he could run for office: slavery. He made it his issue, and over this issue he broke with the Whigs. He had never held the usually accepted Whig attitude toward slavery. He believed that the rights of property were fundamental, but he had never accepted the idea that property in slaves was a right. With a host of others he saw that slavery was morally wrong, and it was apparent that it had ceased to exist where it was economically unprofitable. He therefore labored to prevent its spread to the newly acquired territories and thus put it on its way to ultimate extinction. But slavery became a political issue, and its fate would be determined by politics. Lincoln dealt with slavery politically, and under him as President it was abolished.

Lincoln's liberalism in regard to liberty was fundamental. Experience had taught him that only in an environment of political, social, and economic freedom any person might, if his rights were secured, move where he chose, work at what he chose, attain that status which his abilities enabled him to win, and accumulate and save property. It was all-important that the essential rights be secured. At this point Lincoln found the liberal Jeffersonian philosophy to be congenial.



Here one may note the two principal American political documents: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The former is a classic articulation of liberalism. The latter is conservative. It is noteworthy that from the time he ran for the Senate in 1858 Lincoln appealed time and time again to the Declaration, emphasizing the famous passage on unalienable rights. This was the basis of his opposition to slavery.

But it was not the plight of slaves only which led Lincoln to liberalism. He labored to secure the rights of all classes of people. To illustrate, during his career there was a strong anti-foreign movement in American life. It was particularly prevalent among the Whigs. But Lincoln never accepted it, and when nativism became an issue he disavowed every kind of discrimination against foreigners. Many Whig politicians joined "American" or "Know-nothing" lodges, as the nativist organizations were called, Lincoln refused to do so. Repeatedly he opposed nativism, demanding for the foreign-born the same rights and opportunities possessed by the native-born. In his final debate with Douglas he insisted that immigrants should have rights and freedom so that

Hans and Baptiste and Patrick, and all other men from all the world, may find new homes and better their condition in life.

Indeed Lincoln's emphasis upon rights had the broadest possible base. It is noteworthy that as early as 1836 he considered that women should be permitted to vote.

He also reflected upon the role of the laborer. Speaking in Wisconsin in 1859 he presented a point which he restated in superior form





later. He said that labor is the source from which human wants are mainly supplied. But some suppose that labor is available only as an adjunct of capital, so that nobody labors unless somebody hires him to work. Some think that labor may be owned instead of hired; these believe that a hired laborer is in a fixed condition, a condition as bad as that of a slave.

This, Lincoln remarked, was the "mud-sill" theory of labor. He repudiated that theory. He pointed out that a few men own capital and hire labor to avoid laboring themselves, but the majority are neither hirers nor hired; they are men who work for themselves. Many of these become independent; some of them continue to work for themselves; some hire others to work for them. This is free labor, which in a situation of freedom enables that rise in status which Lincoln sought for everybody.

Lincoln envisaged a social mobility in a free country in which fundamental rights are guaranteed to all.

It is unnecessary to relate the story of Lincoln's success, culminating in election as President. Nor is it necessary to chronicle his leadership in saving the Union, abolishing slavery, and getting the Jeffersonian unalienable rights written into the Constitution as the Thirteenth Amendment. It is relevant to note that despite occasional conservatism and arbitrary exercise of executive power, liberalism prevailed.

Sometimes the liberal purpose was explicit. In his 1861 Annual Message the war situation led to his superb statement of the relation of capital and labor:

The first part of the paper discusses the general theory of the firm, focusing on the relationship between the firm's size and its structure. It is argued that as the firm grows, the benefits of specialization and division of labor increase, leading to a more complex organizational structure. This process is driven by the need to coordinate the activities of a larger number of workers, which becomes increasingly difficult as the firm expands.

The second part of the paper examines the role of the firm in the economy, particularly in the context of market failures. It is shown that firms can provide a more efficient way of organizing production than the market, especially when there are externalities or other market imperfections. The firm's ability to coordinate and control its resources allows it to internalize these externalities and produce a socially optimal outcome.

Finally, the paper discusses the implications of the theory for public policy. It is argued that government intervention should be limited to cases where the market fails to provide an efficient outcome. In most cases, the firm's internal coordination mechanism is sufficient to ensure efficient production. However, in cases where there are significant externalities or other market failures, government intervention may be warranted.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration....The prudent, penniless beginner...labors for wages...saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land... then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires a new beginner to help him. This is the just, and generous, and prosperous system, which opens the way to all -- gives hope to all...and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty....Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess.

Lincoln correctly saw the Civil War as a people's contest, a struggle to maintain government of the people, by the people, and for the people, a conflict to maintain human rights. The liberal Lincoln found the way to victory. "In giving freedom to the slave," he said, "we assure freedom to the free....We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth."

Lincoln was not consistent in liberalism any more than he had been a consistent conservative. He did upon occasion assume arbitrary power. But as he never abandoned the view that this was a struggle to maintain people's rights he spurned the concept of dictatorship. He saw to it that elections were held. Democratic processes were preserved.

Thus the balance ultimately leaned to the liberal side of the scale. He was no doctrinaire liberal, nor did he seek to secure all the

The first part of the document  
 discusses the importance of  
 maintaining accurate records  
 and the role of the  
 committee in this regard.  
 It also outlines the  
 procedures for handling  
 confidential information  
 and the need for  
 transparency in all  
 financial transactions.  
 The second part of the  
 document focuses on  
 the operational aspects  
 of the organization, including  
 the management of  
 personnel and the  
 coordination of various  
 projects. It emphasizes  
 the need for clear  
 communication and  
 effective teamwork to  
 ensure the successful  
 completion of all  
 tasks.

100

100

rights of all the people. Yet in the outcome he became the symbol of liberty.

The result was an increase of democracy, an enlargement of the scope of human rights.

Lincoln was moderate, not radical, in his plans for post-war reconstruction. In this, also, he stopped short of presenting an ideal goal. What he did look toward was binding up the nation's wounds, and a rededication, "with malice toward none and with charity for all, to cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

He did not live to accomplish this high purpose, but his life was one in which the interplay of conservatism and liberalism led to the secure establishment, increase, and extension of liberty, justice, and right.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN, THE EMANCIPATOR

By  
Kenneth A. Bernard

The author is Professor of History at Boston University. A lifelong student of Lincoln, he has written numerous articles about him.

Abraham Lincoln was born in a slave state, Kentucky, and while he could not in later years remember much concerning his boyhood there, he did state in an autobiographical sketch in 1860 that his father, a man of modest circumstances, had moved from Kentucky across the Ohio River into the free state of Indiana "partly on account of slavery."

As a youth in Indiana and a young man in Illinois, Lincoln had, however, not only read and heard about slavery, but had seen something of it. He had made two trips down the Mississippi River to New Orleans by flatboat, and had thus had opportunity to observe it where, public opinion maintained, it was at its worst.

When, as a member of the Legislature of the State of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln introduced a protest into that body that "slavery is





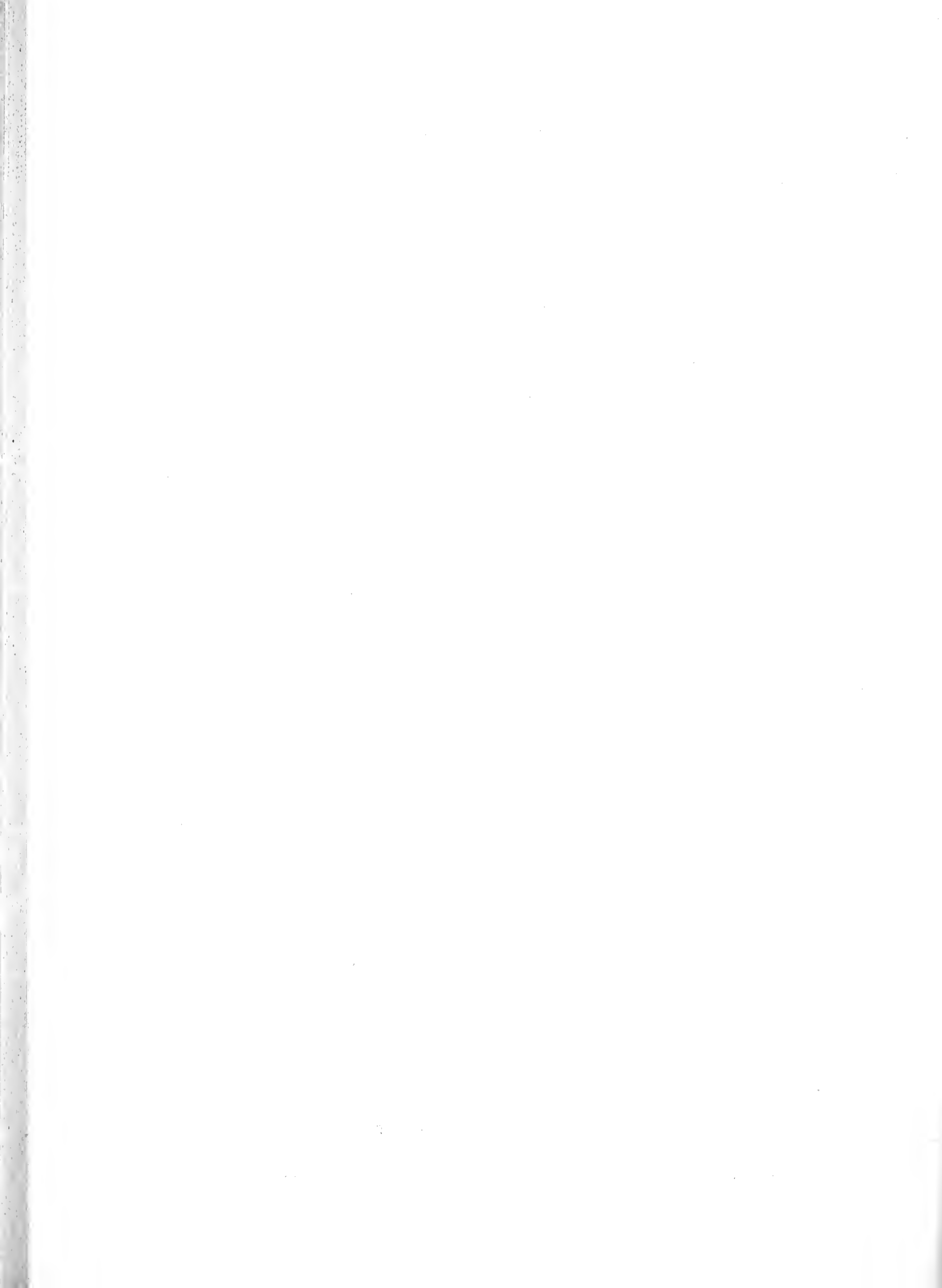
founded on both injustice and bad policy" he was making his first known public pronouncement on an age-old institution which had been brought from the Old World to the English colonies in America over two hundred years before.

Since that time slavery had become a part of the very fabric of American society; it was accepted in half the states and was recognized by the Constitution itself, and it was inextricably bound up with the race question inasmuch as the slaves were Negroes.

The immense complexity of the whole question was already becoming apparent to the 28-year-old legislator when he entered his protest in 1837, for his protest included not only a condemnation of slavery but also of abolitionist doctrines -- abolitionist doctrines which ignored the complexities and were oblivious to the results of such a drastic step. Immediate emancipation tended, Lincoln maintained, to increase rather than lessen the evils of the institution.

But, withal, the slavery question was not primary in Lincoln's thoughts or actions until several years after this protest. As a lawyer, Lincoln was occasionally involved in legal cases concerning slaves. As a Congressman in the United States House of Representatives (1847-1849), he had voted "at least forty times" in favor of the principle of the non-extension of slavery into new territories; and on his visits to Kentucky and in his travels elsewhere he had additional opportunity to see slavery firsthand.

Although he did not actively oppose it, slavery bothered him whenever he came in contact with it, and the depth of his real concern



is revealed in a letter written to a close friend in his own native state of Kentucky:

I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down, and caught, and carried back to their stripes, and unrewarded toils; but I bite my lip and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip on a Steam Boat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that...there were, on board, ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave border. It is...a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable.

Actually, when this letter was written (August 24, 1855), Lincoln was no longer biting his lip and keeping quiet. He had been aroused and he had spoken. The thing that had aroused him and stirred him to speak was the enactment by the Congress of the United States of a law which turned out to be momentous for the country, for it aroused hundreds of others as it did Abraham Lincoln. This was the famous Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 which opened to slavery a large portion of the Louisiana Territory purchased from Napoleon in 1803.

On the evening of October 16, 1854, Lincoln spoke against the Kansas-Nebraska Act before a large audience in the town of Peoria, Illinois.



The speech was a landmark in his whole career, and it revealed a new Lincoln. He spoke with great earnestness, for the first time facing directly and discussing more fully than he had ever done before, the question of slavery. No speech of Lincoln before this had shown such depth of thought, such vigor of expression, or seriousness of purpose.

From this time on until he became President of the United States in 1861, Abraham Lincoln spoke many times on the subject of slavery (in his famous contest with Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 for a seat in the United States Senate he and Douglas spoke more than one hundred times). His position, which he emphasized again and again, was essentially this: Slavery was morally wrong and it was contrary to our highest ideals as expressed in the Declaration of Independence. But slavery, already here when the Country was formed, was of necessity recognized in the Constitution. Slaveholders therefore had certain Constitutional rights to their property in slaves, and the Congress had no right to interfere with slavery in the States where it already existed. But Congress had the right and the duty to prevent the spread of slavery into new territories, and by not allowing it to spread but by confining it within limits, we could look forward to its ultimate extinction.

This was Lincoln's main point of emphasis -- the prevention of the spread of an evil thing and its ultimate extinction.

But how was it to be extinguished? How was emancipation to be achieved? Lincoln was not, in these years, clear in his own mind about this. He thought that colonization in Liberia might be a solution



theoretically, but unworkable practically; he thought that perhaps gradual emancipation might be the best solution, and yet he saw no hope that slaveholders would consider voluntarily giving up their slaves. "The problem is too mighty for me. May God, in his mercy, superintend the solution." So he wrote in 1855.

In all his thinking on the question, Lincoln was acutely aware of the many problems that would arise if the Negroes were emancipated suddenly and thrust into American society as free men, for he well knew that many people in the North as well as in the South were not ready to accept or practice racial equality. Lincoln himself, while he did not believe in complete racial equality as it is understood today, insisted that all men regardless of color should have equal opportunity. Equality of opportunity was the right of all men, he said, and should be denied to none. As he expressed it numerous times: "...in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he [the Negro] is the equal of every other man, white or black." And he pointed the way by saying that "...in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can."

When Civil War engulfed the United States less than two months after Abraham Lincoln became President, the fundamental issue at stake was the preservation of the Union and the vindication of the principle of democratic self-government. It was a people's contest; if the Union was broken, this nation "conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" would fail and democracy everywhere would be the loser. The paramount issue Lincoln thus made clear at Gettysburg on November 19, 1863, in words that have since become





immortal -- this war was being fought that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

But the Civil War was also concerned with the question of slavery, for, after all, slavery was a fundamental cause of the disension which had brought on the war. As the sentiment for emancipation increased in the North, President Lincoln gave it much thought, for he, too, wished all men to be free. It was on his mind day and night, and more so than any other problem, he said.

He hoped for a gradual form of emancipation -- he recommended compensation by the Federal government for slaveholders in states that would adopt such a plan, he appealed to the leaders of the loyal slave states to act in this direction, and he urged an amendment to the Constitution providing for it. He even considered the possibility of colonization and took preliminary steps to have such a project investigated and to interest prominent Negro leaders in it.

There was, however, little favorable response to these proposals; instead there was the continuing demand for direct and immediate action. In the early summer of 1862, the President decided to act -- when the right time came. The right time came in September of that year, after the Southern army had been forced back into Virginia following a bloody battle at Antietam, in Maryland. On September 22, Lincoln issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which was followed by a final Proclamation on January 1, 1863.

This momentous step, affecting nearly four million Negroes held in bondage, Lincoln took by virtue of his position as Commander-in-



Chief of the Army and Navy. Only as a war measure, designed to weaken the enemy and aid the cause of the Union, would such a step be warranted, for the American Constitution gave the President no authority to act otherwise.

The Proclamation was in accord with his own sentiment, yet Lincoln, with his scrupulous regard for the propriety of his actions as President, wanted to make it clear that he had no right to make his personal feelings the basis of official action. He said (on April 4, 1864):

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel. And yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling.

Although it did not free all slaves at once, for it applied only in areas still in rebellion, the Emancipation Proclamation was a high point of the Civil War. Lincoln considered it the central act of his administration and the great event of the nineteenth century. It became a landmark in human progress -- it was the beginning of the end of slavery in the United States, it changed the whole nature of the war and made it, at least in large part, a crusade for human freedom and as such gave hope and encouragement to those interested in freedom everywhere, and it made Abraham Lincoln the Great Emancipator. As a result



of the Proclamation thousands of Negroes had become free men when the war was ended.

But the work of freedom was not completed by the Proclamation. The next logical step was to write this freedom into the Constitution where it would thus be recorded for all time. President Lincoln favored so amending the Constitution as "a fitting, and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause," and in his Annual Message to Congress in December, 1864, he urged the passage of the necessary amendment. When in January, 1865, the amendment did receive the necessary votes in Congress, he considered it a great moral victory, but he urged that the work be consummated by the approval of the required three-fourths of the states.

Ratification of the amendment by the states began immediately, with the President's own state, Illinois, in the lead, a fact to which he alluded with some satisfaction.

December 18, 1865. The war had been over many months, but this was a day of special rejoicing for all those who had worked and fought for emancipation and freedom, for on that day the Thirteenth Amendment was officially proclaimed a part of the Constitution -- "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime...shall exist within the United States..."

Abraham Lincoln was not present when this event took place, for his life had been cut short by an assassin's bullet eight months before. Had he been alive, he, too, would have rejoiced and been glad.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN AND THE MEANING OF THE AMERICAN UNION

By  
David M. Potter

The author, Professor of American History at Yale University, has published three books on Lincoln and his times.

At the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth, his reputation stands as high in the United States as that of any American. Lincoln is enshrined in the memory of his fellow-countrymen as one who saved the Union, freed the slaves, and typified the distinctive qualities of the American character at its best. He has also long enjoyed a great reputation outside his own country, and even before the United States attained world importance, biographical accounts of him had appeared in more than 30 languages.

Lincoln's world reputation has always had an element of the paradoxical, for in his personal qualities he was more conspicuously American and was less at home in a cosmopolitan or international milieu than any other major American leader. By contrast, George Washington, reared in the planter society of Colonial Virginia, was trained to the code and pattern of the English gentry; Thomas Jefferson at an early





age imbibed the international ideas of the Age of Reason; Woodrow Wilson was reared by a British-born mother in a Presbyterian manse in Georgia which was probably more Scottish than Georgian in its influences; and Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born to a patrician family which visited Europe every year and employed French and German governesses for young Franklin. Lincoln was the only one of these men who never went outside the present United States. Compared with the others, he seems as American as the log cabin in Kentucky where he was born. His lanky, gangling, railsplitter's frame, the frontier accent and idiom of his speech, and his prairie mannerisms all marked him as a product of the American West.

Yet it is part of the complexity of his character that if he was the most purely American of major American figures, he was also the least narrowly American. There was a universal quality about him which transcended national identity and led his biographer, Lord Charnwood, to say, "He was a citizen of that far country where there is neither aristocrat nor democrat."

The anomaly is all the more striking because, in terms of world significance, Lincoln was not directly concerned with any matters of international character, as was Jefferson with the Enlightenment's doctrine of the rights of man, or Wilson with the League of Nations, or Franklin Roosevelt with the United Nations. In fact, he is, in one primary sense, a symbol of American nationalism, for it was he who saved the Union of States from dissolution in the American Civil War and he who affirmed that the war was fought to test whether "that nation or any nation...conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all



men are created equal...can long endure." In an era of national consolidation, when Cavour was making a nation of the Italian states and Bismarck was making a nation of the German states, Lincoln was at the same time making a nation of the American states. A literal-minded historian could easily write Lincoln down simply as a nationalist, and his role as the Emancipator of the slaves could be interpreted as a mere means to the end of preserving the American Union.

In terms of his own activities and of what was important to him, the question of the Union was uppermost from the moment when he became President on March 4, 1861. The country was then in the midst of a crisis caused by the fact that seven Southern states (later joined by four others) had adopted acts seceding, as they claimed, from the Union and forming a Southern Confederacy. When Lincoln tried to uphold the national authority by maintaining a garrison at Fort Sumter in the harbor at Charleston, South Carolina, this force was attacked and war followed. Though Lincoln was the least warlike of men, he accepted the necessity of war for the sake of the Union, and for four years he persevered in a grim and consuming conflict. During this time, he, more than anyone else, subordinated himself in seeking the aid of all factions which would support the Union. He, most of all, was firm in the face of military disasters which caused others to despair of the Union. Toward the end, he led the way in advocating a generous peace, "with malice toward none," because he knew that ultimately the restoration of the Union depended upon winning back the loyalty of the Confederates after they were defeated, and that conciliating them was as important as defeating them. When he was assassinated at



Ford's Theatre on April 14, 1865, the tragedy came at a moment of climax, for the principal Confederate army under General Robert E. Lee had surrendered only five days earlier, and Lincoln, knowing that the Union had been saved, died almost in the moment of attaining the great object of his career.

In a world that has grown to dread the disruptive force of modern nationalism, however, it could no longer be taken as a proof of Lincoln's greatness that he made one strong nation grow where there might have been two weaker ones. It would also not be sound to base a claim to world-recognition for Lincoln simply on the fact that he laid the foundations of the present political power of the "American colossus." Nationalism is not enough, and if Lincoln's only credential of greatness were his role as the "Savior of the Union," his world-reputation would necessarily fall, even though the world-influence of the Union which he saved has risen.

Lincoln, himself, however, would have been the first to repudiate the idea that the destiny of the American Union was all that mattered to him. Saving the Union was, to be sure, his justification for one of the most deadly wars ever fought up to that time, and the preservation of this Union was, to his mind, essential. "My paramount object in this struggle," he said, "is to save the Union." But though the Union was an indispensable means, it was only a means, and not an end in itself. For the Union was not only the instrument of American nationhood; it was also the instrument of human democracy -- the instrument of a democracy which did not seem entirely safe in the world 90 years ago, just as it seems far from safe today. Lincoln always thought of the American nation not as a thing to



be exalted or glorified for itself, but as a medium for broader human values. It is, indeed, a striking fact that in his classic dedication of the nation, his address at Gettysburg, he did not use the terms "United States," "America," "Americanism," or even "Union." He spoke, to be sure, of the nation which "our fathers brought forth," but this one nation was linked, in his thought, with "any other nation so conceived and so dedicated." He affirmed that the sacrifices of those who had given their lives could be justified if "this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom," but this goal was not for America alone but was important because it would mean that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

With haunting regularity the thought recurred in Lincoln's words that the nation was not to be cherished for its own sake, so much as for the sake of the principles for which it stood. When Lincoln eulogized Senator Henry Clay, who had also served the cause of Union by helping to arrange three major compromises between North and South, he attributed to Clay the kind of patriotism which was very much his own. "Mr. Clay," he said, "loved his country partly because it was his own country and mostly because it was a free country.... He desired the prosperity of his countrymen...chiefly to show to the world that free men could be prosperous." Of the Civil War, he said that it embraced "more than the fate of these United States," and was of concern "to the whole family of man." The Union seemed essential to Lincoln not because of the maintenance of authority at Washington, but because of the "necessity that is upon us of proving that popular government is not an absurdity."





Perhaps no one has understood the universality of Lincoln's significance better than the late Professor James G. Randall who packed a world of meaning into the bare statement that Lincoln fused the cause of Union with the cause of freedom. Although Lincoln appears in history as an American figure fighting an American war for an American political objective, he was, in fact, more prone to think in terms of his fellow mortals than of his fellow citizens.

A realistic appraisal of Lincoln's significance a century and a half after his birth ought properly to begin with a straightforward recognition that he was identified with ideas which no longer pass unchallenged in the modern world. He believed in nationhood, he believed in democracy, and he believed further in something which excites especial skepticism today, namely that the American nation was dedicated to a mission of preserving democracy for the world. Yet once these facts are recognized, it should also be recognized that he conceived of each of these commonplace ideas in a way that rendered it no longer commonplace but cast it into a new perspective. The nation was important, not for its own sake, but as a device for nurturing values in which "the whole family of man" might share.

Democracy was not an infallible, fool-proof device by which the will of the people registered the will of God; in fact, Lincoln knew from bitter experience the limitations of democracy, and owed most of his success to his superlative sense of how to work within these limitations without being constricted by them. His conviction was not a naive belief in a



political panacea, but a tempered, chastened faith that, fallible though it be, rule with the consent of the people is better than rule without their consent. "As I would not be a slave," said Lincoln, "so I would not be a master." If his political creed can have any meaning today, it is not because he worshiped democracy with blind devotion but because he perceived all the imperfections of democracy and still believed in it.

In an age when many opponents of popular government throughout the Western world pointed to the apparent dissolution of the American union as a proof that freedom could not be reconciled with strength, and that democracy could not survive under stress, Lincoln felt a deep conviction that the United States must vindicate her faith, and thus bear witness to the world. This was not a mission of "Manifest Destiny" to extend the area of the republic or to impose American institutions on other countries. It was not a mission to proselytize for the "American Way of Life." It was not even an assurance that the United States had perfected democracy as a product suitable for export. Rather, it was a belief that humanity had much at stake in America and that the supreme obligation of Americans in the world was to find the means of protecting that stake. The ultimate question as he saw it was not whether the world would follow an example set by the United States, but whether the United States could rise to the challenge of setting an example of value to the world. Of all the great apostles of democracy, he was most concerned with exemplifying it, and least concerned with propagating it.

It is distinctive of Lincoln's personality that while he was very locally an American -- a railsplitter, a frontiersman, and a prairie



lawyer -- his American qualities accentuated rather than diminished his essential humanity. Instead of separating him from people of other countries, his national traits made him seem more universal than a more cosmopolitan figure could have been, for they gave concrete and specific content to his universal qualities. Thus, his Americanism made his humanity less abstract and more tangible.

The same paradox holds for Lincoln's public role as the preserver of the American Union. What he sought for his own country brought into focus his aspirations for the "whole family of man," and it was this broad aspiration which defined his Americanism rather than his Americanism which defined the aspiration. This kind of Americanism made him more universal than a more international figure could have been, for it, too, gave concrete and specific content to his universal aspirations. If the figure of Lincoln, which seemed so towering in the 19th century, continues to loom large in the 20th, after so much of his world has been swept away, it will be because of his unique capacity to ennoble what was local by infusing it with values which were universal, and to humanize what was universal by enriching it with the local flavor and tang of his native land.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### LINCOLN AS POLITICIAN

By  
David Donald

The author, Professor of History at Columbia University, New York, has published four books on Lincoln and his times, among them: "Inside Lincoln's Cabinet" and "Lincoln Reconsidered."

When President-Elect Abraham Lincoln reached Washington in February 1861, cultivated Easterners were shocked by his appearance. Everything about him bespoke the Western provincial. He had an ambling Western style of walking and used awkward, untrained gestures. His clothing was ill-fitting, and he committed the social faux pas of wearing black kid gloves to the opera. He spoke with a coarse Western accent, and he told homely anecdotes from his apparently inexhaustible store of Western folk tales.

When first introduced to Lincoln, Charles Sumner, the elegant, Harvard-trained Senator from Massachusetts, was "greatly amazed and puzzled by what he saw and heard." Though he "noticed, now and then, flashes of thought and bursts of illuminating expression" in Lincoln's conversation, he found the President-Elect woefully lacking in dignity, social poise, and breadth of culture, and he "could not get rid of his misgivings as to how this seemingly untutored

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including the names of the authors and the titles of their works. This list is organized in a structured manner, likely serving as a table of contents or a reference list for the document.

The main body of the document contains several paragraphs of text, which appear to be a detailed report or a series of articles. The text is organized into sections, with headings and sub-headings that indicate the structure of the content. The paragraphs are written in a formal, academic style, and they cover a wide range of topics, likely related to the subjects mentioned in the list of names and titles at the beginning of the document. The text is dense and contains many details, suggesting that it is a comprehensive and in-depth study or report.



child of nature would master the tremendous task before him." Charles Francis Adams, of the famous Massachusetts family, shared Sumner's doubts about this "tall, illfavored man, with little grace of manner or polish of appearance," and concluded that both Lincoln and his wife were "evidently wanting in all the arts to grace their position."

Though Adams and Sumner may have been correct in their appraisal of Lincoln's personal appearance, they quite obviously misjudged the new President in other respects. Misled by his Western mannerisms, they failed to observe that "this seemingly untutored child of nature" was master of at least one of the "arts" requisite for success as an American President--the fine art of politics. Recognizing early in his career that "the man who is of neither party is not, and cannot be, of any consequence" in American life, Lincoln brought to the White House a realistic understanding that the most statesmanlike policies enunciated by a President are of no consequence unless they are backed up by effective political support. Even in the oppressive crisis of the Civil War, he understood that the American President must be not merely titular head of state, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and chief administrative officer of the government, but also the head of his political party, an astute manager of the political machinery.

Lincoln's realism about the President's role as politician derived from his long experience in Illinois public life. For more than 26 years before he became President, politics was his passion. For four successive terms he served as Whig member of the Illinois House of Representatives (1837-41), during part of which he was his party's floor leader; for one term (1847-49) he was a member of the United States House of Representatives in Washington; during most

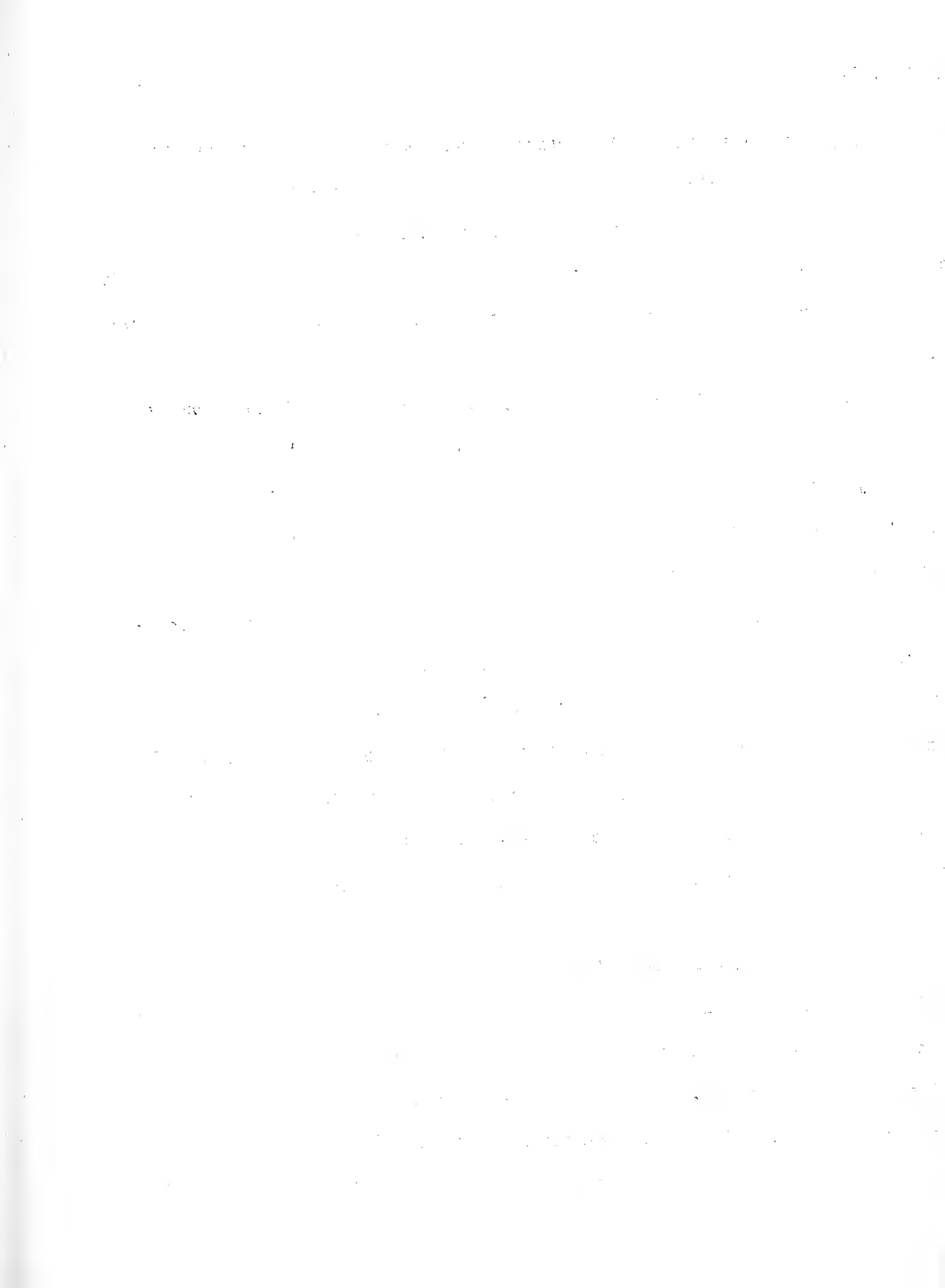


of the other years before the 1860 election he was campaigning either for himself or for his party. His active participation in the rough-and-tumble game of Western politics gave him an intimate acquaintance with what his partner delicately called the "details of how we get along," and in very large measure his success in Washington stemmed from the lessons he had learned during his Illinois apprenticeship.

In part these lessons were negative. Through painful experience he became convinced that in politics personalities do not pay. With a quick wit and a lively style, Lincoln early fell into the habit of making fun of his political opponents, and for a time he was apparently greatly pleased with the applause these tactics won him.

But in 1842 he made a great mistake in satirizing the rather dandified Democratic state auditor of Illinois, James Shields. Shields, Lincoln joked, seemed to think he was irresistible to the ladies; his very features appeared to speak audibly and distinctly: "Dear girls, it is distressing, but I cannot marry you all. Too well I know how much you suffer; but do, do remember, it is not my fault that I am so handsome and so interesting." The hot-tempered Irish auditor promptly challenged Lincoln to a duel, and only at the last minute was bloodshed averted.

The whole affair caused Lincoln the keenest embarrassment, and years later the merest mention of it made him unhappy. Never again did he permit himself to become involved in a personal altercation. Despite all the pressures upon him in the White House, no political opponent was ever able to prick him into personal recriminations. "No man resolved to make the most of himself can spare the time for personal contention," he had learned. "Better give your path



to a dog, than be bitten by him in contesting for the right. Even killing the dog would not cure the bite."

From a dozen political campaigns in Illinois Lincoln had also learned the danger of being doctrinaire. Long before he became President he observed that attachment to inflexible solutions and ideological labels could only lead to political impotence. In 1844, for example, he energetically supported Henry Clay for President, believing that the Kentuckian, though himself a slaveholder, would not permit the further expansion of slavery. Simon-pure abolitionists took the opposing view--how could a real antislavery man vote for a slaveholder?--and they wasted their votes on the doctrinally pure but politically hopeless third-party candidate. Their vote helped elect James K. Polk and to bring on the Mexican War.

To Lincoln the abolitionists' way of thinking seemed "wonderful." To their contention that "We are not to do evil that good may come," he countered with another, more apt Biblical injunction: "By the fruit the tree is to be known."

As President, Lincoln had many occasions to remember his own advice. At the end of the Civil War, facing the crucial problem of restoring the subjugated Southern states to the Union, he recognized the danger of becoming "inflexibly committed to any single plan of reconstruction." He had his own program for the speedy, secure re-establishment of the Union, but he knew that doctrinaire insistence upon it might result only in the defeat of the very objective he sought to promote.

Lincoln's Illinois experience also warned him of the perils of a direct appeal to the people. The American President is frequently tempted--and



often urged--to take his case straight to the voter in an attempt to override opposition to his policies in Congress. It was a tactic Lincoln never employed. He had every faith in the democratic process; he believed that the American experiment in self-government was "the last, best hope of earth"; he saw as the central idea of the great struggle in which the nation was engaged the task "of proving that popular government is not an absurdity." But with his trust in the people, Lincoln also had come to understand that a hasty appeal for support might find the electorate temporarily ill-informed or the political machinery through which they must speak poorly organized.

Lincoln himself, it must be remembered, had never been a spectacular vote-getter in Illinois. He was never chosen to major office by the people of his state; state legislator and one-term member of Congress he was, but never governor and never senator. His vigorous debates with Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 gained him a majority of the popular vote, but, because of the inequitable arrangement of the electoral system, he did not win the election. In the campaign of 1860 only a minority of the American people voted for Lincoln.

Understandably, then, Lincoln was reluctant to risk the prestige of the presidency upon an appeal to the people which, in those days before the advent of mass media of communication, could only bring limited success and which, if unsuccessful, might permanently impair his executive leadership.

Not merely Lincoln's service in the Illinois legislature but his term in the United States House of Representatives stood him in good stead as wartime President. Experience taught him that, in the American form of government, there is a certain inevitable amount of tension between the Congress and the President. From observing the fierce animosity which grew up between President John Tyler

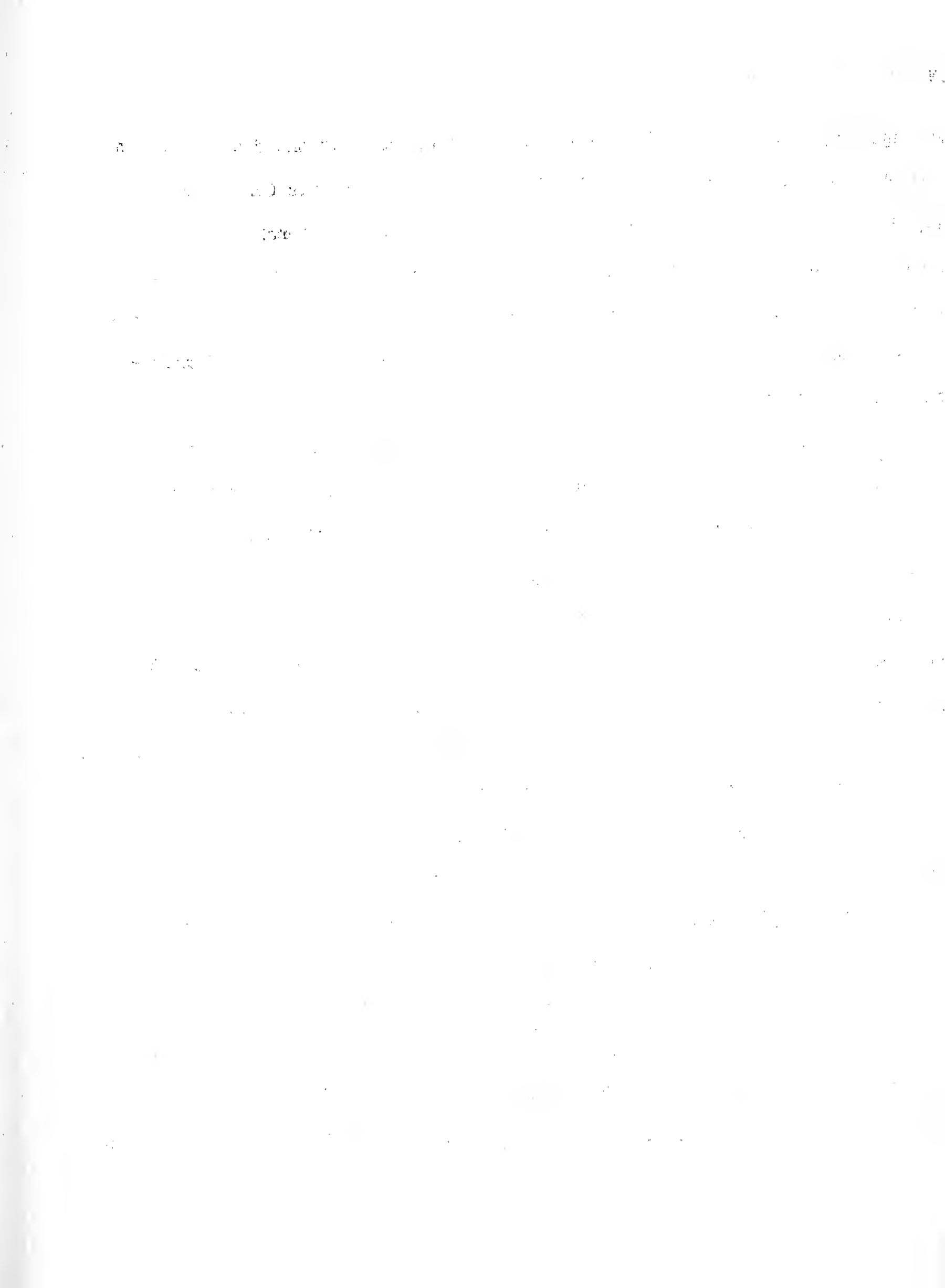




and Henry Clay, who led the Whig (later Republican) party in the Senate, and the deadlock which existed between President Zachary Taylor and his Congressional party leaders during the 1850 crisis, Lincoln knew that such tension, if exacerbated, could render his administration impotent. He resolved not to permit incidents to arise between the executive and legislative branches of the government and especially not to allow himself to become alienated from the Congressional spokesmen of his own party.

When Senator Sumner, for example, rose publicly to denounce the Administration's plan for reconstructing Louisiana as a "mere seven months' abortion, begotten by the bayonet, in criminal conjunction with the spirit of caste, and born before its time, rickety, unformed, unfinished," Lincoln did not take offense but wisely ignored this strong language. "I think I understand Mr. Sumner," he said; "and I think he would be all the more resolute in his persistence...if he supposed I were at all watching his course...."

Remembering his own experience as a Congressman and exercising his sense of humor, Lincoln was able to endure abuse from members of his own party under which a newcomer to politics might well have flinched. When Republicans openly announced that the President was "as stubborn as a mule," a man "at heart with Slavery," "a Damed [sic] old traitor," "as near lunacy as any one not a pronounced Bedlamite," Lincoln could recall that he himself had once been an expert in vituperation. In 1848, for instance, he had denounced Democratic President Polk as "a bewildered, confounded, and miserably perplexed man," who, having deliberately precipitated the Mexican War, must feel "the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel....crying to Heaven against him." It takes a veteran



politician to remember that politicians like to talk--and that most of their talk is for buncombe.

Along with these negative lessons, Lincoln's career in Illinois politics had taught him the importance, in a decentralized, democratic government like ours, of special favors and patronage as the surest way of binding local political bosses to the person and principles of the President. From his years in the Illinois legislature Lincoln recognized that local interests are often as important to a representative as his party's public platforms.

Lincoln himself, during his first session in the legislature, had spent most of his time sponsoring bills to authorize his friend Samuel Musick to build a toll bridge across Salt Creek and to name three other friends "to view, mark and permanently locate a road from Springfield to Miller's Ferry." His repeated re-election to the legislature had been chiefly due to his success in removing the state capital from southern Illinois to Springfield. As the only Whig Congressman from Illinois in 1849, he learned the great importance of having the new Whig President, Zachary Taylor, distribute the Federal patronage to his active and loyal party supporters, and, having himself made an unsuccessful attempt to become Commissioner of the General Land Office after failing to be re-elected to Congress, he knew firsthand the immense value office seekers placed upon the government favors they were seeking.

Consequently Lincoln brought to the White House an extraordinarily frank and realistic use of the power and the positions at his disposal. The importunities of office seekers naturally tired him, and he chafed occasionally at the burden thrust upon him. Nevertheless he recognized the importance of taking time, even at the height of the secession crisis, to decide between rival



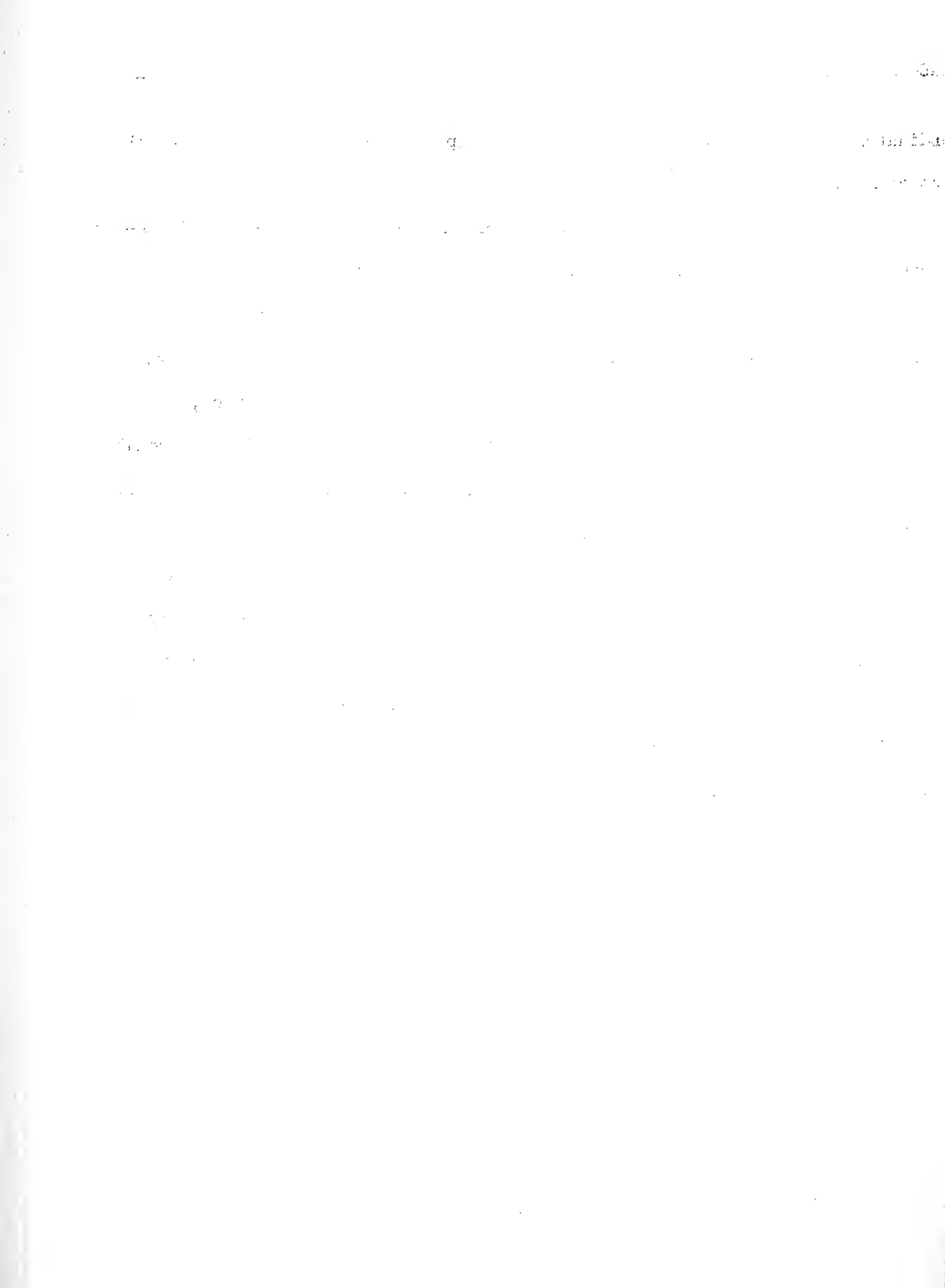
candidates for the Chicago post office and to appoint the naval officer for the port of Boston.

For the favors he distributed Lincoln demanded --and he received--the support of the politicians. Virtually every major measure advocated by his administration was enacted into law, and Lincoln himself became the first President in a quarter of a century to achieve re-election. Since patronage was the necessary grease for the party machinery upon which he depended, Lincoln was pleased that it was used efficiently. As Chief Executive he proudly claimed that his had "distributed to its party friends as nearly all the civil patronage as any administration ever did."

All these lessons from Lincoln's Illinois apprenticeship amounted to a single rule: to be successful, an American President must be not merely a statesman but also a politician. If it is something of a shock to picture the Great Emancipator as the Great Politician, one must remember the observation of that astute British historian, Mr. Denis W. Brogan, that "the United States was made by politicians."

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN: THE DIPLOMAT AND STATESMAN

By  
Jay Monaghan

The author, a former State Historian of Illinois, has written extensively on Lincoln and his times. Among his books are "Diplomat in Carpet Slippers," "Civil War on the Western Border" and "The Man Who Elected Lincoln."

When Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States in 1860 people prophesied that he would fail as a diplomat. He had had less than a year's schooling in his whole life and was commonly considered a backwoodsman. Now he must match his wits against highly-educated foreign heads of state who were trained for international intrigue.

Yet the future of democracy depended on Lincoln's success, for democracy had broken down in America -- the only country of any size where it was practiced. A group of Southern states had seceded from the Union rather than accept the result of an election which threatened slavery. This flouting of majority rule made thoughtful liberals everywhere wonder if it was possible to have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Lincoln said "Yes," but the great powers in Europe were against him. Ruling classes abroad hoped that the American experiment would fail.





Popular government—they called it mobocracy—threatened to destroy the vast rural estates of the gentry. It would also doom the great commercial and banking families so important to European society. Moreover, an America divided into two or three nations would cease to be a formidable rival.

The two most powerful countries of Europe—England and France—had still another reason for hoping that the Southern states would become independent. Cotton was indispensable for their mills and they preferred to buy it direct from the planters rather than through trade agreements with the United States. Thus Lincoln's first diplomatic objective was to prevent England and France from interfering in the American war.

Lincoln's first domestic objective was to hold the South in the Union. To do this he declared a blockade of all Southern ports. Any ship going to or from these ports would be subject to capture and confiscation. Thus the South would be starved into submission. This solution caused new difficulties, however. A blockade, according to international law, could be imposed by any nation against an enemy country. But Lincoln dared not call the South "an enemy country." To do so would acknowledge its right to secede. Moreover, as an independent country it could purchase its own warships abroad, perhaps destroy American shipping, and break the blockade.

Another and even more dangerous dilemma resulted from the blockade. It deprived Europe of cotton and caused widespread unemployment there. Instead of holding the South in the Union it might force European intervention. To prevent this, Lincoln decided on his second diplomatic objective. He would appeal directly to mass-opinion in Europe. He must convince the enlightened world that the Civil War was more than a domestic squabble. He must prove



that it was a test of constitutional government and majority rule. To do this he decided to send a corps of writers and speakers abroad, each to work independently of the American foreign ministers.

As representative of the press Lincoln sent that master of diplomatic suavity, Thurlow Weed, editor of the powerful "Albany Journal." Meanwhile in London, Henry Adams, son of the American minister, grandson of President John Quincy Adams, and great grandson of President John Adams, wrote constantly for both English and French newspapers. To carry the message of democracy to churchgoers Lincoln sent Episcopalian Archbishop John J. Hughes to England and Roman Catholic Bishop Charles P. McIlwaine to France. These prelates understood human rights and human welfare. Moreover, their words would carry weight. Lincoln also dispatched to Europe America's popular Congregational preacher, Henry Ward Beecher. His sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, was author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which had deeply stirred antislavery interest abroad. Appealing to humble folk, Lincoln sent New England's "learned blacksmith," Elihu Burritt, who had devoted his life to a campaign for penny postage and cheap newspapers for the purpose of educating poor people. Lincoln also delegated escaped slaves -- including the ex-coachman of Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy -- to address English audiences. Let these Negroes demonstrate their intellectual capacity and the injustice of slavery.

Then, lest his representatives might give the impression that democracy leveled society to a universal mediocrity, Lincoln asked August Belmont, the New York agent of the great European banking house of Rothschild, to go to Europe. Here was a man of millions who rose to his financial eminence in the free society of a republic. To demonstrate further the opportunity of



every man in free America, Lincoln sent William H. Aspinwall, merchant-prince who bought shipping lines and built railroads as casually as other men bought new hats. Aspinwall had started life as an apprentice in a shipping firm, so "mobocracy" held no fears for him. Lincoln also dispatched that other transport magnate, John M. Forbes, a self-made man of great wealth. Ralph Waldo Emerson said of Forbes: "Wherever he moved he was the benefactor. It is of course that he should ride well, shoot well, sail well, keep house well, administer affairs well; but he was the best talker in any company." Let Europeans note, Lincoln thought, that the athletic pastimes enjoyed more exclusively by squire and baron in Europe were available to all in democratic America.

The most spectacular of Lincoln's good-will ambassadors was Robert J. Walker, ex-Secretary of the Treasury under President Polk, and ex-Senator from Tennessee. When the South seceded Walker allied himself with the North. He had never belonged to Lincoln's political party--better the reason to select him and thus demonstrate American political tolerance. Robert J. Walker knew international finances as well as August Belmont, and he also knew the South. When the Confederacy offered to small English investors a cotton loan, which, in case the South won the war, would pay all holders like a winning lottery ticket, Walker chartered a balloon, inflated it on the Surrey side of the Thames and floated over London, dropping hundreds of leaflets exposing the Confederate scheme and extolling Northern democracy.

All these speakers and writers were careful never to criticize the government of the people they addressed. Thus Henry Ward Beecher told a Manchester audience that the seed corn of America's liberalism had come from



Britain, "and if, on a larger sphere, and under circumstances of unobstruction, we have reared mightier sheaves, every sheaf contains the grain that has made old England rich for a hundred years." Even the Czar of Russia was complimented for recently emancipating his serfs.

Thus every American speaker's job was to convince Europeans that a victory for the North was a victory for themselves--for democracy in which every man had equal rights and equal opportunities. Lincoln had begun life as a laborer and he believed in a fluid society where every man might hope to rise just as he had.

For almost two years the war dragged on indecisively. Millworkers in France and England reached the verge of starvation. To save them the rulers must have cotton. In desperation, they would have to intervene in the American war.

Then Lincoln played his last diplomatic card. He had no authority, as elected President, to emancipate the slaves, but he could do so as commander-in-chief of the army. In September, 1862, he took this step, and the effect overseas was electric. In Great Britain liberals, intellectuals, and even the undernourished workingmen held mass meetings to approve his act. Lincoln's public speakers had sown their ideas concerning American democracy in fertile soil. Poor people in mill towns had become convinced that they were part of Lincoln's crusade for human freedom. They publicly resolved, with bold and unselfish resolutions, that it was an honor to suffer for human freedom. Manchester workmen, as hard hit as any by unemployment, forwarded to Lincoln a hearty letter of congratulation.





The President replied at once with a long and carefully-worded message: "I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workingmen at Manchester and all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis," he declared. Then, outlining the importance of the American war to the history of democratic government, he concluded: "I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country."

Lincoln's letter to the Manchester workingmen immediately became a diplomatic masterpiece. It was printed in English newspapers and distributed in pamphlet form. English school children memorized its best passages. Common people who identified themselves with Lincoln and the principles for which he stood would never march against America in battle.

In France the effect of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation is harder to measure. People in regimented countries dared not express their opinions freely. But John Stuart Mill wrote from Avignon that Lincoln's Proclamation won "all liberal-minded Frenchmen." The Paris branch of the Evangelical Alliance courageously supported Lincoln. France's powerful Socialist minority did likewise. Guizot, Victor Hugo, even Prince Napoleon wrote pro-American articles for French newspapers.

With this bulwark of popular approval Lincoln spoke not alone to Americans, but to mankind around the world when he said at Gettysburg: "Our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."



The wording of this address is important. Lincoln was too realistic a statesman to believe that democracy would necessarily cure all human frailties. Nor did he say that all men were created equal. But he did point out that a government dedicated to the proposition that all men are equal seemed the fairest and most enlightened premise for ruling mankind. This was the basis of democracy and he was determined that it must not fail.

Now, almost a hundred years later, the question may be asked, "Did Lincoln's statesmanship succeed?" Certainly the democracy he championed survived, and after the North's victory every country in Europe followed, to some extent, America's example. Aristocrats in England admitted at once that they must change their government and extend the franchise, for the first time in their history, to a majority of all male citizens. The French Emperor refused to budge and his empire was superseded within six years by the Third Republic.

Perhaps the success of Lincoln's statesmanship can be measured best by the reaction to news of his death. In England distraught people flocked by hundreds to mass meetings. They held religious services to mourn the world's loss. A London "Times" editor stated, "Nothing like it has been witnessed in our generation." The British House of Lords noted the "absence of precedent for such a manifestation." One commentator said, "Abraham Lincoln had come to be the synonym of hope, not only in every slave cabin in the South, where he is canonized already, but in many a shepherd's lodge in Switzerland -- in many a woodsman's cabin in



the Black Forest -- in many a miner's hut in the Hartz Mountains -- in many a cottage in Italy, for the poor had learned to look upon him as the anointed of God for the redemption of the liberties of mankind."

In Paris a squad of policemen held back excited mourners intent on expressing sympathy at the American Legation. "I had no idea," the Secretary reported, "that Lincoln had such a hold upon the hearts of the young gentlemen of France." The French Academy offered a prize for the best poem on the death of Lincoln. Lodges of the Masonic Order, an organization beyond control of the Emperor's censorship, sent scores of sympathetic resolutions. In Lyons 25,000 workmen subscribed sums as low as ten centimes -- large amounts were not acceptable -- and employed skilled artisans to weave a United States flag to be presented to Mrs. Lincoln.

In Germany liberalism had been suppressed in 1848. Many of the revolutionists fled to America. Lincoln, while campaigning for the presidency, purchased a newspaper which used German type and with this he explained to the newcomers his own liberal philosophy. After his election, prominent German immigrants were appointed to positions of importance in the Army and diplomatic corps. Notable among these were Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel. The editor of Lincoln's German newspaper, Theodore Canisius, was sent as consul to Vienna. When the war ended and its resulting democratic trend swept eastward across Europe, Bismarck united the German liberals who had remained in the Vaterland with his militarists. This combination carried Germany into a new period of advancement which included municipal democracy and freedom of the press.



The liberal wave rolled on around the world, with Lincoln's name always near the crest. Lincoln biographies, usually available in cheap paper format for poor people, accompanied the overturn of tyranny in Russia, Turkey, and even in far-off Japan. There the new Japanese constitution -- although only quasi-democratic -- gave Japan a parliamentary government in 1890, and it is significant that the first biography of Lincoln in Japanese characters appeared that same year.

In China, Sun Yat-sen proudly admitted his debt to Lincoln during the long years he planned and worked for the establishment of a Chinese republic. He was deeply impressed by Lincoln's immortal belief in a government of the people, by the people, for the people, and accepted this concept as the basis of his own cherished dream. "The Three Principles of the People," he said as he formulated his constitution, "correspond with the principles stated by Lincoln. I translated them into min yu (the people to have), min chih (the people to govern) and min hsiang (the people to enjoy."

Liberals in many other countries published books about Lincoln as part of their struggle for human freedom. Writers in 30 languages told downtrodden people about the political ideals of the woodchopper who became president, the common man who saved democracy without veiling the Statue of Liberty.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958







# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN, THE LAWYER

By  
William H. Townsend

The author, a member of the Lexington, Kentucky bar, has written extensively about Lincoln in the days when he practiced law. Among his books are "Abraham Lincoln, Defendant" and "Lincoln the Litigant."

Born in a log cabin with a dirt floor in the wilderness of Kentucky, reared to manhood in the backwoods of Indiana, Abraham Lincoln's formal schooling totaled less than one year. Yet, he eagerly and thoroughly read the few good books which came his way, including Weems' Life of Washington, Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, Aesop's Fables, Grimshaw's History of the United States, the Kentucky Preceptor, and the St. James version of the Holy Bible.

He was old enough to cast his first vote when he arrived at New Salem, a tiny, frontier village perched high upon the rugged bluffs of the Sangamon river in Illinois. There, he clerked in a store, served in the Black Hawk War, worked as a farm laborer and assistant surveyor and operated a small mercantile establishment that quickly failed. Soberly he pondered his future-- thought about learning the blacksmith trade, but saw no future in it-- considered being a lawyer, but his lack of education made success in this field unlikely.



However, Lincoln still had the law in the back of his mind, when, as some say, he found in a barrel of old rubbish a battered copy of Blackstone's "Commentaries" and, thereafter, he carried this bulky volume with him wherever he went.

It was about this time that Lincoln came in contact with John T. Stuart, an able lawyer of Springfield, who offered to lend him books and he now began the study of law with unfaltering energy and purpose. Usually he was able to catch a ride to Stuart's office in Springfield, but, failing in this, he walked the entire 20 miles and back, reading earnestly as he trudged along the dusty road.

In the spring of 1837, at the age of 28, Abraham Lincoln obtained a license to practice law. Packing his meagre belongings in an old pair of saddlebags, he borrowed a horse and jogged up to Springfield-- a town to be forever associated with his name. Stopping at a large general store, the tall stranger went in and inquired the price of a mattress, blankets, sheets and a pillow for a single bed. The proprietor, Josua F. Speed, made a quick calculation which totaled \$17.00.

"It is, no doubt, cheap enough," said his customer sadly, "but cheap as it is, I am unable to pay it. If you can credit me until Christmas, I will pay you then, if I am able, but if I fail as a lawyer, I do not know that I can ever pay you."

Seeing the young stranger so much pained at contracting so small a debt, Speed invited him to share, without cost, his double bed upstairs and thus began an abiding friendship.



After a period of four years as a junior partner of John T. Stuart, and three and one-half years with Stephen T. Logan, Lincoln, in 1844, formed his own firm with William H. Herndon, a young man who had studied law in the office of Logan & Lincoln, a partnership which would last until dissolved many years later by the bullet of an assassin.

More than half of the senior partner's time was spent "riding the circuit," where he quickly rose to leadership at the bar, while Herndon kept the Springfield office open and took care of local business. The 8th Judicial Circuit of Illinois was comprised of 14 sparsely settled counties and in winter the mud was deep, the rivers and creeks swollen and treacherous. But it was a merry and care-free company that forded these streams and galloped across the wide, rolling prairie in fair weather and foul. Some of the lawyers visited only a few of the most accessible county seats in the district, while others made nearly all of them. Abraham Lincoln rode the entire circuit.

Always scrupulously clean and closely shaven, but clad in a wrinkled home-spun suit, his tall, "stove-pipe" hat sometimes looking as if a calf had gone over it with its wet tongue-- carrying an old saddle-bag filled with books, papers and a change of linen, and a huge, faded, green cotton umbrella, Lincoln was the plainest personality and the best liked "circuit rider" in all the 14 counties.

Sitting at the trial table, Lincoln was not an imposing figure. Slouched in a chair, his long legs crossed, hands sometimes crammed in trouser pockets, he seemed no taller than the average man. His coarse,



thick, rebellious hair fell carelessly over the massive, deep-lined, forehead. His rugged, weather-beaten face with its angular jaws and firm upturned chin looked careworn and haggard. His gray eyes, which lay in deep caverns beneath heavy, overhanging brows, were dull, dreamy, brooding.

However, when he rose and began to speak, the jury and courtroom audience were startled at the phenomenal change in his appearance. His height of 6 feet 4 inches was majestic; his voice, ordinarily rather high pitched, became resonant and well modulated; the dark eyes now flashed and twinkled; the droll, captivating smile which expanded his furrowed cheeks, revealed a mouth full of white regular teeth and wreathed his whole countenance in animation.

Sparing in the use of gestures, Lincoln stood squarely on his feet, his hands clasped behind his back, or one hand clutching a lapel of his coat and the other hanging easily at his side. His gaunt, loosely-knit frame had great vertical elasticity and, when deeply moved, he would stretch himself beyond his already impressive height, throw his long, sinewy arms high above his head-- pause for an instant in this attitude-- and then sweep his huge fists through the air with a crashing emphasis no one ever forgot.

Lincoln was probably at his best in the cross examination of witnesses. He knew his facts and the rules of evidence. He moved cautiously. He never asked unnecessary questions. He was direct and courteous. Without seeming effort, he sought to establish, whenever possible, an easy, relaxed-- even friendly-- relationship with the





witness. In almost every instance, he saw the logical conclusion of an answer long before it dawned upon the person making it and was thus able to lead him without appearing to do so. His professional associates marveled at the way men, openly hostile to Lincoln, gradually melted under his magnetism. One who tried many cases against him said: "Mr. Lincoln instinctively saw the kernel of every case at the outset, never lost sight of it and never let it escape the jury."

However, his remarkable success as a trial lawyer has tended to obscure the fact that, as the records show, his power of analysis, irresistible logic and strong grasp of important and intricate subjects won a large majority of his cases before the Supreme Court of Illinois, and two of the three cases he had in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Lincoln enjoyed the confidence of the high and low, rich and poor. The fact that he represented many of the largest and wealthiest corporations in the State, including the Illinois Central and the Rock Island Railroads, the Bank of Illinois, and the North American Insurance Company, did not lessen his popularity in any degree with the masses of the people.

"No lawyer was more unassuming," said another lawyer who also rode the circuit. He arrogated to himself no superiority over any one, not even the most obscure member of the profession. He was remarkably gentle with young lawyers. The result was, as time went on, he became the much beloved senior member of the Bar.

"Resolve to be honest in all events," was Lincoln's advice to law students. "If, in your judgment you can not be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer. Discourage litigation.



Persuade your neighbors to compromise whenever you can. Point out to them how the nominal winner is often a real loser-- in fees, expenses and waste of time. As a peace maker, the lawyer has a superior opportunity of being a good man."

Lincoln had an unfailing good humor and never indulged in personalities, then quite common in trials of that day, unless in self-defense. However, he was known to possess a withering sarcasm which, though rarely employed, never failed to drive an adversary to cover. During the selection of a jury on a certain case, a lawyer objected to a juror because of his acquaintance with Lincoln, who represented the other side. Such an objection was then considered a personal reflection and Judge David Davis promptly overruled it. When Lincoln's turn came to examine the jury, he also began to inquire whether any of them knew opposing counsel. "Now, Mr. Lincoln," the Court said severely, "You know my ruling on that. The mere fact that a juror knows your opponent does not disqualify him." "No, Your Honor," responded Lincoln dryly, "but I'm afraid some of these gentlemen may NOT know him, which would place me at a disadvantage."

The close of Lincoln's legal career found him at the very top of the Illinois Bar. By industry and his own peculiar genius, he had slowly, steadily forged to the front of a most unusual body of men whose names and achievements are written large upon the pages of the Nation's history. This little circuit-riding group produced five Congressmen, three Governors, four United States Senators, two Major Generals, one Cabinet Member, one Justice of the Supreme Court and one Chief Executive of the Republic.



February 10, 1861, was Abraham Lincoln's last day in Springfield. He had been elected President of the United States. The Southern States were seceding. Civil War was imminent. Strangely enough, a seemingly whimsical destiny had placed in the big, untried hands of a country lawyer the distracting problems of a disintegrating union. It was late afternoon when he came into the small second-floor office on the west side of the Springfield public square, where the faithful junior partner waited. Going over to the opposite side of the room, he threw himself down on the rickety lounge. For a few minutes he lay with his face to the ceiling, without speaking. These four walls held recollections of poverty, disappointment, bitter struggle and ultimate success, never to be erased from his memory. Then, suddenly, Lincoln began to talk of the early days of his practice, recalling the humorous features of various law suits on the circuit and his reminiscences ran on happily until dusk crept through the dingy little windows, reminding him that it was time to go home.

As he gathered a bundle of books and papers under his arm, he spoke wistfully of the old sign "Lincoln & Herndon" that swung on rusty hinges over the doorway at the foot of the steps. "Let it hang there undisturbed," he said softly, "give our clients to understand that the election of a President makes no change in the firm of Lincoln & Herndon. If I live, I'm coming back sometime and then we'll go right on practicing law as if nothing had happened."

He lingered for a moment as if to take a last look at the old quarters, then walked reluctantly through the door into the hallway and down the narrow stairs.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### LINCOLN, MAN OF PEACE

By  
William Frank Zornow

The author is Assistant Professor of History, Kansas State College. Among his books is "Lincoln and the Party Divided."

The clouds of war hung menacingly when Abraham Lincoln was elected to the presidency in November 1860. His party, the Republican, had announced that it was irrevocably opposed to the further extension of slavery into the unoccupied territories of the West, although it was willing to tolerate it in those states where it already existed.

Many southerners were concerned over the threat against expansion and were not reassured by the promise against interference. They felt that the economic survival of the South depended upon the expansion of cotton culture to the fertile western lands, and this was impossible without slave labor. Other southern leaders were unimpressed by the pledge of non-interference, since they regarded the Republicans as abolitionists who would soon attempt to free all the slaves. The Republican victory to such southerners was a judgment against the South,





which, if permitted to go unchallenged, would soon mean the destruction of the economic and social system upon which their section was based.

South Carolina seceded immediately after the election and called upon her sister southern states to join her. Under the constitutional system of the day, Lincoln did not take office until March 4, 1861, and by that date six other states had left the Union. During these months every effort was made to find an acceptable compromise, but without success.

Lincoln sought to reassure the South that he would honor his party's pledge. He even was willing to accept a constitutional amendment guaranteeing slavery where it already existed, but he was unwilling to make any concession toward permitting further extension. "The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am, none who would do more to preserve it," he told the New Jersey legislature during these critical months, "but it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly." Peace was dear to Lincoln, but it was not to be bought at the expense of surrendering basic principles.

Lincoln was an unknown quantity in March 1861. His career had attracted only a small national audience, and he knew that had the Democrats not split their votes between two candidates, he would not have been elected at all. He had served only one term in the House of Representatives, and in 1858 had tried unsuccessfully to get elected to the Senate from Illinois. However, those who had worked with him in state politics and before the courts where he practiced as an attorney recognized



him as a man of remarkable ability. The country soon learned that despite his humble origins and lack of extensive education Lincoln was well endowed with natural qualities of leadership that were to make him one of the greatest of presidents.

Lincoln realized that his political obscurity made him a difficult factor to assess in 1861. It was for this reason that he continued to reassure the South that he meant no harm. He devoted large portions of his inaugural message to pledges against precipitate action that would jeopardize peace. He intended only to perform his constitutional duties to defend the Union. "There need be no bloodshed or violence," he told the South, "and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority....there will be no invasion, no using of force against the people anywhere."

Despite his sincere efforts in behalf of peace, Lincoln was unable to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. He found himself in the position of having to mobilize the North to fight, but this prior task did not divert him from thinking also about peace. He knew that a lasting peace was not just going to happen; it had to be won and planned for no less than war. Such planning involved not only the formulation of definite attainable objectives but considered also the effect of these plans on both the North and the South. Lincoln felt that a well-conceived peace policy might shorten the war by weakening the South's will to resist. For such a policy the keynote was leniency.

Lincoln was not a visionary, but he grounded his peace policies on practical objectives. He had taken an oath as president to uphold and



defend the Union, and Lincoln made this the first plank in his peace platform. He never lost sight of his main objective to restore the Union. In 1862 he told the New York editor, Horace Greeley, that whatever he did as president was done for that sole purpose.

Greeley and thousands of other northerners wished to transform the war to save the Union into one to liberate the slaves, an alteration of objectives that Lincoln at first opposed, although he personally hated slavery. Eventually in 1862 he altered his position and issued an Emancipation Proclamation.

By freeing the slaves Lincoln hoped to deprive the southerners of a servile labor force that was militarily useful, to placate the strong and rising abolitionist sentiment in the North, and to win the approval of such powers as Britain and France. However, once having proclaimed emancipation, Lincoln admitted that it was inconceivable to return the Negroes to bondage after the war. You could not offer to free the Negroes as a means of winning the war and enslave them again when the fighting stopped. Lincoln added emancipation as a second basic point to his peace program.

In addition to the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery, Lincoln called for a third objective -- the destruction of the South's military power. Actually this objective is obvious, for the destruction of an enemy army is a prerequisite for the restoration of peace. In Lincoln's case a strong peace movement in the North, which called for a compromise with the South, made it necessary to stress



the need for military victory as a preliminary to negotiation. "If they want peace," he told James R. Gilmore, "all they have to do is to lay down their arms." However, Lincoln had little confidence that the South would do so unless defeated in battle.

For this reason he insisted upon total military victory. He had no sympathy for generals like George B. McClellan who wished to fight simultaneously with sword and olive branch. It was not until 1864 that Lincoln found such commanders as Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman who shared his views on total war. They believed that peace could be won by pulverizing the enemy's war machine and systematically destroying his industry and food supplies. Having found his generals, Lincoln gave them a free hand for total victory. To the critics who complained about this type of warfare, Lincoln replied, "I sincerely wish war was an easier and pleasanter business than it is, but it does not admit of holidays."

Nowhere is the Lincoln peace program summarized more succinctly than in his memo to Secretary of State William Seward on January 31, 1865 (the same terms were repeated on the eve of his death April 13): "1, The restoration of the national authority throughout all the states; 2, No receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question...; 3, No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government."

Although he had little hope the South would accept his terms, Lincoln did not close the door on negotiations. During 1864 several





attempts were made to reach a settlement. One mission went to Richmond to see President Jefferson Davis, while Greeley went to Niagara Falls with the president's terms, "the restoration of the Union and the abandonment of slavery," in Lincoln's famous "To Whom It May Concern" letter.

The most serious effort at negotiation was made in February 1865 when Lincoln and Seward went to Hampton Roads to converse with Confederate leaders, Alexander H. Stephens, R.M.T. Hunter, and John A. Campbell. The conference was a failure. Lincoln made it clear that any thought of an armistice was unthinkable unless the South would recognize the restoration of the Union. He did not propose to arrange an armistice when his armies were winning, so that the South would have a respite to redeploy its waning forces.

Although the three-point peace program was Lincoln's blueprint for victory, he did not want a peace that would mean recrimination, hatred, and bitterness between the sections after the war. He wanted nothing of this sort to stand as a psychological roadblock in the way of spiritual and ideological reunion after political reunion had been won on the battlefield.

It was for this reason that Lincoln conceived the idea of offering the South lenient terms. The war had thrown eleven states out of their normal relations with the Washington government; peace should restore that normal relationship as speedily and painlessly as possible. There should be no vindictive measures. As early as 1862 Lincoln announced there would be no northern men imposed on the South after the war to rule by bayonets.



He made it clear that there would be pardons for all who had taken up arms, that the South would be permitted to administer its domestic affairs without interference, and that there would be no wholesale confiscation of property. He even talked of compensating the owners of the former slaves. Wherever possible, when northern armies occupied southern states, Lincoln sought to provide a fair administration.

In a congressional message of December 1863, Lincoln announced his postwar peace plans based on the idea that the South should be restored to its normal relations with Washington as soon as possible. It was provided that whenever 10 percent of the electorate in each state that had voted in 1860 had taken an oath of allegiance to the United States and accepted emancipation, these people could form a government and receive executive recognition. So eager was Lincoln to bring the rebellious states back into the Union, that he was willing to permit a minority to assume the initiative.

The same obvious desire to offer lenient terms was evident during the president's conversations with Grant and Sherman at City Point on March 27-28, 1865. Lincoln made it clear that he wanted the southerners back at their constructive tasks as rapidly as possible. There were to be no reprisals against southern leaders for rebelling; even Jefferson Davis was to be left in peace. When the fighting ceased, the southerners would resume all their rights as American citizens, as if the war had never happened.

It was on the basis of Lincoln's enlightened and liberal proposals that Grant offered terms to Robert E. Lee at Appomattox on



April 9, 1865, and on the following day urged the famed Confederate general to make a personal visit to Lincoln. It was Grant's hope that a rapprochement between Lincoln and Lee would rally the responsible and reasonable people of both sections to bury the hatreds of war. Under the terms of this settlement the southern soldiers were permitted to return home without fear of subsequent prosecution.

On April 18, 1865, Sherman offered even more liberal terms to General Joseph E. Johnston. The settlement, in line with what Lincoln had said at City Point, provided for the peaceful reestablishment of the southern states with full civil, political, and property rights for their citizens. Regrettably this was not accepted by Congress.

Lincoln's enlightened peace proposals were distributed throughout the South as propaganda, but it has been argued by James G. Randall, the most eminent Lincoln scholar of recent years, that they probably did little toward shortening the war or encouraging dissatisfaction with the Richmond government. However, there can be little doubt that had Lincoln's liberal policies been allowed to go into effect the turmoil of the Reconstruction period together with many sectional problems that persist until the present could have been avoided.

The reason for this tragic failure and consequent continuation of sectional strife for nearly a century was Lincoln's inability to sell his liberal peace policy to his own people. As the war progressed, two trends became evident in the North. The first of these was a spirit of war weariness, which reached its zenith in the Copperhead movement.



In 1864 the Democrats tried to defeat Lincoln for re-election by capitalizing on this peace sentiment. They wanted immediate negotiation with the South, and some were willing to accept peace even if it meant disunion. This was the reason that Lincoln was forced to bear down so heavily on the idea that there could be no negotiation unless the South first accepted reunion.

The second trend was one of vindictiveness. While the peace drive centered in the Democratic party, the demand for vindictiveness was largely Republican in inception. Led by such important congressmen as Thaddeus Stevens, Benjamin F. Wade, Charles Sumner and Zachariah Chandler, the "Radical Republicans" demanded harsh treatment for the South. Lincoln fought this group as vigorously as he opposed the peace men, and the Radicals even tried to prevent Lincoln's re-election in 1864.

After his re-election in November 1864 and before his assassination in April 1865, Lincoln was engaged in winning the war and trying to heal the breach throughout the North caused by the argument over a liberal versus a stern peace. Lincoln insisted upon moderation and justice rather than excessiveness and mistreatment. In his last speech of April 11, 1865, Lincoln made a pathetic appeal to his fellow northerners to lay aside their hatreds and concentrate upon the one peace aim which had motivated him from the opening day of the war -- to restore the South to "a proper practical relation with the Union."





Within a few days Lincoln was dead and so were his plans for a just and liberal peace. The vindictive politicians who came after him insisted upon creating a long and painful process whereby the South could regain its place in the Union.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### LINCOLN, MAN OF GOD

By  
David C. Mearns

The author is chief of the manuscript division, Library of Congress. Among his books is, "The Lincoln Papers: The Story of the Collection with Selections to July 4, 1861."

Abraham Lincoln's youngest stepsister, Matilda Johnston More, once recorded his boyhood custom: "When father and mother would go to church (she wrote) they walked about 1 1/2 miles. When they were gone -- Abe would take down the Bible, read a verse -- give out a hymn -- and we would sing." As he grew older, his Biblical knowledge became so extensive and so exact that his ability to recite chapter after chapter from memory and to correct misquotations from Holy Writ was a constant source of wonder to his friends.

Once, upon being presented with a Bible, Lincoln remarked:

In regard to this Great Book, I have but to say, it is the best gift God has given to man.....

But for it we could not know right from wrong. All things most desirable for man's welfare, here and hereafter, are to be found portrayed in it.

Handwritten text at the top of the page, likely a title or header, possibly containing the name "John" and some numbers.

Second section of handwritten text, appearing as several lines of a list or entries.

Third section of handwritten text, continuing the list or entries.

Fourth section of handwritten text, appearing as several lines of a list or entries.

Fifth section of handwritten text, continuing the list or entries.

Sixth section of handwritten text, appearing as several lines of a list or entries.

But it is alleged that as a youth in New Salem he came under the influence of the writings of Tom Paine and Constantin Volney, with the consequence that his convictions were utterly and permanently destroyed.

This may or may not be so. Yet, the understanding of Abraham Lincoln depends on an understanding that maturity came slowly to him; he never stopped growing; in the process, he outgrew many things. His nature was profoundly emotional; his moods altered between ecstasy and despair; there was no accounting for them. He was a changeling.

Only once did Abraham Lincoln give public and personal expression of his convictions. That was in 1846, during his successful campaign for election to the national House of Representatives. His rival, Peter Cartwright, deliberately spread reports of Lincoln's infidelity. Lincoln replied with a handbill addressed to the voters. It read:

That I am not a member of any Christian Church, is true; but I have never denied the truth of the Scriptures; and I have never spoken with intentional disrespect of religion in general, or of any denomination of Christians in particular. It is true that in early life I was inclined to believe in what I understand is called the "Doctrine of Necessity" -- that is, that the human mind is impelled to action, or held in rest by some power, over which the mind itself has no control; and I have sometimes (with one, two or three, but never publicly) tried to maintain this opinion in argument -- The habit of arguing thus however, I have entirely left off for more than five years -- And I add here, I have always understood this



same opinion to be held by several of the Christian denominations. The foregoing is the whole truth, briefly stated, in relation to myself upon this subject

\* \* \*

Lincoln was not, in a theological sense, orthodox. He never was baptized, never joined a church, never made a profession of faith, never affiliated himself with any denomination, never subscribed to any particular liturgy or ritual. At the height of the Southern Insurrection he confessed to a deputation from the Baltimore Synod: "I have often wished that I was a more devout man than I am." His wife, who admitted that he was not, as she put it, "a technical Christian," insisted that "He was a religious man always, as I think."

In Springfield and in Washington he was a pewholder in a Presbyterian Church and commendably regular in attendance. Throughout his Presidency, he constantly received delegations from religious bodies. On such occasions his statements were eloquently reverent and obviously genuine expressions of his spirit. More, perhaps than any public man in American history, his personality attracted the clergy of all faiths to himself and to his cause. His acquaintanceship with the clerics of the day was large. They came not to save him from perdition, but to draw renewed inspiration from a truly noble heart.

Dr. Smith Pyne, Rector of St. John's church, held him in "deep and affectionate regard and respect." He would not have used such phrases in addressing a notorious unbeliever. Once when interceding for an Admiral, under a sentence of court martial, Dr. Pyne wrote to Lincoln:





"Let me hope that one more item will be added to the amount of obligation and attachment by which I have long felt myself bound to you both in your official and personal character." There were scores of gentlemen of the cloth who felt just as did Dr. Pyne about the strange tenant of the White House.

In his first inaugural address, Lincoln declared: "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." But when the issue was joined, his reliance remained firm; he accepted the defense of his cause with fatalistic resignation.

In the fall of 1862, when considering the proclamation of Emancipation, Lincoln put down on paper this meditation on the Divine Will:

The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be wrong. God can not be for, and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party -- and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect His purpose. I am almost ready to say this is probably true -- that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By His mere quiet power, on the minds of the now contestants, He could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human



contest. Yet the contest began. And having begun He could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds.

This fragment was "not written to be seen of men," but, when he was interviewed by a minister of the Society of Friends, a few weeks later, he repeated the musing almost verbatim. Mrs. Lincoln was disposed to think that it was in that year (their son, Willie, had died in its early months) that her husband's religious senses had been most profoundly stirred. It would be progressive. The wife spoke with confidence when she said of him that "he felt religious more than ever before, about the time he went to Gettysburg."

Modern scholarship is inclined to agree that Lincoln's religious yearnings and aspirations were slowly adduced by his own and the nation's tragedy. William E. Barton once put it this way:

The religion of Abraham Lincoln was part and parcel of his life; and his life was an evolution whose successive stages can be measured with reasonable certainty. Not only did his religious convictions develop and broaden under the stimuli of Lincoln's constantly broadening intellectual and spiritual environment, but they broadened in the growth of his own personality.

Carl Sandburg shares this view, writing:

A distinct trend toward a deeper religious note, a piety more assured of itself because more definitely derived from inner and private growths of Lincoln himself, this could



be seen as the President from year to year fitted himself more deeply and awarely into the mantle and authorities of Chief Magistrate.

But the question persists: what was Lincoln's religion? His private secretary, John G. Nicolay, who knew him well, and who, throughout the Administration, lived and worked by his side, a resident of the White House, has left an answer. Nicolay had intended one day to write an essay on "Abraham Lincoln's Faith in God." Among his papers is a note scribbled in pencil; it reads:

Finally to sum up the whole matter in default of sufficient positive or direct testimony -- in default of specific impressions, of church membership, and the strict observance of church rites -- yet in [the] presence of the unvarying enunciation of faith and reliance in a supreme ruler, in the practice of justice, of patriotism, of mercy -- in the utter oblivion of self -- "with malice toward none and charity for all" -- the world can utter no other verdict than this -- He was a Christian without a creed.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS A MAN OF LETTERS

By  
Earl Schenck Miers

The author has written six books on Lincoln and his times. His latest book is "The Great Rebellion," published in 1958.

Abraham Lincoln possessed a rare ability to express his ideas and ideals. In letters, speeches, memoranda scribbled on scraps of paper, state papers, a few sentimental poems and even a mystery story, Lincoln left a record of himself that, exceeding a million words, would be longer than the Bible, including the Apocrypha, and longer than the complete works of Shakespeare. The discovery of the literate Lincoln is fascinating because it reveals the living Lincoln -- this remarkable man who, one hundred and fifty years after his birth, is still so deeply a part of the nation's conscience that he explains why Americans often think and feel and act the way they do.

The key to Lincoln's power, both as a statesman and a man of letters, stems from one source. He never stopped growing in mental or moral stature. From early maturity to death he clung to the same principles and much the same ideas, and in his writings those principles and





ideas became living organisms, growing with the man and changing not in substance but in beauty of form. As a result, Lincoln emerged as a man of a fundamental creed that expressed the responsibilities, risks and rewards of the democratic way of life. In whatever he wrote or said, he was always unpretentiously himself -- always the self-taught lawyer who examined every proposition first by syllogism, then by how it related to patterns of human behavior, and finally as a man of ethics making a choice between right and wrong.

What were the ideas and the ideals that Lincoln, as a man of letters, bequeathed to humanity as the tenets of a faith in democracy?

They are five:

First, he believed in people as the greatest resource of a nation.

Second, he believed in the right of the poor man, through honest toil, to better his lot in life.

Third, he believed in education -- that regardless of color of skin or present environment, all people possessed the capacity to live fuller, richer lives if their innate abilities were cultivated.

Fourth, he believed that reverence for the laws should become a "political religion."

Finally, he believed in the liberal tradition; he was always a spokesman for freedom of thought, speech, press, assembly and religion.

The essence of Lincoln, both as a man of action and as a man of letters, is in these five tenets of faith. He was, really, a man of simple definition in an age of troublesome dilemmas, a man who in a stinging letter could fire the headstrong general of an army for usurping



civilian authority or who in quiet prose could risk his political future upon the proposition that "the people, under Providence, will set all right."

Lincoln's strength in statement and action was in his clear and moral understanding both of himself and of his age. He never claimed that his ideas were original, nor were they; and his genius rested in perceiving that though he lived in a troubled world his generation had not invented the devil. From the beginning of time, he said, the world had struggled between two principles. One is the common right of humanity. And the other? "No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

Against such tyranny, in any guise, Lincoln spoke and wrote with passion. No man ever toiled with greater diligence to express in terms that a child could understand the simple moral answer to seemingly unfathomable complexities. He breathed his own life, the beauty of his own character, the splendid vitality of his own good heart into ideas as old as civilization. What might have been stale platitudes on the lips of other men, on Lincoln's lips burst like a sun of understanding. He touched the hearts of all classes and all ages. He articulated what they also knew was the only way in which right triumphed over wrong.

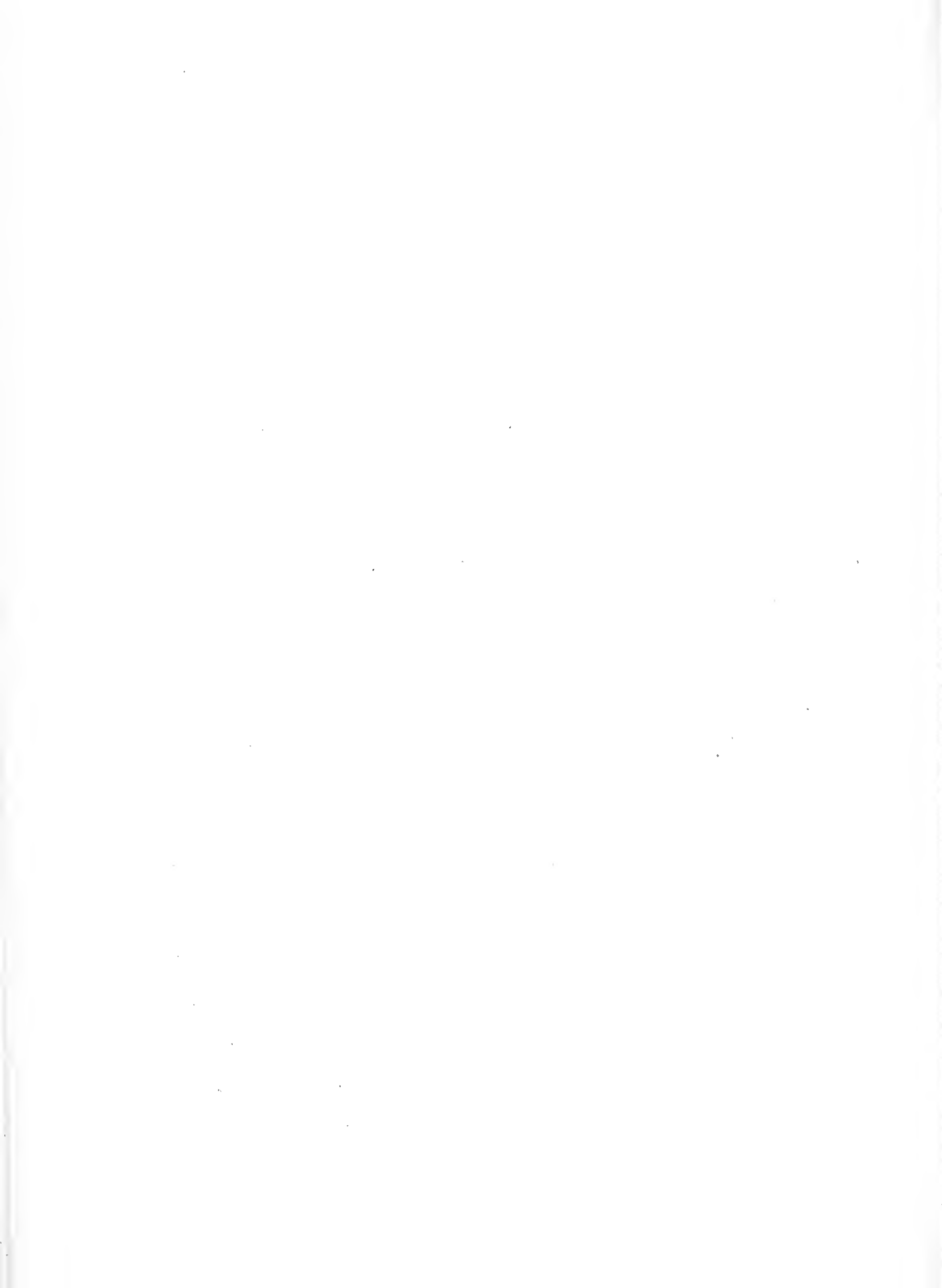
As a man of letters, perhaps more unconsciously than otherwise, Lincoln was influenced by his own group of heroes. He would have been the



last to deny that he was moved by the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, who believed that "the earth belongs always to the living generation" and who said: "Nothing is unchangeable but the inherent and inalienable rights of man." Lincoln was always a staunch political supporter of Henry Clay, whose speeches were read by Simón Bolívar to armies fighting for freedom in South America.

Nor were Lincoln's literary models of lesse<sup>s</sup> stature. Deeply versed in the fables of Aesop, Lincoln's own writings were filled with homely axioms. He advised a group of young lawyers: "Resolve to be honest at all events; and if in your own judgment you cannot be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer." As President, he told his secretary of war: "On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he has not done wrong. It rejects the Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it enough if the man does no wrong hereafter." America a hundred years ago included a large and growing population of persons who had fled from Europe to build new lives under freedom, and they understood the Lincoln who said: "In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

In a letter to James H. Hackett, an eminent actor of the time, Lincoln revealed a modest, but warm acquaintance with the plays of Shakespeare. Among the plays that he had "gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader" were "Lear, Richard Third, Henry Eighth, Hamlet and especially Macbeth," and Lincoln added: "I think nothing equals Macbeth. It is wonderful."



Shakespeare had much to offer Lincoln -- a sympathy with people of all ranks, a gift for language that communicated in homely, everyday, completely comprehensible images. Who could fail to understand a dramatist who spoke of the "cisterns" of our lust? Perhaps unconsciously, and yet unflinching, Lincoln reduced his ideas to similar images. Thus for those who argued that labor and education are incompatible "a blind horse upon a treadmill, is a perfect illustration of what a laborer should be -- all the better for being blind, that he could not tread out of place, or kick understandingly." Thus with the sick, stragglers, deserters and the discharged an army never equaled its enlisted strength because "it's like trying to shovel fleas across a barnyard; you don't get them all there."

In knowing Lincoln as the man behind his words, one comes finally to the Holy Scriptures as the overpowering influence. He was a strangely mystical man, this Lincoln -- who experienced the same dream before every climactic event of the war; who dreamed of himself as dead shortly before his assassination; and who, beholding a double image of himself in a mirror, accepted the explanation that he would live through one term as President but not the second. He could name the passages in both testaments of the Bible where dreams were prophetic. Of the Bible he said: "All things most desirable for man's welfare, here and hereafter, are to be found portrayed in it." Among Lincoln's greatest pronouncements is his Second Inaugural, delivered after almost four years of civil war. It is difficult to find a speech by any modern statesman so intensely religious in feeling; here speaks the Lincoln who believed passionately "that there is a God and that He hates injustice and slavery."

100  
100  
100



Lincoln, throughout his lifetime, was a prodigious letter writer. Angry letters -- to his generals or members of his official family -- he usually slept on, then neglected to send, but on those occasions when he did vent his spleen the recipient long remembered it. "I have just read your despatch about sore-tongued and fatigued horses," he once wrote a commanding general. "Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the Battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?" He would never, even in times of war, tolerate military interference with civil rights, telling another general: "...the U.S. government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches."

All of Lincoln is in his letters -- his flashes of temper, his firmness, and also his great patience and tact, his dogged honesty and his enduring sympathy for people. His gift as a man of letters rested in the fact that throughout his life he was consistently himself. A note to a station master said: "The lady bearer of this, says she has freight at the depot, which she cannot get without four dollars. If this be correct, let her have the freight, and I will pay you any amount not exceeding four dollars on presentation of this note." Five days later Lincoln paid the sum. A note told the war department: "The lady -- bearer of this -- says she has two sons who want to work. Set them at it, if possible. Wanting to work is so rare a merit, that it should be encouraged." A note told a legal client: "You must think I am a high-priced man. You are too liberal with your money. Fifteen dollars is enough for the job. I send you a receipt for fifteen dollars, and return to you a ten dollar bill."

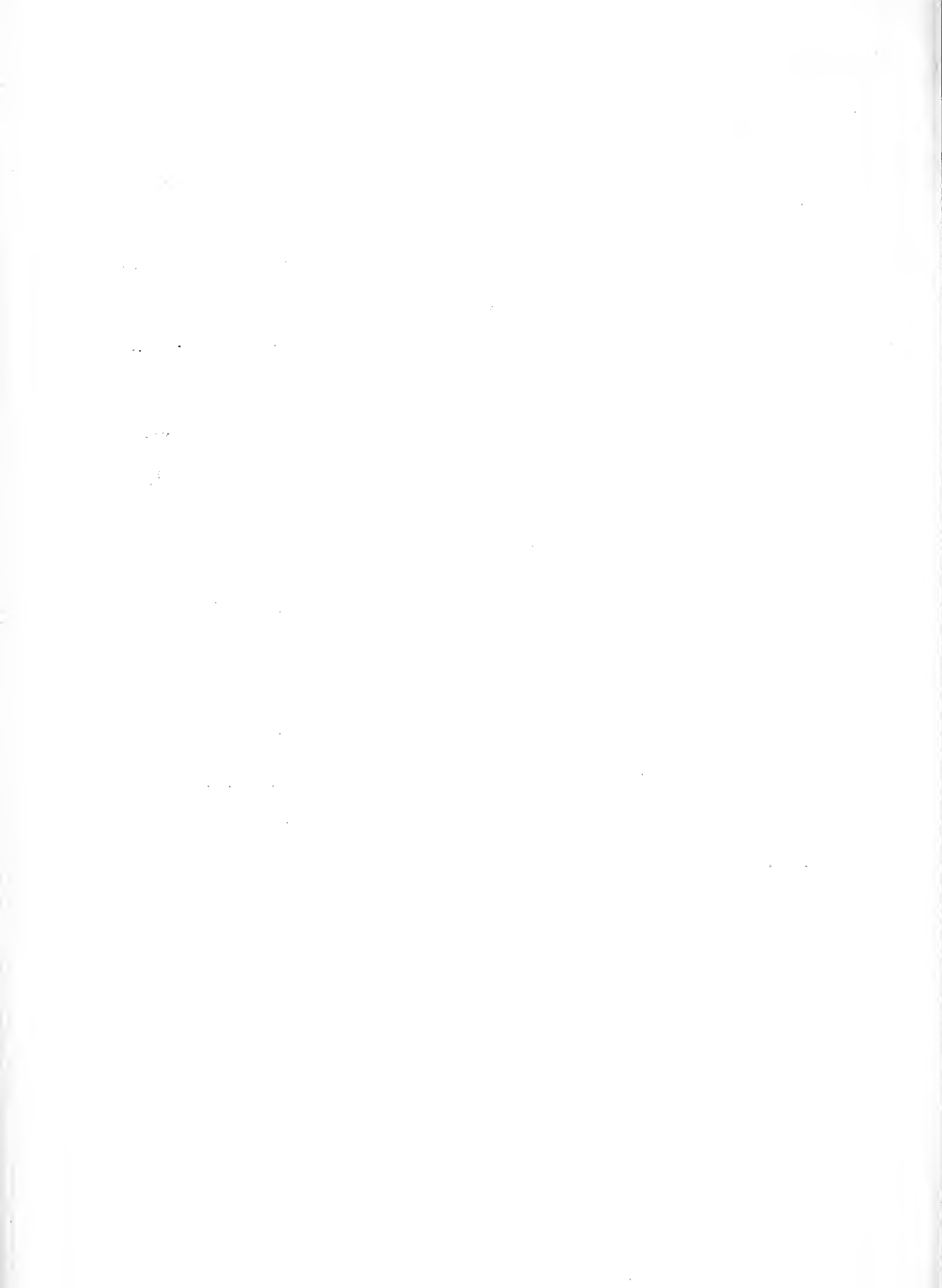


Is it stretching a point in evaluating Lincoln's stature as a man of letters to include these everyday communications? Indeed, not! Other American statesmen, notably Thomas Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson, were scholars who wrote with a consciousness of literary style and method, whereas Lincoln, the master of them all, wrote with a consciousness of himself. He felt neither distinguished nor wise; without pose or pretension, he once informed a biographer: "It is a great piece of folly to attempt to make anything out of me or my early life. It can all be condensed into a single sentence, and that sentence you will find in Gray's Elegy: 'The short and simple annals of the poor.' That's my life, and that's all you or anyone else can make out of it."

One hundred and fifty years after Lincoln's birth, Americans have made out of the deeds and sayings of this man a national inspiration. They remember him as a man who appealed to "the better angels" of their spirits; they remember a just, humble, merciful man who, dedicating a national cemetery, described the one reason justifying a war: "... that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809 - 1865)

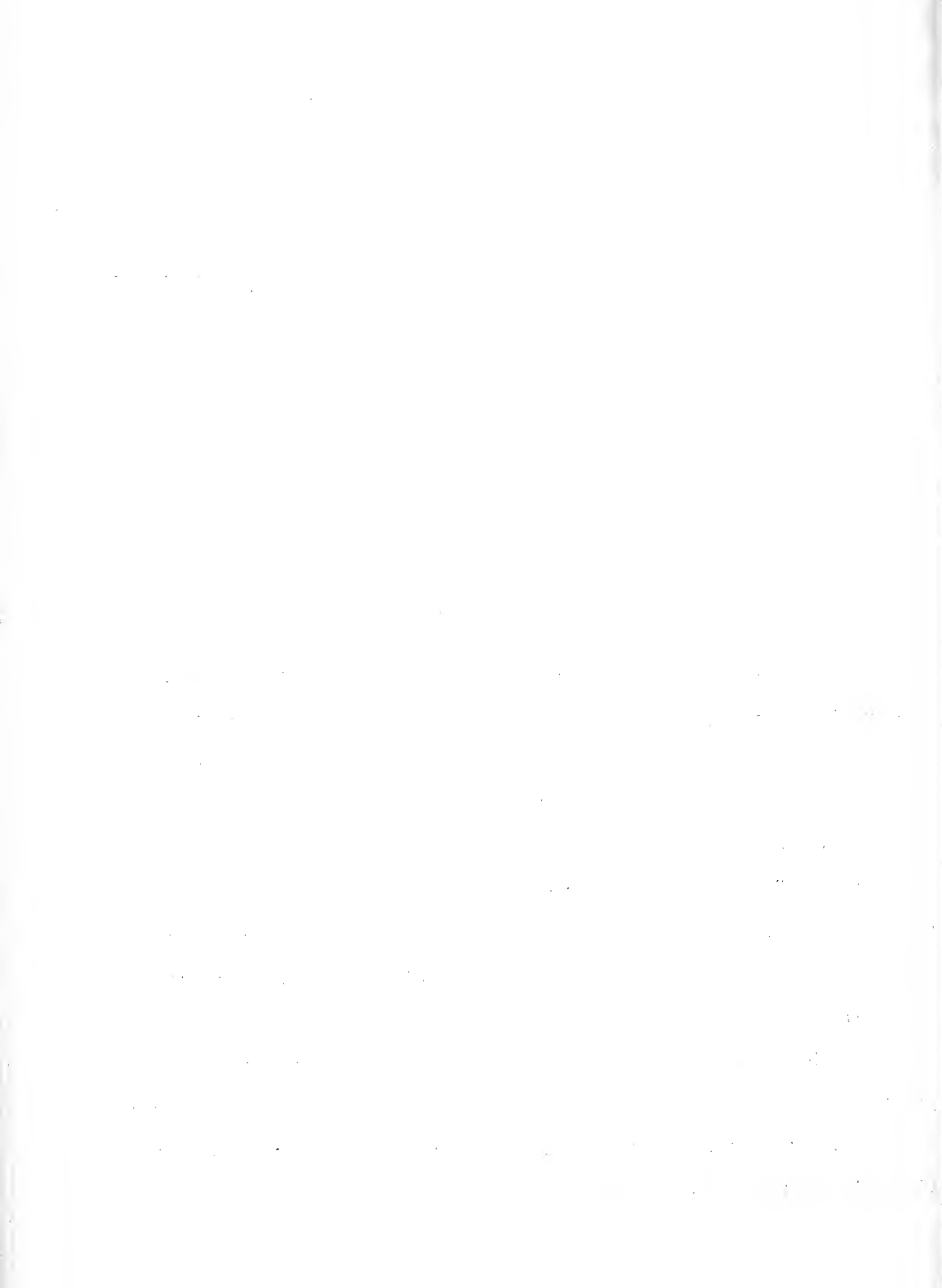
## LINCOLN AND POETRY

By  
Richard Hanser

Richard Hanser's studies of Lincoln and his ideas have been published in leading American magazines and translated into many foreign languages.

The elegant and learned Senator Charles Sumner, who was Boston-born and Harvard-bred, could find no parallel in all his extensive study of history for the phenomenon that confronted him in Abraham Lincoln. Here was a backwoods politician with a pronounced rustic accent and virtually no schooling who yet composed speeches that clearly marked him as a master of the English tongue. Here, in the White House, was a former country lawyer whose state papers, as the Senator noted with barely concealed amazement, "were suffused with a certain poetical color" that made them unique in the annals of government.

The Senator from Massachusetts was by no means alone in being impressed by the recurrent strain of poetry in Lincoln. "This was like a sacred poem," said the German-American patriot Carl Schurz of the closing passage of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address. The message of sympathy to Mrs. Bixby



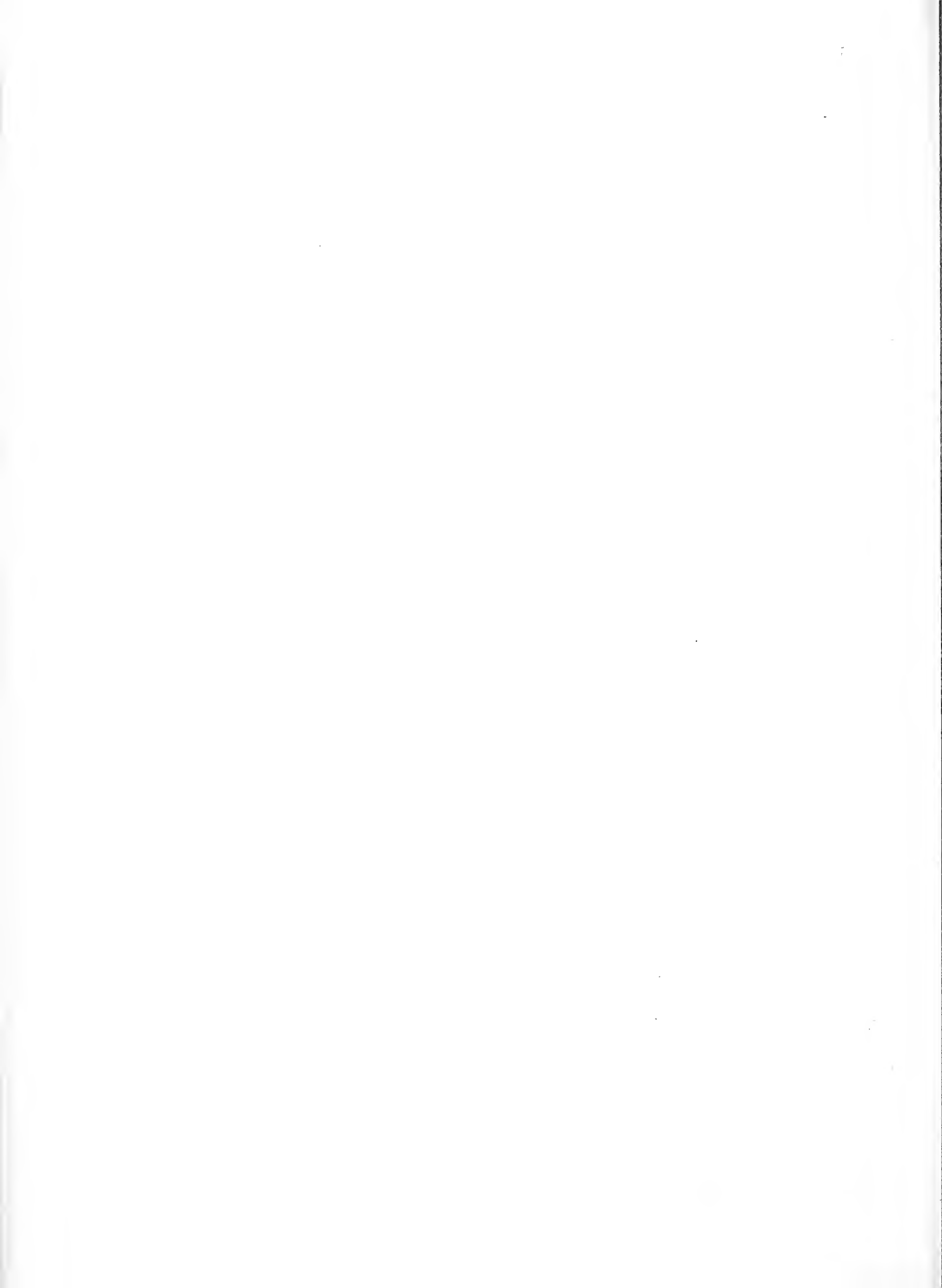
on the loss of her sons in the Civil War came to be universally recognized as an exquisite little elegy in letter form, and the Gettysburg Address as a major American poem in prose.

With time the poetic element in Lincoln's writings has steadily gained ascendancy in importance over their political content, and today scholars write of his speeches as "applied art" and discuss the "subtle rhythms and cadences" of his style. Of his most memorable lines it is now said that "they haunt the memory as much for their sound as their meaning."

Nothing, in short, sets Abraham Lincoln so distinctly apart from other great statesmen of history as this deep and abiding vein of pure poetry that runs all through his speeches and letters. In electing him to office the American people unwittingly did what no other people before them had ever done. At the time of their most crucial testing and trial, when their very survival was at stake, they entrusted their destiny to the hands of a poet.

There is a certain biographical irony in this. Abraham Lincoln thought himself a failure as a poet. To the end of his life he read the verses of others with profound respect and a wistful sense that the true poetic gift was beyond him.

There is no way to explain how a poet-statesman of world stature came to be born on the remote American frontier of the early 19th Century, with nothing discernible in his ancestry or background to account for his coming. "Through one of those freaks of nature that produce a Shakespeare at long intervals," wrote Donn Piatt, an astute contemporary journalist, "a giant had been born to the poor whites of Kentucky." We can, however, roughly sketch the influences that nurtured the poet in him.





In the primitive settlements where Lincoln came to maturity -- the little cluster of isolated cabins at Gentryville, in Indiana, and the hardly more impressive village of New Salem, in Illinois -- "books wasn't as plenty as wildcats." The phrase is from Dennis Hanks, the boyhood companion and cousin who has left us a vivid account of Lincoln's early passion for searching out and devouring anything readable for miles around. Books were scarce, but even in those wild forest clearings, the precious power of poetry made itself felt through scattered volumes of Shakespeare, Burns, Byron and, of course, the Bible.

From the constable at Gentryville, Lincoln borrowed "Scott's Lessons in Elocution" and "The Arabian Nights" which he read aloud to his family. There were choice passages of English literature to be found in "The Kentucky Preceptor," loaned to him by a local farmer named Josiah Crawford who was also wheelwright, doctor and dentist. The catalogue of the books that formed his youth is not long, but it is rich in values. It included "Aesop's Fables," "Pilgrim's Progress," a "History of the United States," Parson Weems' "Life of Washington" and Benjamin Franklin's "Autobiography."

There were not only books, but men. In New Salem there was Jack Kelso, a feckless village character who passed his time fishing and drinking and avoiding work whenever possible. But he had read much and well, and what he read he savored and remembered. Of a pleasant summer's afternoon he would persuade young Lincoln to lock up the ramshackle store where he was serving as both clerk and postmaster, and come along to the river. In the shade of the willows on the shore, Jack Kelso would fish and recite. Lincoln

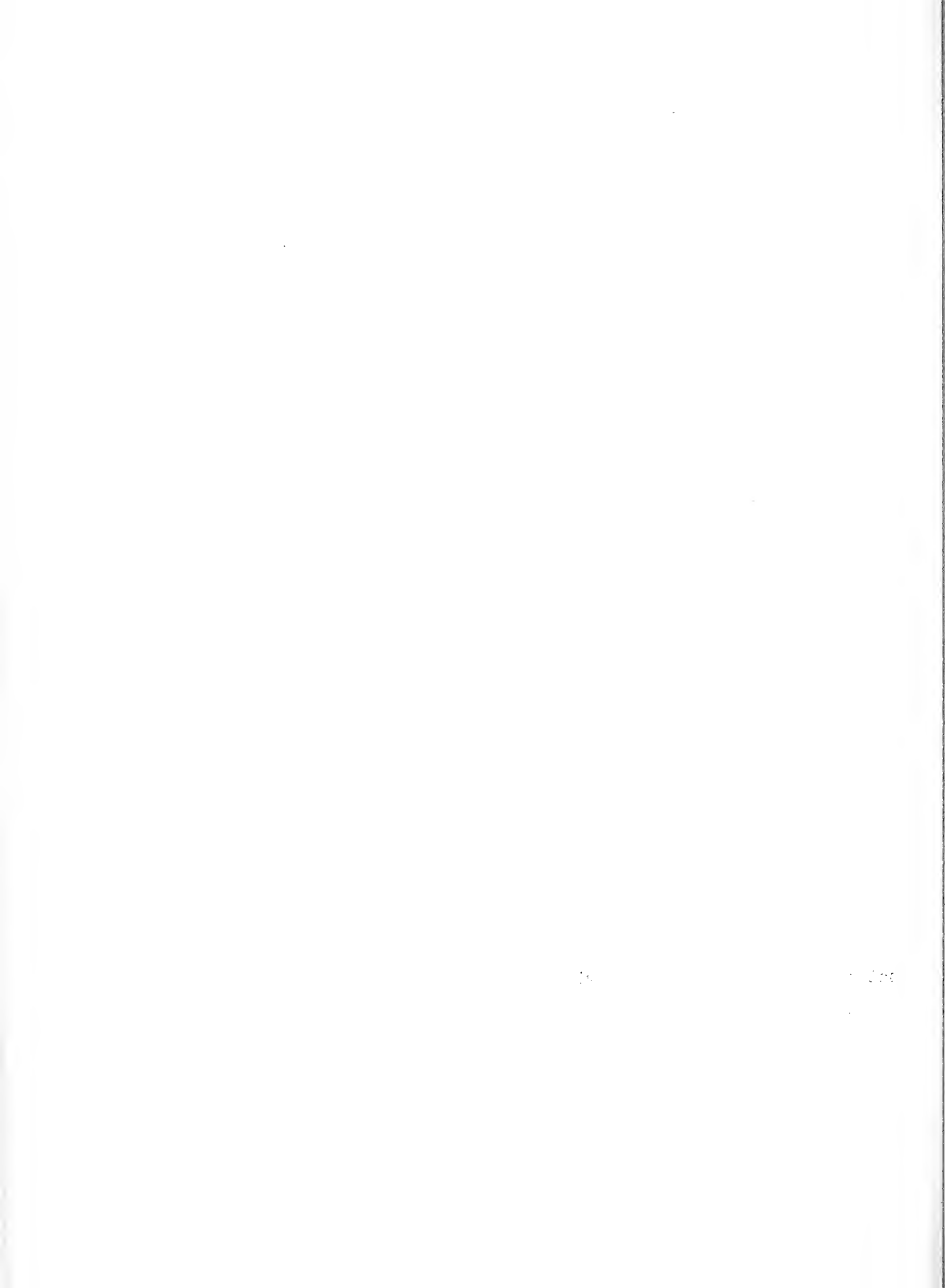


listened with inexhaustible fascination to Kelso's impromptu declamations from "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" and to the melody and merriment of "Highland Mary" and "Tam O'Shanter."

"He delighted in Burns," wrote John Hay, Lincoln's White House secretary, many years later. Lincoln's modesty toward the poets he loved was expressed in a toast he penciled as President at the request of the Burns Club of Washington: "I cannot frame a toast to Burns; I can say nothing worthy of his generous heart and transcending genius; thinking of what he has said I cannot say anything which seems worth saying."

A young man so smitten by the poetry of others is all but certain to try his hand at verses of his own, and Lincoln did. His earliest efforts were doggerel of a comic cast that expressed the joking, fun-loving side of his character. He found the style congenial even as a grown man when he composed the 22 verses of "The Bear Hunt," a robust rhyme which, for all its crudities, has something of the flavor of a wilderness folk tale. He experimented more seriously in the melancholy vein of mid-century romanticism which corresponded to a deep and gothic strain in his nature, a fundamental sadness verging often on despair.

On a political speaking trip to Indiana in 1844 he visited the neighborhood of his boyhood where his mother and only sister were buried. "That part of the country is, within itself, as unpoetical as any spot on earth," he wrote his friend Andrew Johnston, a lawyer who also dabbled in verse. "But still, seeing it and its objects and inhabitants aroused feelings in me which were certainly poetry; though whether my expression of those feelings is poetry is quite another question..."



He sent Johnston the resulting poem, which begins "My childhood's home I see again" and includes the verses:

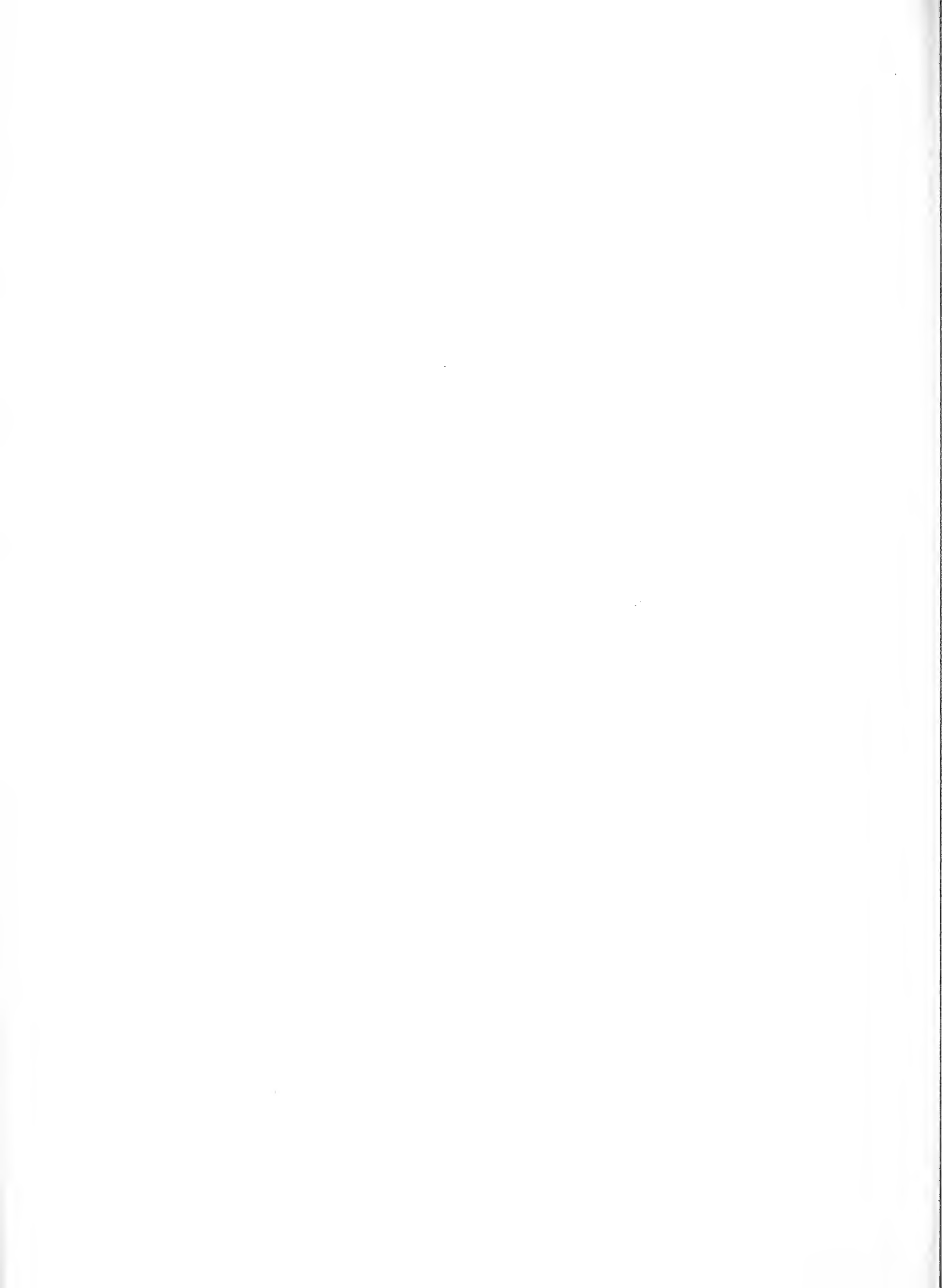
Near twenty years have passed away  
Since here I bid farewell  
To woods and fields, and scenes of play,  
And playmates loved so well.

The friends I left that parting day,  
How changed, as time has sped!  
Young childhood grown, strong manhood gray,  
And half of all are dead.

This theme of the corrosion of time, of the fleetingness of life with inescapable grave at its end, was a favorite of his in what he called "my poetizing mood." He found it expressed in a way that moved him profoundly in a poem called "Mortality" which he came to prize above all others. He chanced upon it in an anonymous newspaper clipping and he repeated it from memory on innumerable occasions, to himself and to others, throughout his life.

The poem begins:

Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud!  
Like a swift-fleeting meteor, a fast-flying cloud,  
A flash of the lightning, a break of the wave  
He passes from life to his rest in the grave.



The poem continues for 13 more stanzas, paraphrasing the substance of the third chapter of Job and the first chapter of Ecclesiastes. It touches on the common fate of king and peasant, of the wise and the foolish, and stresses that there is no new thing under the sun. It concludes:

'Tis the wink of an eye, 'Tis the draught of a breath  
From the blossom of health to the paleness of death,  
From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud --  
Oh why should the spirit of mortal be proud!

This was the poem of which Lincoln once said: "I would give all I am worth, and go in debt, to be able to write so fine a piece as I think this is." He quoted it so often, that he was sometimes credited with being its author. For years he sought to discover the name of the true author who, he said, "has been greatly my benefactor." He continued his search even in the White House and was at last rewarded. The author was found to be William Knox, a young Scottish poet who died in 1825.

It was perhaps a paradox of personality that Lincoln, himself capable of producing the deep organ tones of his major speeches, should have been so taken by the pensive twittering of such minor bards as Knox.

While riding in his buggy over rutted country roads from courthouse to courthouse, the poets were the young lawyer's unfailing companions. He is said to have read the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," and he had the Bible and Shakespeare always with him.

In his Springfield law office discussions of poems and poets were frequent. A casual visitor once picked up a handsome octavo volume lying on





the table and noticed that it fell open by itself to the well-worn pages of Byron's "Don Juan." On another occasion an argument arose among clerks and lawyers over the merits of a newly-published work called "Leaves of Grass" by an unknown named Walt Whitman. Lincoln remained silent. After a time he reached out for the book and paged through it. The argument was interrupted when he suddenly began reading aloud, revealing to his listeners "a charm of new life in Whitman's versification." He praised the poetry for its "vitality and freshness and unique form of expression" and said that Whitman "gave promise of a new school of poetry." He asked that "Leaves of Grass" be left on the office table.

The two men never met but Whitman saw Lincoln many times as President and wrote of him with warmth and understanding, sensing in him that "vast dreaminess" of outlook and idea which was so like his own, if so differently expressed. And the day would come when Walt Whitman would compose the four poems he called "Memories of President Lincoln," including one of the greatest ever written in America, "When Lilacs Last In The Dooryard Bloom'd."

The poetry of the Bible and its imagery were among Lincoln's earliest literary impressions, and the most lasting. He constantly referred to it on the political platform and in private letters. "There was not a clergyman to be found so familiar with it as he," wrote one of his contemporary biographers.

In 25 speeches from 1839 to 1865, he alluded to the Bible no less than 22 times.

From his constant contact with poetry he caught that marvelous feel for phrase and language which was one of his most telling attributes in



the fulfillment of his historic role. He found a satisfaction in the circumstance that the leading American poets of his day responded to this quality in him. It was William Cullen Bryant, celebrated for his "Thanatopsis," who introduced him in 1860 to his first New York audience at Cooper Institute. Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose "The Last Leaf" he called "inexpressibly touching," was one of his staunch New England supporters. So was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow whose lines from "The Building of the Ship":

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!

Sail on, O Union, strong and great!

moved the President to tears. John Greenleaf Whittier, whose collected verses were in Lincoln's library, wrote an anti-slavery hymn which was sung in the White House to the tune of Luther's "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott."

Lincoln never lost his relish for the crudely humorous and the grotesque. He found endless delight in the odd conceits and comical quirks of the English versifier Thomas Hood. Once a swarm of impatient applicants were left waiting outside his office door while he read aloud all 96 verses of Hood's "The Haunted House" to a spellbound group of friends. But we also know that he read and admired poetry by Edgar Allan Poe, James Russell Lowell, Nathaniel Parker Willis, and the elegies by Thomas Gray and Oliver Goldsmith. Lincoln himself is quoted as saying that he never finished a novel in his life. But his absorption in poetry and in the drama remained.

More frequently than all others he read Shakespeare. His favorite plays were "Lear," "Richard III," "Henry VIII," "Hamlet" and especially "Macbeth." "I think nothing equals 'Macbeth,'" he wrote the actor

10  
11  
12  
13

James H. Hackett in 1863. Some of Shakespeare's plays, he said, he had never read, "while others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader."

Allusions to Shakespeare, and quotations from the plays, constantly colored his private conversation, and he carried with him battered copies of "Hamlet" and "The Merry Wives of Windsor" which he read whenever opportunity offered. Shakespearean actors whose work he admired were invited to the White House to read favorite passages for him or discuss problems of interpretation.

With Hackett and others he liked to argue that the King's soliloquy in "Hamlet" which begins:

O my offense is rank, it smells to heaven;  
It hath the primal curse upon it . . .

was much superior to the more usually preferred "To be or not to be." "It always struck me as one of the finest touches of nature in the world," he said. After seeing Edwin Booth (the brother of John Wilkes Booth, the man who one day would kill him) as Shylock, the President observed to a friend: "It was a good performance, but I had a thousand times rather read it at home, if it were not for Booth's playing. A farce, or a comedy, is best played; a tragedy is best read at home."

He was fascinated by the opening lines of "Richard III" --

Now is the winter of our discontent, etc.,

and believed that most actors delivered them with false emphasis and in the wrong style. They were, he held, an "utterance of the most intense bitterness and satire" but were usually spoken with a mere theatrical flourish.

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

Once he both startled and enthralled a lone telegrapher in the War Office by declaiming a long scene from "Macbeth" "as if there had been a full house."

Lincoln might, in other circumstances, have been an actor of great power. But he was, of course, the protagonist in a tragedy that transcended in scope and stature anything ever put upon the stage. Walt Whitman, indeed, saw Lincoln's whole life as "a tragic play, superior to all else I know -- vaster, more fiery and more convulsionary, for this America of ours, than Aeschylus or Shakespeare ever drew for Athens or for England." This note of high poetic tragedy that ran through Lincoln's life was sustained to the very end. With what now seems like an almost mystical vision of coming events, he singled out, six days before his death, the lines from his favorite "Macbeth" that might well have served as his own epitaph.

It was the 9th of April, 1865. The War between the States had come to an end. Lincoln was returning from his visit to the still smoking city of Richmond in Virginia. He sat on the sunny deck of the "River Queen" as she steamed serenely back toward Washington, utterly at ease for perhaps the first time in four long and bitter years. His big hands fondled a "beautiful quarto volume of Shakespeare." From time to time he read aloud to the little party that accompanied him. All present remembered afterward that a certain passage he read not once, but twice, and seemed to linger broodingly over the words. The lines were those in which Macbeth speaks of Duncan's death by assassination:





Duncan is in his grave;  
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;  
Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison,  
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing  
Can touch him further.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN'S IMAGERY

By  
Theodore C. Blegen

The author is Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of History at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. He has written extensively on Lincoln and his times.

Great leadership, in the democratic world, is no trick of style, no device of words, no garment of rhetoric. It is mind and knowledge, character and experience, courage and devotion, oneness with the people, and a vision and imagination that rise above the "torment and the fray" of the passing hour. Man's character, as John Drinkwater says in the epilogue of his play "Abraham Lincoln," endures and is a "token sent always to man for man's own government."

No single facet of the mind of Lincoln can explain the man and his role in his own day -- and his enduring fame. It is the whole man, in the amplitude of his mind and character, who met greatly the crisis of civil war and who lives greatly in the memory of America and the world. But we can help turn the legend of Lincoln into the living reality of the man by looking at the words with which he clothed his thought and

1991 1992

1993

conviction. And one of the sustaining sources of his power was his imagery, with its wide range and unmistakable flavor.

While Lincoln was on his speaking trip in Connecticut in 1860, a Norwich minister, J. P. Gulliver, met him and told him that he had been impressed especially by the "illustrations" Lincoln used in his speech at the town hall the evening before. The illustrations were "romance and pathos and fun and logic all welded together." Gulliver then asked Lincoln to explain his power of "putting things." In his reply Lincoln said, "I am never easy now, when I am handling a thought, till I have bounded it North, and bounded it South, and bounded it East, and bounded it West." Thus even in explaining his method, he resorted to imagery -- as, in things great and small, he had done across the years -- and doing so, he fittingly ran the very gamut of the compass.

\* \* \*

James Russell Lowell made no mistake when he said that the secret of force in writing "lies not so much in the pedigree of nouns and adjectives and verbs, as in having something that you believe in to say, and making the parts of speech vividly conscious of it."

When one studies Abraham Lincoln's mastery of words, there is no difficulty in applying the first part of Lowell's aphorism. Lincoln had something to say that he believed in, and he said it with force. Hundreds of writers have showered his rhetorical power with friendly adjectives in their efforts to explain that force. He respected the meanings of words, and he wrote and spoke with clarity. He knew what

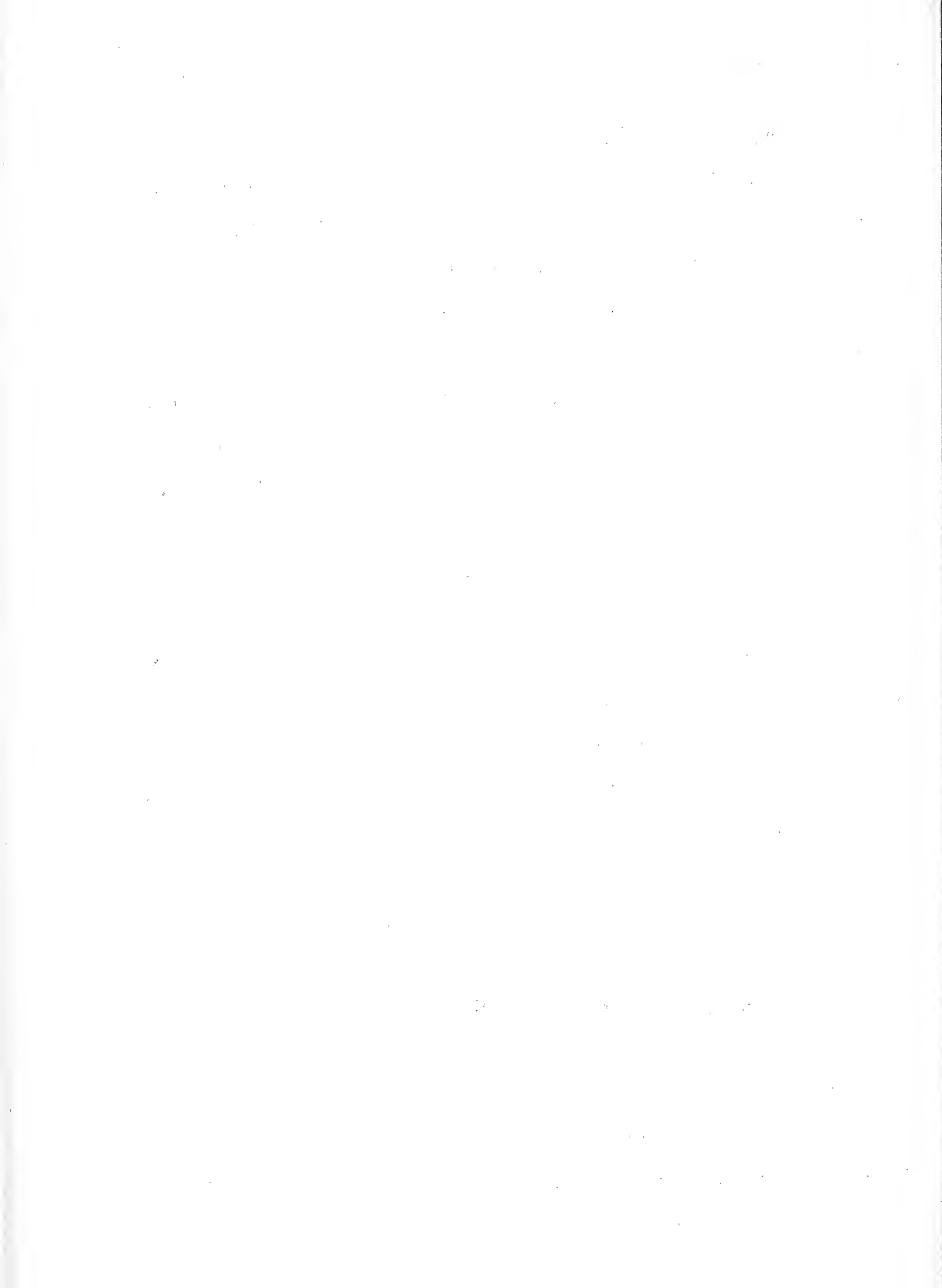


he was talking about. He had consummate skill in logical analysis. He was able to put profound thoughts simply. He was sincere and earnest. He had both dignity and humor. He could rise to a lofty eloquence that has not been surpassed in the history of oratory. His language was pungent and he knew the art of timing. He was a master of balance and had an ear for rhythm.

All this and more can be and has been said about his writing, but at the end we are far from unlocking the secrets of his force, and we must consider the implications of the last part of Lowell's phrase. Lincoln patently succeeded in injecting the "parts of speech" with a vivid consciousness of what he had to say, and the question is, how did he do it?

The fundamental answer doubtless lies in the sum total of the man and his experience. Style may be the man, as Buffon has said, but even if this epigram is not wholly true, it is certain that style is not divorced from the man. Nor is the man divorced from his time and place. In Lincoln's case much of the lore of pioneer America was absorbed by the man as he lived his "prairie years" -- and by an intelligence that remembered that lore down to its littlest details. It was gathered up, too, by a mind that grew through the prairie years in wisdom and in certain individual qualities that, as Paul M. Angle says, were faithfully mirrored in his words -- notably his ruggedness, tenderness, tolerance, and humility.

No study of Lincoln's style can fail to take account of the fact that this was a great man. Great men often leave a tantalizing





residuum of mystery even after thousands of books and articles have been written about them, as is unquestionably true of Lincoln. Apparent simplicity may cloak subtlety and complexity. The fibres of great strength and character may be so many and tangled that to identify and untangle them calls for an understanding almost matching that of the subject under analysis, just as a perfect translation of a poem demands a poet as translator.

Granting that the speech and writing of Lincoln reflect the man in the full range of his talents and in the sweep of both his prairie and his presidential years, it remains true that one aspect of his words seems in special degree to have made the "parts of speech vividly conscious" of what he wanted to say. Benjamin P. Thomas puts his finger on it when he says that "the chief charm of Lincoln's writings is in the quaint and homely figures of speech with which they abound." He also refers to Lincoln's "knack of clarifying an idea by a vivid metaphor or simile." The imagery assuredly helps to explain the charm of the Lincolnian style, but it does more. It illuminates Lincoln's power and persuasiveness in the use of words. It catches and reflects his curious interest in and knowledge of the world of everyday things about him. Viewed in its totality, it adds something to one's understanding of the intellectual and cultural resources of a central figure in the history of the modern world.

\* \* \*

The homely quality in the style of Lincoln owes not a little to his familiarity with the earthiness of pioneer farming, of soil and

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

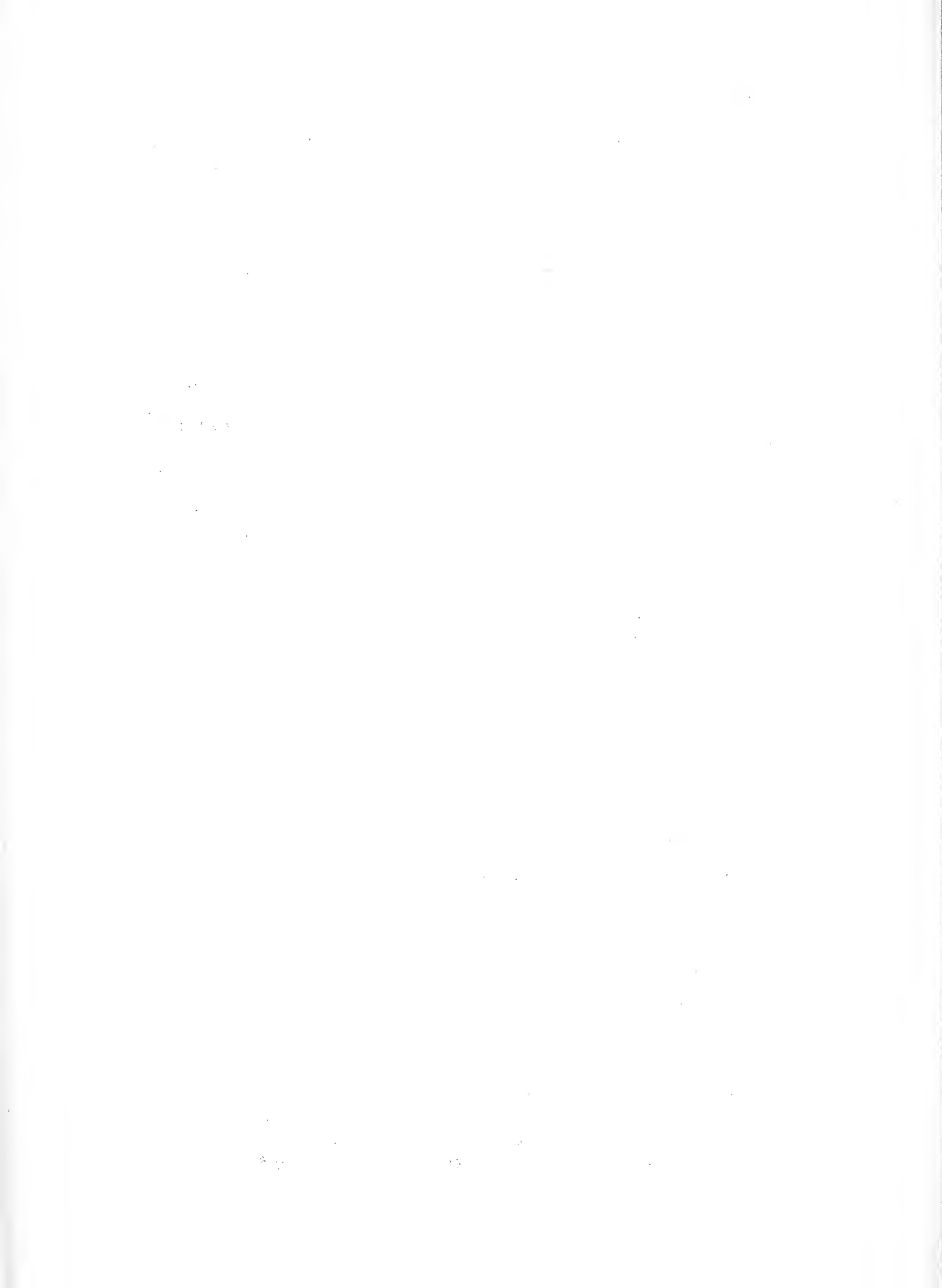
... ..

implements and animals and produce. Who but the prairie statesman could have said as President, after completing an irksome task, "Well, I have got that job husked out"? Or what chief executive, discounting his influence in the arena of his war secretary, could have confessed, "I don't amount to pig tracks in the War Department"?

Lincoln did not scorn the saying that "broken eggs can never be mended," but he adapted it in less conventional forms. In his last speech, he said, "Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it." Popular sovereignty, he once pointed out, "is to be dished up in as many varieties as a French cook can produce soup from potatoes." Of a speech stripped of trash and unnecessary words, he said that "all the chaff was fanned out of it." As to himself, nobody, he thought, expected him to be President. "In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out."

Lincoln had a fondness for similes having to do with horses and oxen. One of his most famous was his modest and brief acceptance of renomination in 1864, in which he suggested that the people "have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap."

Great as is his interest in horses, he does not forget oxen. There was a certain wisdom in his thanks that the "good Lord has given to

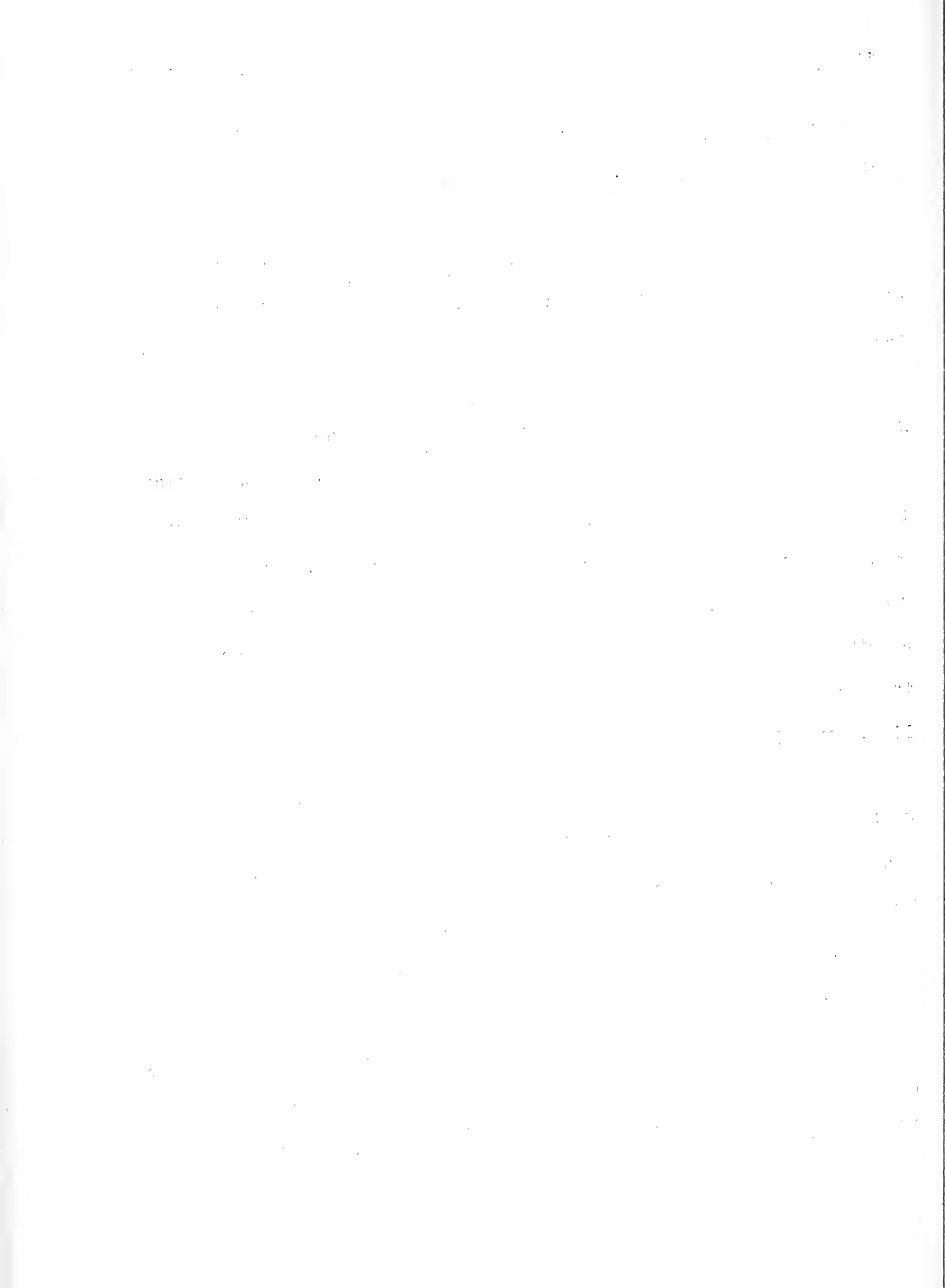


the vicious ox short horns, for if their physical courage were equal to their vicious dispositions, some of us in this neck of the woods would get hurt."

Bears, dogs, other animals, and bees and birds often came to his mind as he sought telling comparisons. His political opponent, Douglas, was, of course, the victim of his sharpest gibes. "I might as well preach Christianity to a grizzly bear as to preach Jefferson and Jackson to him," he wrote in notes for a speech in 1858. When a group of visitors, after criticism of certain officials, suggested to President Lincoln that he should replace them with men whose loyalty, like their own, was unquestioned, he instantly replied, "Gentlemen, I see it is the same old, old coon. Why could you not tell me at once that you wanted an office, and save your own time as well as mine?" In mock alarm he taunted Douglas in a Chicago speech by saying that he is "not a dead lion, nor even a living one -- he is the rugged Russian bear!"

In the campaign of 1864 General Grant made a characteristic decision that brought forth one of the most famous of Lincoln's picturesque sayings. "I have seen your despatch expressing unwillingness to break your hold where you are," wrote the President. "Neither am I willing. Hold on with a bulldog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible."

Now and then he spoke of snakes. Among several illustrations, the most vivid is from a speech in which he drew an elaborate picture of rattlesnakes on the prairie and in a bed where children were sleeping.



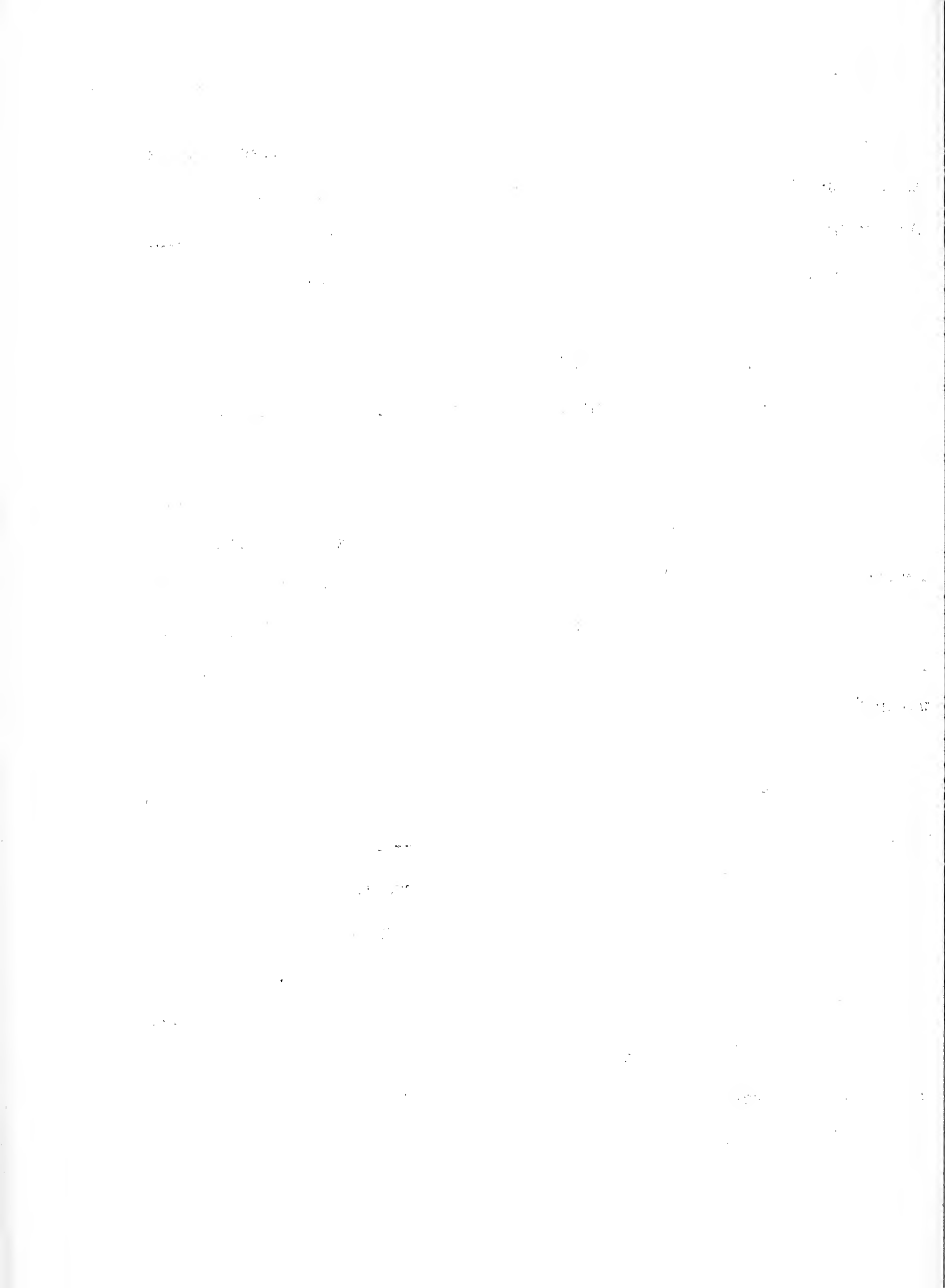
In the latter case he cautioned that in striking at the rattlesnake, one might strike the children "or arouse the reptile to bite the children." And so he drew his moral, declaring that slavery "is the venomous snake in bed with the children." Given a choice between killing the rattlesnake on the prairie or putting it in bed with children, he dismissed the matter by saying, "I think we'd kill it." An impossible task he describes as an attempt "to penetrate the hard shell of a tortoise with a rye straw."

Plants, food, housekeeping, and clothing furnished many ideas to Lincoln for adroit figures that saved him from lengthy expositions of reasoning. "Would you drop the war where it is?" he wrote to a Louisiana man who complained of the war's interference with business. "or, would you prosecute it in future with elder-stalk squirts, charged with rose water?"

\* \* \*

At every great turning point in the career of Lincoln -- indeed every national crisis in which he was concerned -- his words of appeal and challenge were buttressed with metaphors. From the days of his youth until his final address as President he consistently used imagery to infuse the "parts of speech" with vividness and concreteness. And it is evident that his power grew steadily with his experience and responsibility.

Thus it is no chance circumstance that the addresses he delivered in the critical years just before the Civil War and during his presidency are illuminated by figures that time has woven into the American heritage.





These figures, with perhaps a single exception, sprang from Lincoln's mind. They were written by his pen and uttered by his voice. It is part of the glory of Lincoln's words that they were in fact his, not the concoctions of ghost writers.

That part of the great "House Divided" speech at Springfield in 1858 which interested the entire country, according to Carl Sandburg, was its opening paragraph. What Lincoln said, in accepting the senatorial nomination, was "so plain that any two farmers fixing fences on a rainy morning could talk it over in all its ins and outs." And what he said was dramatized in imagery taken over from the Bible: "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Americans have never forgotten the prophetic words with which Lincoln expounded the meaning of the figure: "I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved -- I do not expect the house to fall -- but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other." As these words sped across the land in daily and weekly newspapers, the people of the country began to realize that a national leader was emerging on the Illinois prairies. Imagery bore the man to the people. In America's "great variety" of local institutions Lincoln perceived, not "matters of discord," but the making of a house united, not divided.

The house figure fascinated Lincoln, as it did his hearers, and he used it again and again with remorseless pertinacity. In a fragmentary note for a speech he jotted down yet another comment on Douglas: "He shirks the responsibility of pulling the house down, but he digs under it that it may fall of its own weight."



When Lincoln took the oath of office a second time, he kissed the Bible at a passage in Isaiah that contained the words: "Whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent, their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, their wheels like a whirlwind." In the imagery of Lincoln there were the sharp arrow, the bent bow, the beat of the hoof, the flint, and, if not the wheels of the whirlwind, at any rate the wings of an imagination. The passage was apposite to a mind which, in its unending and flexible imagery, was in command of the "parts of speech," consistently, but with advancing force, making language serve its needs with vividness and precision.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IP

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

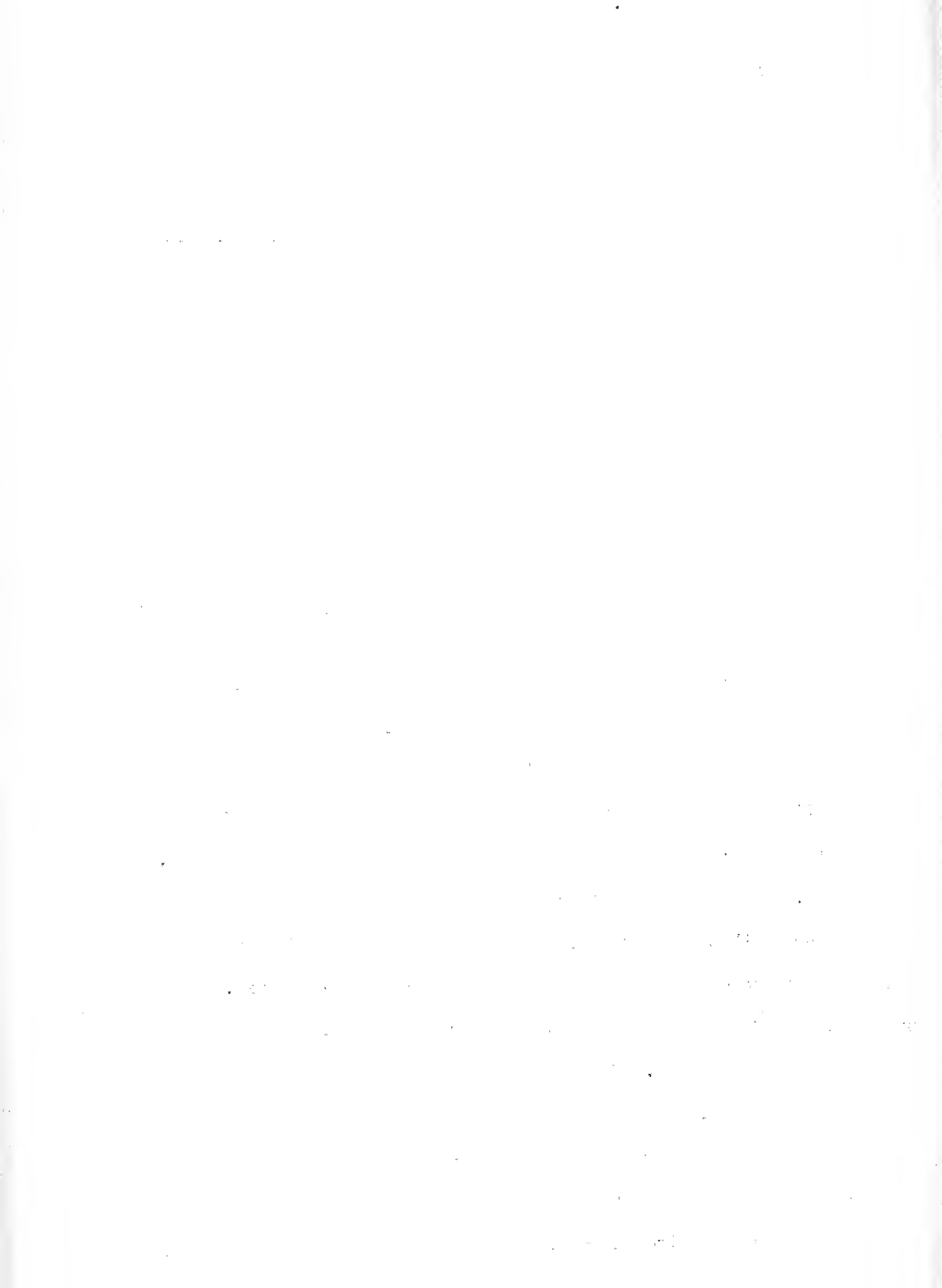
## LINCOLN AND MUSIC

By  
Carl Haverlin

The author is President of the Civil War Centennial Association, a Lincoln collector and author (with Harry Bedford Jones) of a radio series "The Abe Lincoln Story."

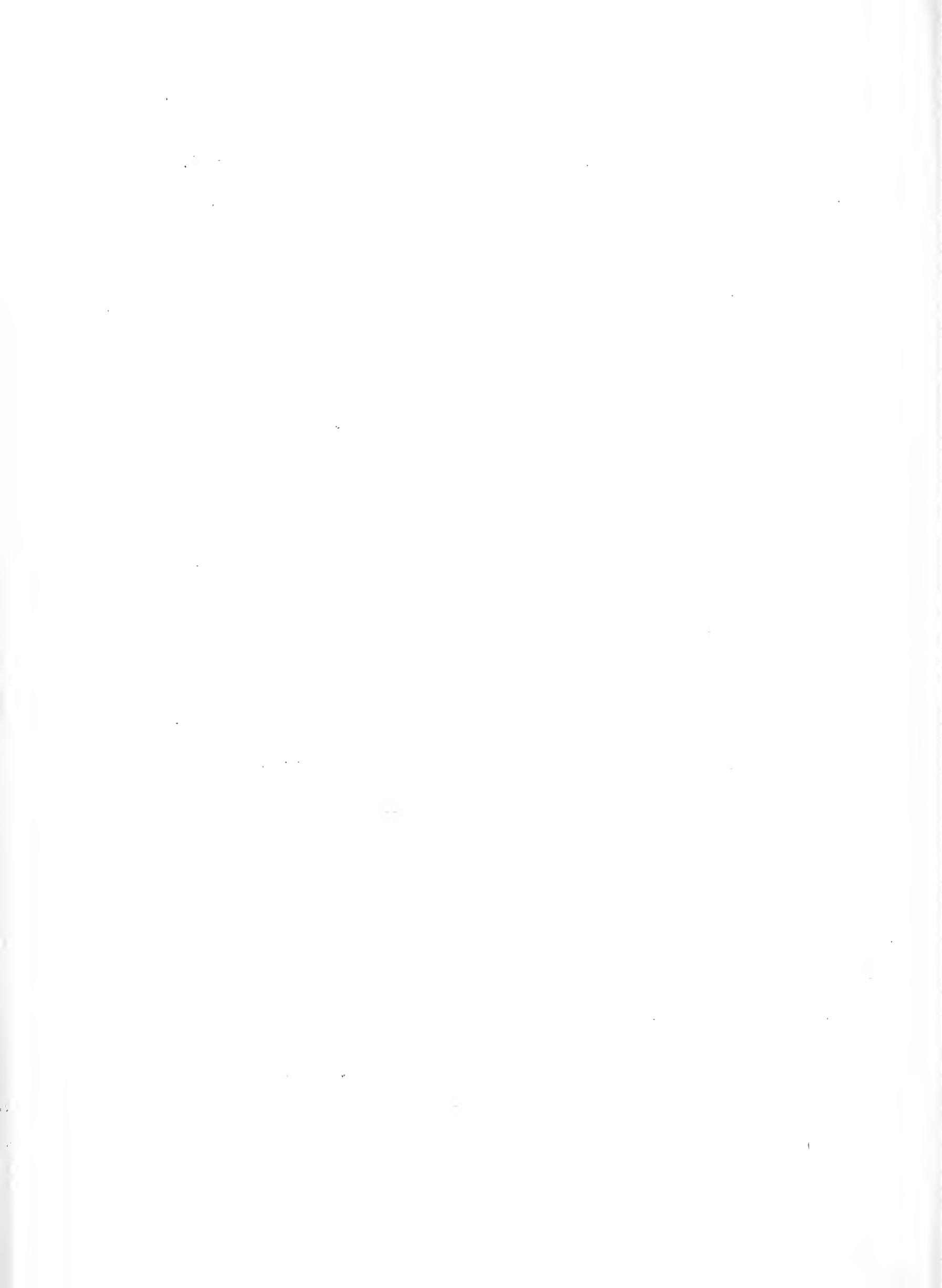
No one would wish to attempt to increase the stature of Lincoln by claiming for him attributes he did not possess. Indeed it is refreshing to the student of Lincoln's life as it is to the casual reader to find that one who excelled in so many things was so fond of the music that was popular with the average man of his time. We would not, if we could, take this common touch away from him. It is, of course, beyond argument that he found great enjoyment in the ballads and the minstrel songs so carefully sought out and recorded by John Lair. He writes that if "Lincoln could not himself produce music, he had a soul for its appreciation. He was a great lover of music if not a lover of great music."

If we were to presume that the 50-odd musical selections mentioned by Abraham Lincoln's contemporaries as having been heard or favored by him constituted the full extent of his musical appreciation,



we would have to conclude, as does Mr. Lair in "Songs Lincoln Loved," that "he had no fondness for the classics. For reasons that seem persuasive to me, I for one do not agree with Mr. Lair's limitations of Lincoln's musical tastes.

Lincoln was very modest about all his abilities and his personal appearance, but in matters concerning letters, the arts and music, his modesty became downright self-depreciation. But from a few shreds of evidence, we discover that on occasion, at least, he could exert sound critical judgment. In acknowledging the gift of a statuette in 1864 from John Rogers, its sculptor, Lincoln wrote, "I cannot claim to be a judge in such matters," and goes on to term the group "very pretty and suggestive and, I should think, excellent as a piece of art." Qualified critics, in agreement with Lincoln, point out how easily he might have over-elaborated his praise. In his letter to the well-known Shakespearian actor, James H. Hackett, Lincoln is apologetic: "For one of my age, I have seen very little of the drama"--though it is generally agreed that he knew the theatre well and attended whenever he had the opportunity to do so. Those who were close to him testify that he had committed a number of Shakespeare's plays to memory. Despite his real knowledge of the plays, after stating he preferred the King's soliloquy to Hamlet's "To be or not to be," he asks Hackett's pardon for "this small attempt at criticism." Some students of "Hamlet" have agreed with Lincoln's preference.





I have not been able to find any positive evidence that Lincoln disliked the classics. To his friends and contemporaries, like Ward Hill Lamon whose musical abilities were bounded by wholly popular "little ditties," he was considered a lover of their simple repertoire. Since Lincoln seemed to hold William Knox's poem "Immortality" in equal embrace with "Macbeth," it is irresistible to argue that he would have liked the music of Mozart no less than "Kathleen Mavourneen." B. H. Haggin suggests interestingly enough in his book, "Music for the Man Who Enjoys 'Hamlet,'" that if one is not as susceptible to a Beethoven sonata as to a play by Shakespeare, it is only because one is not so familiar with the music as with the drama.

This brings us to the fact that Lincoln had little opportunity to learn to love great music, for he could have heard none in Kentucky and Indiana. Even in his later years in Illinois, on his occasional out-of-state trips on political missions, and during his years in Washington as a Congressman and as President, the occasions on which he could have heard such music were few and far between.

So that we may place Lincoln's musical tastes in perspective, we must realize that it was not until 1825, when he was 16 years old, that New York heard its first Italian opera—"The Barber of Seville"; that the New York Philharmonic Society was not founded until 1842 when he was 33; and the country's first formal chamber music organization, the Mendelssohn Quintet, gave its first performance in Boston in 1850, when he was 41.



It is as tempting as, of course, it is fruitless to speculate as to what Lincoln's musical tastes would have been had he been born and brought up in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati or New Orleans where operas and concert music were often heard and where the well-to-do in their homes could indulge their trained musical appetites.

We know how zealously Lincoln sought out great books and made them so much his own that they became a living part of his intellectual processes. It can be assumed that the young man who could delight as he did in the majestic poetry of the Bible, Shakespeare and Homer, would have had equal appreciation for the music of Mozart, Beethoven and Bach had it been available to him. If, as has been said so well, his reading helped Lincoln to become one of the lords of language, then surely the repeated hearing of their compositions would have helped him to become a master of music.

Indeed the contrast between his known musical and literary favorites not only underscores the fact that the enjoyment of great music is a communal act, while the enjoyment of reading is a solitary one, but it also brings into focus some aspects of life in the Frontier while he grew up.

A saying popular with the American pioneers--"Guns and grub are easier packed than tarradiddle and tub"--was used to explain the Spartan furnishings of their homes. These words or something like them must have been spoken by many a man to his wife as she bade a tearful farewell to her "nice" things before moving from the Eastern

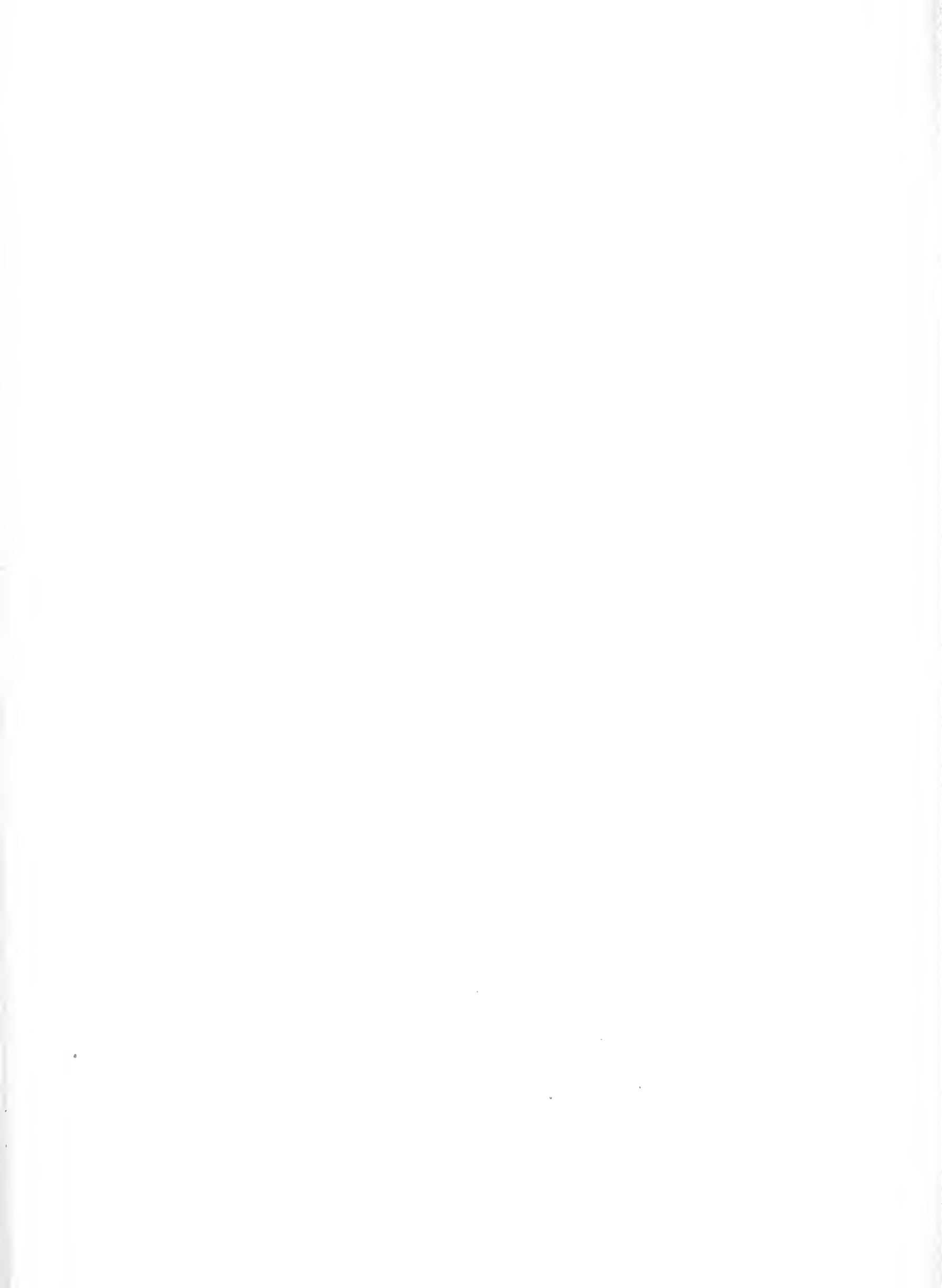


Seaboard to new lands: over the Cumberland Trail to settle Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, and later to trickle out over the prairies and the deserts across the mountains to the far Pacific.

Left behind with the ottoman, what-not, pictures, gewgaws and mirrors were the larger instruments of the orchestra, the piano, the melodeon and their printed music. Only the fiddle, flute and the small guitar might have been snugged down among the blankets, kettles and bare necessities of life. Even the banjo would have been missing when the Lincolns first moved into Indiana from Kentucky, for it was not invented until 1831. Those who could play these few instruments had memorized their small repertoires of traditional folk songs, the mournful ballads, simple hymns and the ever popular nonsense songs that we know Lincoln heard over and over again as he grew older.

First editions of most of the forty-odd songs established as Lincoln's favorites are in the archives of Broadcast Music, Inc., in New York. They are all attractive, albeit most of them are curiously sad and melancholy.

John Lair lists in his book no song as being a favorite of Lincoln for which he has not found some trustworthy source. Among those that are still popular today are "Barbara Allen," "Ben Bolt," "Dixie's Land," "Gentle Annie," "Hail Columbia," "Home, Sweet Home," "The Blue Tail Fly," "Lorena," "Old Dan Tucker," "Rock Me to Sleep, Mother," and "Turkey in the Straw."



From a practical standpoint, however, it is difficult to believe that Lincoln, with his love for the sentimental, would not have been equally as fond of many of the charming songs that appeared during his life, such as "Woodman, Spare that Tree," "Annie Laurie," "The Old Arm Chair," "Long, Long Ago," "Old Folks At Home" and "Old Kentucky Home."

There are many indications that as opportunity offered itself, he made every effort to hear all the music he could. While serving as a member of Congress in 1848, Lincoln attended some of the concerts given by the Marine Band on the Capitol grounds. In a letter to his wife dated July 2 of that year, he mentions that interest in them is "dwindling down to nothing." What sort of music was performed there we have not so far discovered, but it was probably a combination of arrangements of the classics and the popular.

On Lincoln's trip to his inauguration he went to the opera in New York to hear Verdi's "Ballo in Maschera." Eyewitnesses said he enjoyed the performance and applauded vigorously. A few months later, at a concert in the Navy Yard in Washington, he was to hear Dodsworth's famous band give a rendition of a fantasy on that opera together with the finale of "La Traviata," the Miserere from "Il Trovatore" and Mendelssohn's "I Would That My Love." Among operas that he heard were Gounod's "Faust" and Boieldieu's "La Dame Blanche."

Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln made it a habit to invite to the White House many of the famous artists who appeared in Washington. On one such occasion he told Adelina Patti that he had heard her sing as a





child prodigy, probably in Chicago. In her reminiscences of that occasion, Patti mentions only one song of her program, "Home, Sweet Home," though it is difficult to believe she did not also offer at least some of her brilliant arias as well.

William H. Townsend once saw a letter written by an officer (he believes it was General Schurz) who wrote of playing the piano for Lincoln at the White House. Lincoln told him how much he was moved by the music.

There are some who believe that Lincoln's own testimony should be accepted as indication of his musicality. They point, for example, to the report made by the well-known singer, Lillie De Hegermann-Lindencrone, of her meeting at the White House. The President told her that "music is not much in my line, but when you sing, you warble yourself into a man's heart....I think I might become a musician if I heard you often, but so far I know only two tunes." He said that one was "Hail Columbia" and that he remembered that because he had to stand up and remove his hat when it was sung. Asked about the other one, he hedged a bit concerning the title, saying merely--with a smile--that it was the song for which he did not have to stand up. It is my opinion that this conversation should not be taken too literally, but as further indication of Lincoln's self-depreciation.

Many who have studied his writings and his life are in agreement that his tremendous sensitivity alone would inevitably have led him to the fullest appreciation of the music of Bach,



Beethoven and Mozart. It is to be hoped that continuing research into the manuscripts and memoirs of Lincoln's contemporaries will lead to further evidence in support of these logical contentions, and reveal even more clearly the man who is the most unforgettable American the world has known.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN AND THE SCIENCES

By  
Robert V. Bruce

The author teaches history at Boston University. Among his books is "Lincoln and the Tools of War."

When Abraham Lincoln's two young secretaries called him "the American," as they sometimes did in talking with each other, they touched on a major element of Lincoln's success. Few other Americans have equaled Abraham Lincoln's power to evoke and define the enduring articles of American democratic faith, as in his Gettysburg Address. With his love of homespun yarns, his frontiersman's disregard of caste and ceremony, his tolerance, his lean and sinewy physique, he seemed to embody the national character as well as the national ideal. This was true in a sense not often realized -- perhaps because of Lincoln's rural upbringing and small-town rise. Like his countrymen, Lincoln was fascinated by the new age of science and technology.

He had qualities of mind that would have served a scientist or an engineer. As a lawyer, he made good use of a tenacious and accurate memory. He had a deliberate and analytical way of thinking. "I am never

1942

1942

1942

1942

1942

easy when I am handling a thought," he said once, "till I have bounded it north, bounded it south, bounded it east, and bounded it west."

Such a mind felt the pull of mathematics. Largely self-educated, he mastered the six books of Euclid after his first term in Congress. Riding the judicial circuit in Illinois, he would pull out his volume of Euclid and study it by candlelight while his colleagues snored in the same hotel room. Euclidean turns of phrase found their way into some of Lincoln's greatest utterances. "The principles of Jefferson," he would say, "are the definitions and axioms of free society." Even in his masterpiece, the Gettysburg Address, he made memorable use of the mathematical term "proposition."

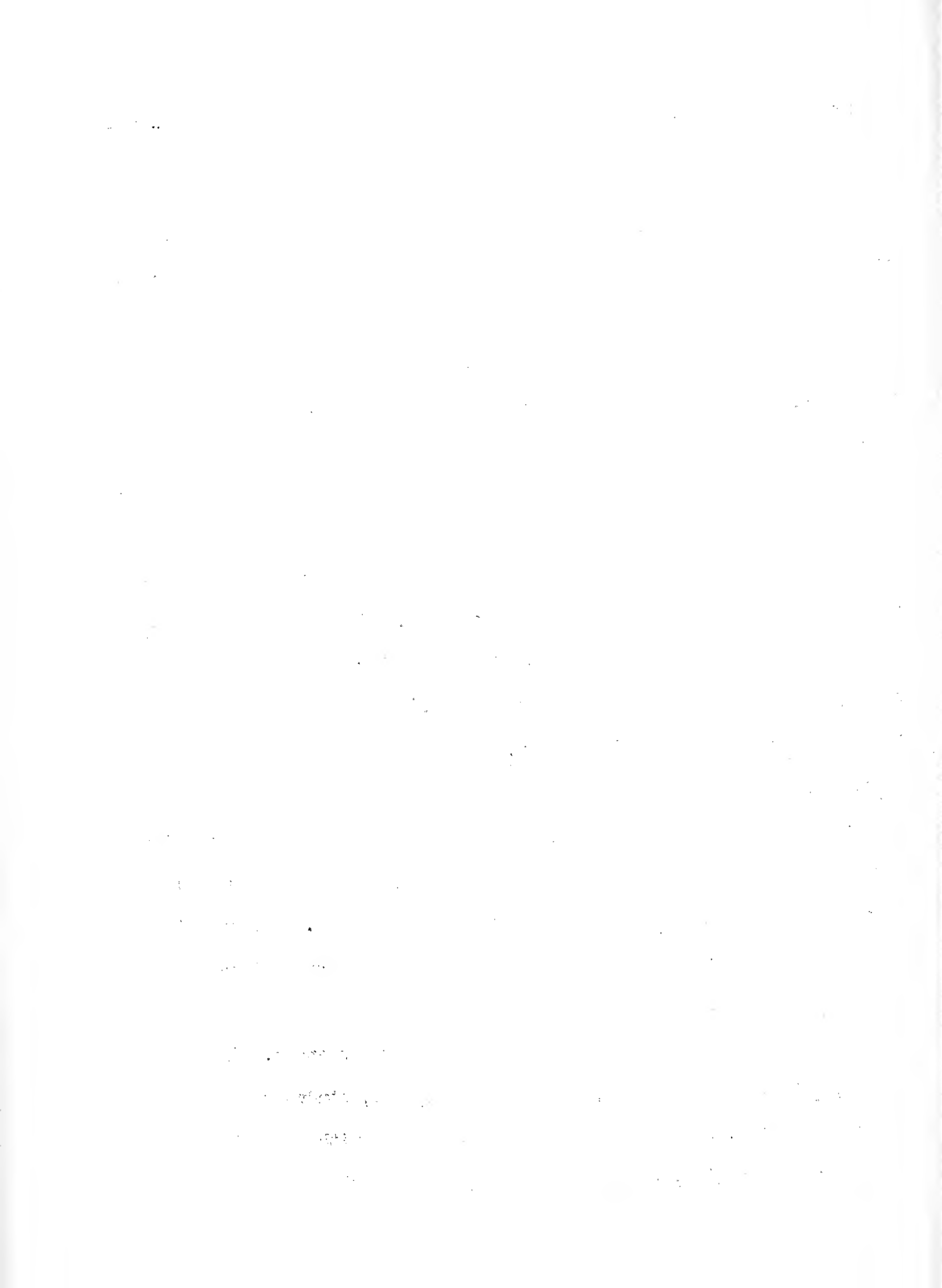
Like his countrymen, Lincoln preferred applied science to pure theory. To be sure, living most of his life in half-tamed wilderness or prairie town, he missed early contact with certain technological advances. The White House was only six years ahead for him when gas lights first flared through the darkness of Springfield's main square. Once, while following the judicial circuit, he went to a little show at a local school and afterward rambled on by the fire about the electrical machine, the magic lantern and other scientific toys he had seen there. His fellow lawyers were not impressed. They had known about those things as school-boys. "Yes," said Lincoln sadly, "I now have an advantage over you, for the first time in my life seeing those things which are, of course, common to those who had, what I did not, a chance at an education while they were young."





Nevertheless, during the 1850's, the machine age began to take hold in Springfield. Steam engines hissed and pounded in its mills, machine-made clothes piled up on its counters, reapers clattered over its surrounding farms. As he walked along a street one day in 1856, Lincoln paused in fascination to examine a self-raking reaper, the first he had ever seen. His supple mind traced, in imagination, the complex evolutions of sickle, revolving rake and reels; and presently he was explaining it all to the little group of spectators around him. A few months later, he stopped to watch a young telegrapher at work, and he asked questions until he understood the workings of the instrument: the key, the making and breaking of the circuit, the electromagnet. What he could not see in Springfield, he tried to find out from a yearbook of technology and science, the "Annual of Scientific Discovery." "I have wanted such a book for years," he told his partner, "because I sometimes make experiments and have thoughts about the physical world that I do not know to be true or false. I may, by this book, correct my errors and save time and expense." Thus, by keeping his eyes open to the world around him, by asking shrewd questions and by reading intelligently, Abraham Lincoln learned much more about the new machine age than the world at large gave him credit for knowing.

And he was more than just an interested bystander. In his twenties, he worked for a few months as a surveyor, studying geometry and trigonometry, bounding farms and mapping towns with neat lines and clear, careful script, learning to respect the painstaking accuracy of



engineering. Later, when he became a lawyer, patent cases were one of his specialties; and in them, his analytical mind and taste for mechanics served his clients well. From his legal work for railroads came his greatest successes as a lawyer, and with them a further insight into the impact of technology on human life. One case, which involved the question of whether a certain railroad bridge across the Mississippi was a menace to navigation, required Lincoln to apply the principles of fluid mechanics. He won the case, the bridge stood, the trains crossed, and the trade of plains and prairies went to the North instead of the South.

During Lincoln's single term in Congress, he visited the model rooms of the United States Patent Office and stared in amazement at the variety of offspring to which American ingenuity had already given birth: the screw propeller, the turret lathe, the sewing machine, the rotary printing press and hundreds of other devices. A year or two later, he patented an invention of his own for buoying vessels over shoals. On each side of the craft were to be great collapsible chambers which could be expanded by an ingenious system of ropes and pulleys and forced down into the river to buoy up the boat. But Lincoln did little or nothing to promote his invention, and so his little wooden model remains today as the sole physical product of his notion.

As his political career developed, Lincoln did not forget about science and technology. In 1859 he made a speech at a state fair in Wisconsin in which he outlined his ideas about the proper design for



a steam plow. In that same year he wrote and delivered a lecture on "Discoveries and Inventions." The lecture was not well received by the public, and this reaction mortified Lincoln. Nevertheless, a few weeks before his death, he mentioned the lecture to a scientist friend of his, Louis Agassiz. "When I get out of this place," Lincoln said wistfully, "I'll finish it up, perhaps, and get a friend of mine to print it somewhere." And despite the failure of his lecture, Lincoln was asked to decide a disputed point by a convention of surveyors who met in Springfield.

As President, Lincoln showed the same zest for mechanical novelties he had manifested at the little show on the Illinois circuit. Inventors flocked to the White House to see him. Hundreds of them wrote letters describing their inventions. Lincoln always received them with sympathy and perception. As President during a war for national survival and for the vindication of democracy, Lincoln necessarily dealt mostly with advances in military technology. He had his own private proving grounds in the form of a vacant lot near the White House, where he would try out the latest ideas in breechloading rifles. Once he narrowly escaped death, along with the Secretaries of State and Treasury, when an experimental rocket exploded in its launching stand while they looked on. He combined relaxation with the good of the nation by attending many trials of new cannon, armor, explosive mines, gunpowder and other warlike inventions.

On one occasion, he took personal responsibility for a secret project to develop a gunpowder using a chlorate compound in place of



potassium nitrate or saltpeter. Until then, Great Britain had controlled the supply of saltpeter, which came mostly from British India; and Lincoln was worried about the possibility of an Anglo-American war. But when technical difficulties cropped up, and Chilean nitrates became available, the project was dropped.

President Lincoln and America's leading scientist of the time, Joseph Henry, became close friends during the Civil War. Lincoln and Henry worked together in evaluating new devices for night signaling. Between them, they also introduced the first successful military air force in American history: the reconnaissance balloons of a Vermont aeronaut named Thaddeus Lowe. Lincoln received the first telegraphic message from Lowe's balloon, and he watched an ascent from the White House grounds. By 1862 Lowe had seven balloons in operation, and his telegraphic reports during the battles of Fair Oaks and Gaines's Mill were of great value to the Union Army.

Lincoln encouraged the building of a submarine by a Frenchman named De Villeroi, who had conducted many submarine experiments at Nantes when Jules Verne was a boy there, and who was probably the inspiration for Captain Nemo in Verne's famous "Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea." Another friend of Lincoln was Christopher Spencer of Hartford, Connecticut, inventor of a famous and highly successful repeating rifle, and the probable model for Mark Twain's "Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court." Lincoln became enthusiastic about the Spencer rifle, tried it out several times in the White House grounds and took the





responsibility for introducing it into the Union Army. The Spencer rifle helped to shorten the war.

Lincoln found amusement in some impracticable devices, such as steam centrifugal cannon. But most of the ideas backed by the President were good ones. Lincoln did more than any other official to introduce breechloading rifles into the army. He gave the first government order for machine guns. He backed breechloading and rifled cannon, flamethrowers, armored warships and other weapons which might have shortened the terrible Civil War still more, had he not been impeded by stubborn bureaucrats in the ordnance department.

Seeing all these new weapons, Lincoln would have understood the forebodings of young Henry Adams, son of Lincoln's minister to Great Britain. In 1862, Henry Adams wrote his brother in the Union Army: "Man has mounted science, and is run away with. Some day science may have the existence of mankind in its power, and the human race commit suicide by blowing up the world." But though understanding young Adams, Lincoln would have preferred to hope, as the magazine "Scientific American" put it that same year, that "aided by the discoveries of science, we shall reduce the art of war to a fruitless struggle."

Even with a fierce civil war as the central problem of his administration, Lincoln did not lose touch entirely with advances in peaceful technology. In 1862 Lincoln acted on the appeal of Samuel Morse, inventor of the telegraph, to save a fine scientific library captured



in South Carolina. Instead of being dispersed by auction, the library was placed by Lincoln in the keeping of Joseph Henry as Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

President Lincoln came to know men like Cyrus Field, who carried through the project of a transatlantic telegraph cable, and Herman Haupt, a pioneer in the theory of bridge construction. By appointing Christopher Sholes as a collector of customs, Lincoln helped Sholes perfect the first successful typewriter. During the war Lincoln also met an American citizen named Laszlo Chandos, who had become a highly esteemed chemist in Russia; and the President once took a boat ride on the Potomac to see the demonstration of a new type of electric arc light invented by an Englishman named John Thomas Way.

A few weeks before Lincoln's tragic death, a reporter for the "Scientific American" interviewed him in the White House. "In the midst of the many cares that press upon the President," reported the interviewer, "he is not indifferent to the claims of our inventors. Himself an inventor and patentee, he readily discerns the intrinsic value of all good inventions, not only to the public service, but also in their application to the industrial arts generally, and he will do all in his power to encourage and to promote the progress of these arts, by sanctioning all wise legislation in behalf of inventors."

Though war had claimed most of Abraham Lincoln's thoughts and energies for four terrible years, he could still foresee the contributions peaceful technology would make in future years to the realization of his



long-cherished dream: "the progressive improvement in the condition of all men everywhere."

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

LINCOLN, THE MILITARY STRATEGIST

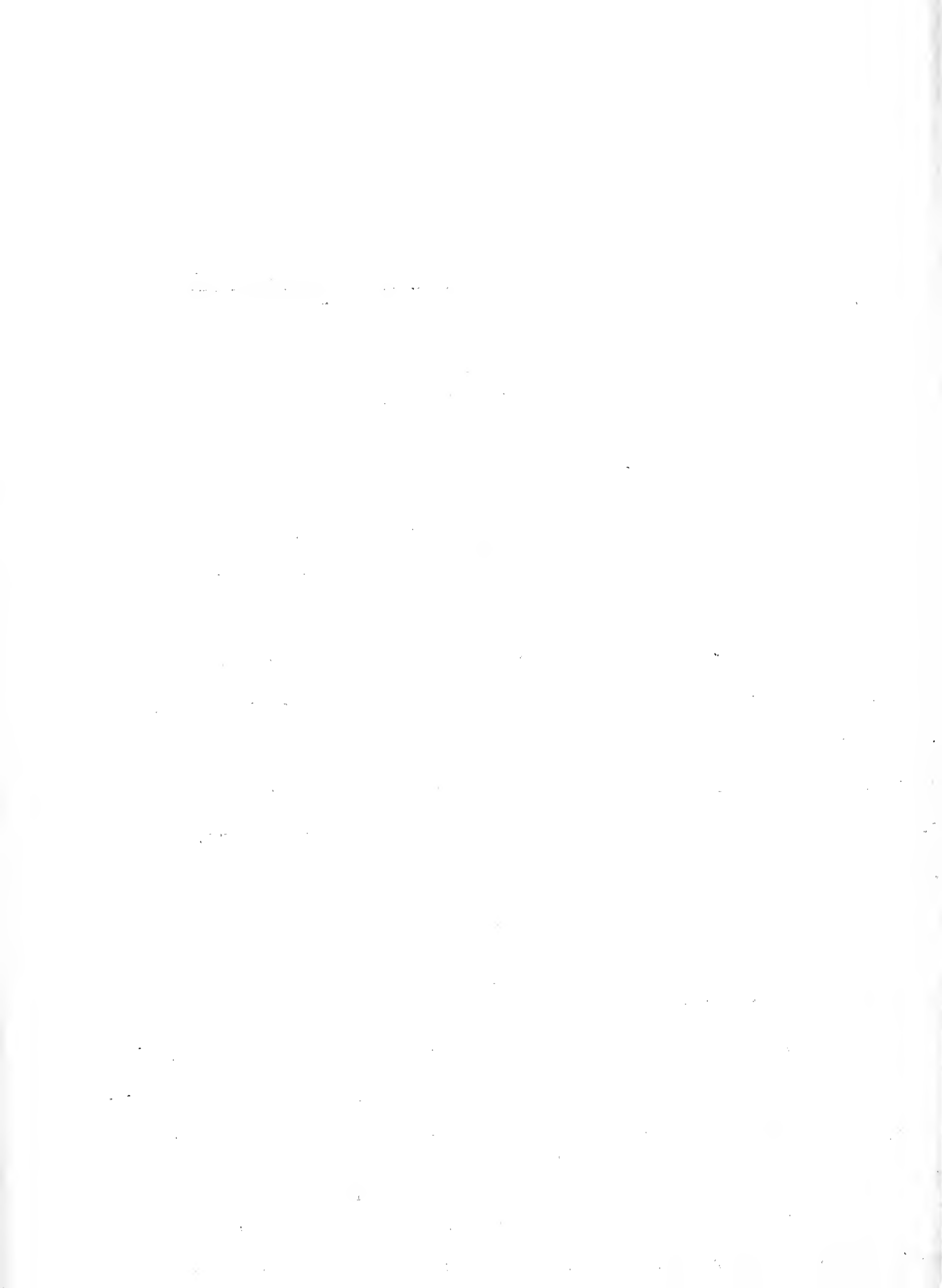
By  
T. Harry Williams

The author, Professor of History at Louisiana State University, has published three books dealing with Lincoln and his times.

If a modern poll organization had existed at the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861 and if it had asked which President of the rival governments would make the greater war director, what answer would it have received? Undoubtedly the average informed observer would have predicted that the head of the Southern states would outshine his Northern opponent. Such a judgment seemed justified by the backgrounds of the two men.

Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, was a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, then the only advanced military school in the country. He had served as a combat officer in the Mexican War, and he had been Secretary of War in President Franklin Pierce's Cabinet. Abraham Lincoln had had no military education and no military experience, except for a brief and inconsequential interlude as a militia captain in a small Indian war.

And yet Lincoln turned out to be a great war director and Davis a mediocre one. The war records of the two executives demonstrate better than any





other example in history the truth of one of Clausewitz's dicta. The great German had said that an acquaintance with military affairs was not the principal qualification for a director of war but that "a remarkable, superior mind and strength of character" were more important. Fortunately for the cause of American nationality, these were qualities that Lincoln possessed in eminent degree.

The American Constitution clearly stated that the President was the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Thus Lincoln's authority to direct the Northern war effort was almost unlimited. But the command system with which he had to work was loosely and inadequately organized; in fact, in the modern sense it was not a system at all. In the entire military organization there was no agency charged with the function of planning strategy or of integrating strategy with national policy.

The army possessed a body known as the "general staff," but it bore little resemblance to a modern staff. The members were the heads of the bureaus in the War Department: the quartermaster general, the chief of ordnance, the adjutant general, and others. Its work was completely technical and administrative, and each bureau head went pretty much his own way with little supervision from above.

Presiding over the staff and the rest of the army organization was the general in chief, the general officer with the senior commission. In 1861 the occupant of this position was Winfield Scott, who was 75 years old and in such bad health that he could hardly walk.

Scott was one of the two officers in the service who before the war had commanded men in numbers large enough to be called an army; the other was

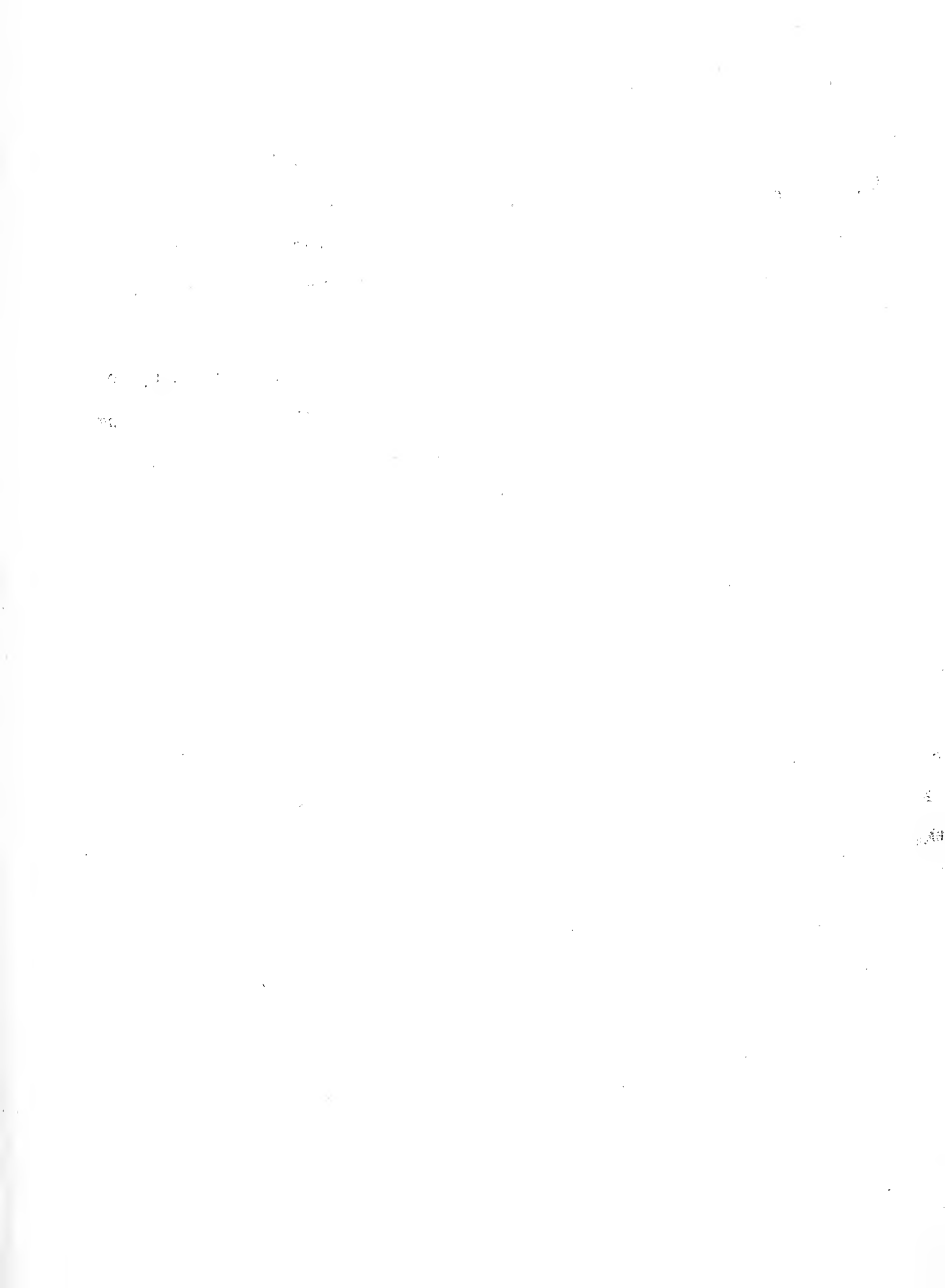


John E. Wool, who was two years older than Scott. And the army that Scott had led in the Mexican War (1846) numbered only 14,000 men. Small as this force had been, it was the largest aggregation of troops that the younger officers--except a few who had visited Europe--had ever seen. Not one of the junior officers had directed the evolutions of as large a unit as a brigade.

Most members of the officer corps were able, after the war began, to adjust their thinking to the requirements of the mass armies that came into being. But they had great difficulty in altering their concepts of strategy to meet the realities of modern war. Most American officers were trained in the 18th-century tradition of war. War was something that was fought between armies and that did not involve civilian societies; it should be directed by professional soldiers without interference by political officials; and it could be so conducted--by adept maneuver--that victory would result without a showdown battle.

If there had to be a decisive engagement, American soldiers thought it should be fought by the maxims laid down by Henri Jomini, the brilliant Swiss who had served under Napoleon. According to Jomini, or more accurately, according to the American interpretation of him, the largest possible force should be concentrated at one point for one big effort against the enemy.

Most of Lincoln's generals could not understand that many of Jomini's ideas did not apply to their war. In a country as large as the United States and with the North enjoying a distinct numerical superiority, it was possible to mount two or more big offensives simultaneously. And the first Northern generals failed to realize that in a democracy and in a modern war the civilian authorities would insist, and rightly so, on having a voice in the conduct of the conflict.



Almost immediately Lincoln demonstrated that he possessed great natural powers as a strategist. His very first acts were bold and imaginative moves for a man dealing with military questions for the first time. He grasped the importance of naval warfare, and proclaimed a naval blockade of the South. He saw that human and material resources were on his side, and called for the mobilization of over 400,000 men. He understood the advantage that numbers gave the North, and--contrary to Jominian strategy--urged his generals to maintain a constant and relentless pressure on the whole line of the Confederacy until a weak spot was found and a breakthrough could be made. And departing from 18th-century concepts, he realized that the principal objective of his armies was to seek contact with the Confederate armies and not to occupy Southern territory.

During the first three years of the war, Lincoln performed many of the functions that in a modern command system would be assigned to the chief of the general staff or to the joint chiefs of staff. He framed policy, devised strategy, and even on occasion directed tactical movements. For this he has been criticized by some writers, who contend that he "interfered" too much with matters outside his proper sphere. But in judging Lincoln's actions, it must be remembered that he operated in the absence of a formal command system. If Lincoln had not acted no action would have resulted.

Moreover, it was fortunate for the Union cause, in most cases, that he interfered. Many of his alleged interventions were nothing more than attempts to force his generals to fight, to execute the role for which generals and armies supposedly are created. Sometimes Lincoln erred--because he lacked technical military knowledge or because he neglected such mundane problems as supplies and transportation. But the vital point is that even when he was wrong he acted from

... and ...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

a sound military basis: to make an offensive strategy more offensive. Conversely, it may be said that Davis's great error was to interfere from a faulty basis: to make a defensive strategy more defensive.

In the beginning months of the war, Lincoln naturally turned to old General Scott for strategic counsel. He soon discovered that Scott lacked the qualities required in a general in chief. Asked by Lincoln to present an over-all plan, Scott came up with a design that called for a naval blockade of the Southern coast and the occupation of the Mississippi River line. The South would be enfolded in a gigantic circle--and with the drawing of the circle Scott would stop. The North could then sit back and wait for the besieged South to yield.

This was the famous "anaconda plan" to squeeze the Confederacy into submission. Although it had obvious merits (the blockade and the Mississippi line became staple items in Northern strategy), it also had basic defects. For one thing, the plan would be a long time in making its possible effects felt. More important, it represented, as Lincoln the civilian saw, the one-weapon or the one-service idea of war. No single strategic procedure was going to win the Civil War.

By November of 1861 Scott had been persuaded to retire. To the post of general in chief Lincoln named George B. McClellan, who was also the field commander of the principal Federal army in the Eastern theater. The young, 35-year-old McClellan demonstrated almost immediately that he did not possess the abilities to plan and direct the movements of a number of armies. At Lincoln's request, he too prepared a strategic design. He proposed that an army of 273,000 men be placed under his command in the Eastern theater. The navy would land

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for ensuring the integrity and reliability of the data collected. This section also outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze the data, highlighting the challenges faced during the process.

In the second part, the authors describe the results of their study. They present a detailed analysis of the data, showing the trends and patterns that emerged. The findings indicate that there is a significant correlation between the variables studied, which supports the hypothesis of the research.

The third part of the document discusses the implications of the study. It explores how the results can be applied in practice and what lessons can be learned from the research. The authors conclude by stating that further research is needed to explore other aspects of the phenomenon being studied.

Finally, the document includes a list of references and a list of figures. The references cite the works of other researchers in the field, while the figures provide a visual representation of the data presented in the text.



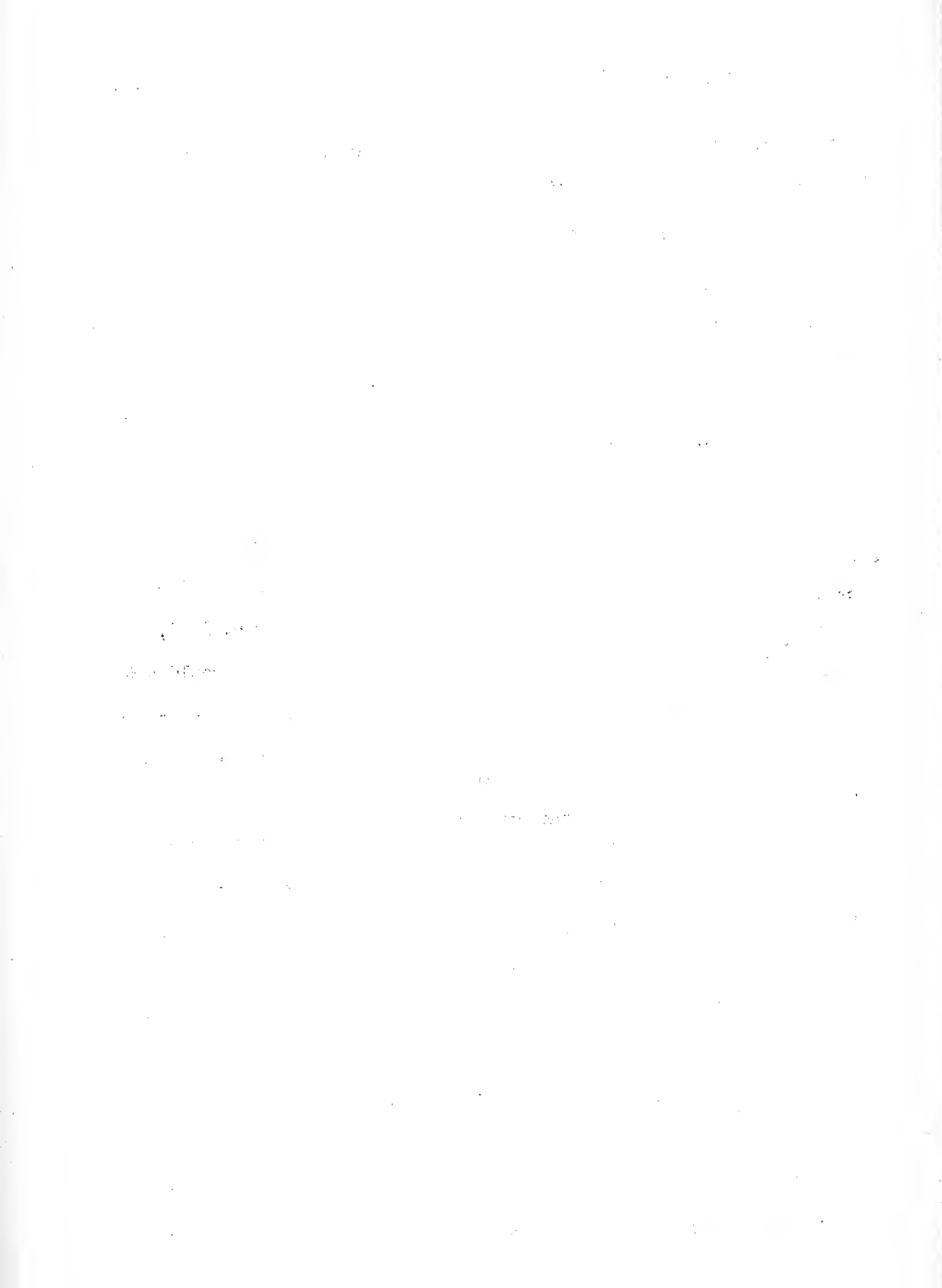
this host on the Virginia coast, from whence McClellan would march inland and capture Richmond, the Confederate capital. In a series of similar operations, the army would conquer and occupy the entire Eastern seaboard of the Confederacy.

On almost every count, the plan was defective. It demanded too much of available resources. The government could not have assembled that many men in one theater, or housed and fed them if assembled. Nor did the sea transport exist to take the troops where McClellan wanted to operate. McClellan's scheme, calling for a supreme concentration of effort in one theater, was a complete example of Jominian strategy. Lincoln must have been amazed when he read the document, which he filed safely away without comment.

Outside of this proposal, McClellan indulged in no general strategic planning worthy of the name. When he took the field in the spring of 1862, Lincoln relieved him as general in chief on the grounds that one man could not direct an army engaged in active operations and at the same time plan moves for other armies. The President did not appoint another officer to the position until July.

In the interim Lincoln acted as his own general in chief. There can be little doubt that by this time he had come to have serious misgivings about the professional soldiers. Inclined at first to defer too much to their opinions, he now felt a growing confidence in his own powers to decide military questions, and he was perhaps a little too ready to impose his opinions on the generals.

Nevertheless, in this period Lincoln did not presume to dispense completely with expert advice. Secretary of War Stanton had convened an agency known as the Army Board, consisting of the heads of the bureaus in the War Department. This was only the general staff brought together under a chairman, but the transformation of the bureau chiefs into a collective body was a



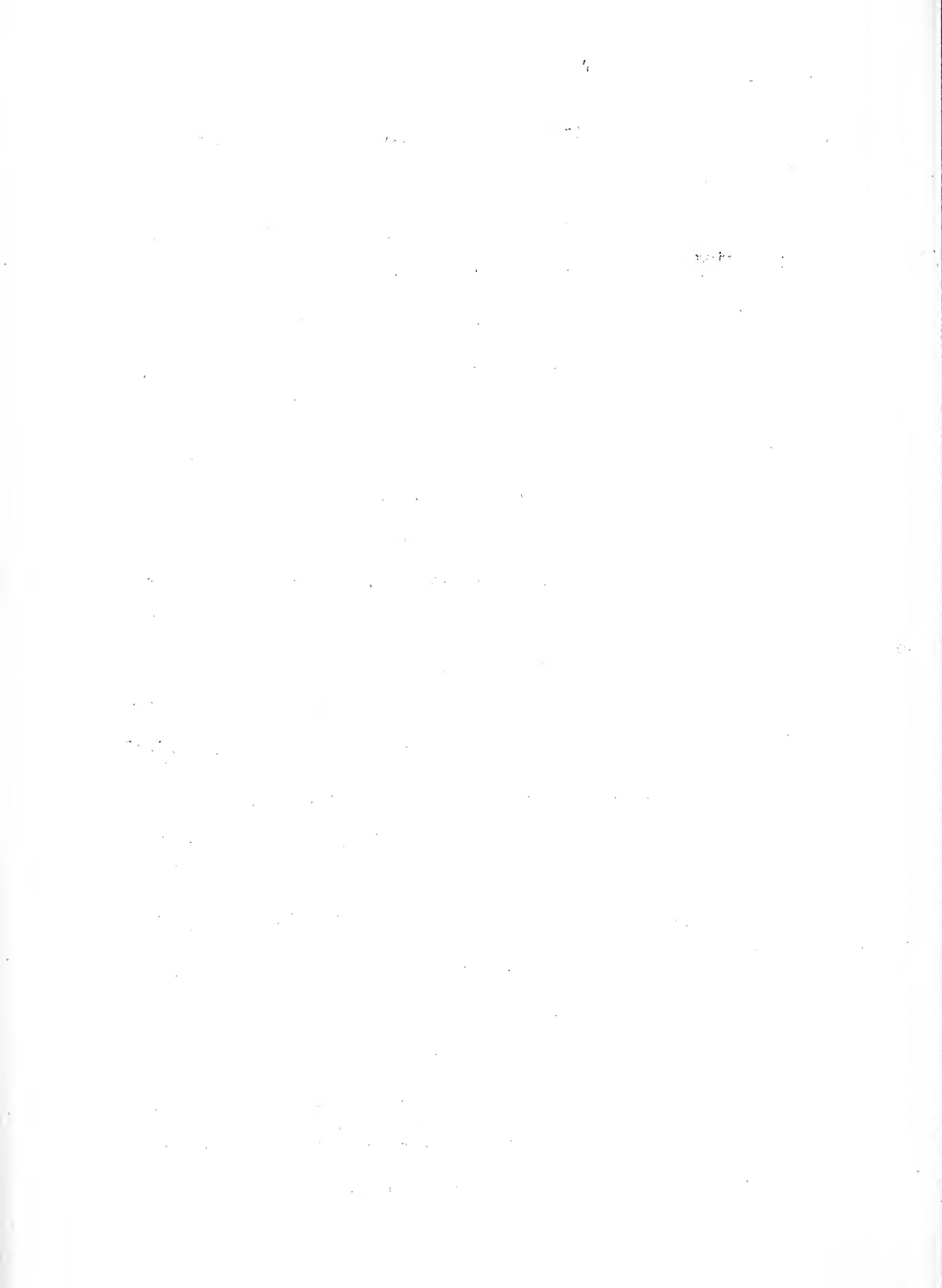
forward step in command. Lincoln frequently consulted the Board before arriving at an important decision.

Despite his increasing doubts about soldiers, Lincoln seemed to sense that there was something wrong in the existing arrangement. He, a civilian, was doing things that should be done by a military man. Again he decided to fill the post of general in chief. In July, 1862, he named to the position Henry W. Halleck, who had been a departmental commander in the Western theater.

General Halleck seemed to be the ideal man for the job. Before the war he had been known as one of the foremost American students of the art of war, the translator of Jomini into English and an author in his own right. Moreover, he had been a capable departmental administrator. Lincoln intended that Halleck should be a real general in chief, that he should, under the authority of the President, actually plan and direct operations.

At first Halleck acted up to his role--but not for long. His great defect was that he disliked responsibility. He delighted to provide technical knowledge and to advise, but he shrank from making decisions. Gradually he divested himself of his original function and deliberately assumed the part of an adviser and an informed critic.

Halleck's refusal to perform the requirements of his position forced Lincoln to act again as general in chief, but he kept Halleck as titular head of the office. The President had discovered that Halleck could do one valuable service for him--in the area of military communications. Often Lincoln and his generals had had serious misunderstandings because, almost literally, they spoke different languages, Lincoln the words of the lawyer-politician and the generals the jargon of the military. Halleck had lived in both the civil and the military

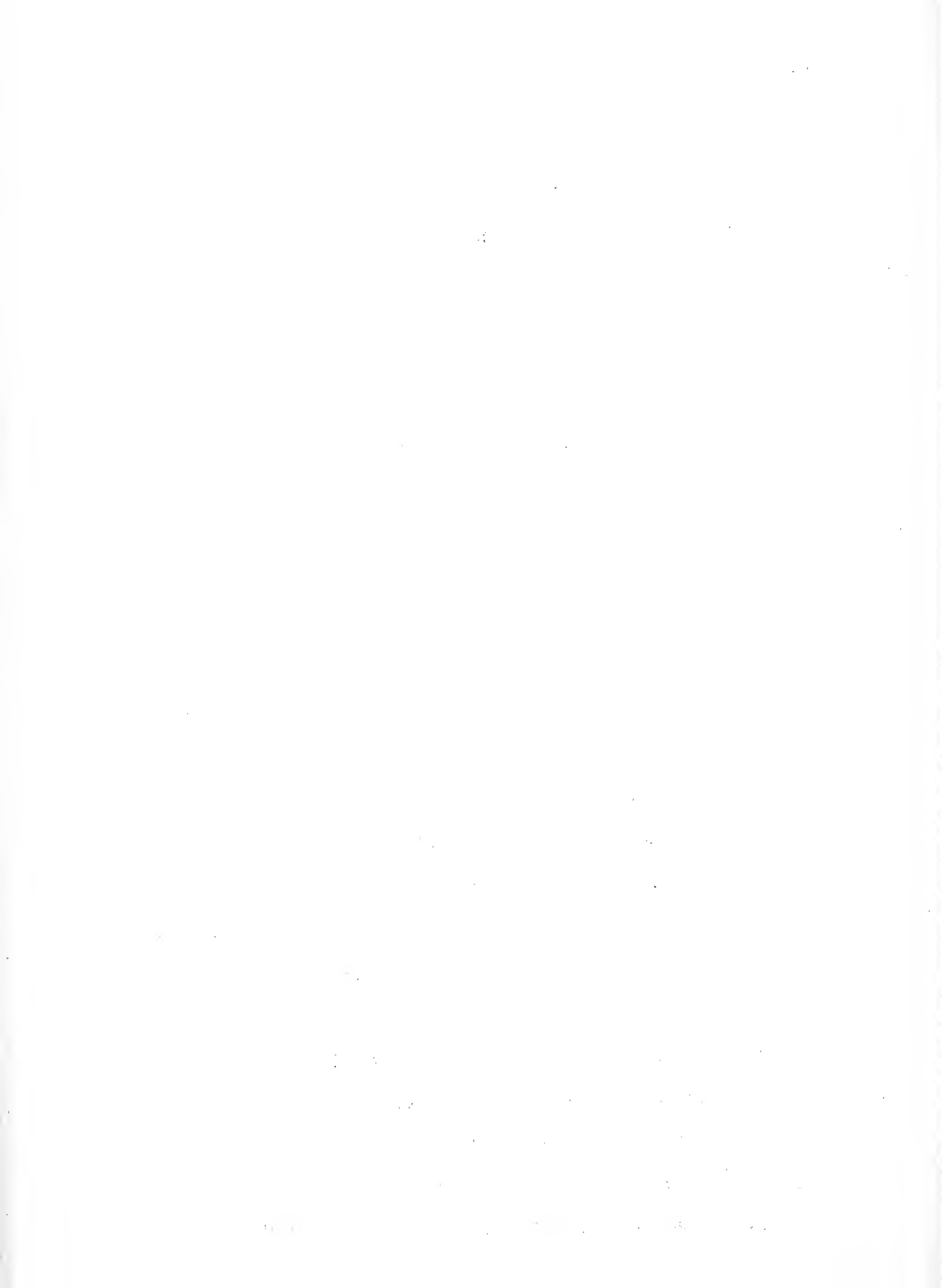


worlds, and he could speak the language of both. Increasingly Lincoln came to entrust the framing of his directives to Halleck.

In those years of lonely responsibility when Lincoln directed the war effort he grew steadily in stature as a strategist. Usually he displayed greater strategic insight than most of his commanders. But he was willing, as he had been earlier, to yield the power to frame and control strategy to any general who could demonstrate that he could do the job -- if he could find the general. By 1864 both he and the nation were certain they had found the man -- Ulysses S. Grant. And in that year the United States finally achieved a modern command system to fight a modern war.

In the system arrived at in 1864, which was the joint product of Lincoln and Congress, Grant was named general in chief, charged with the function of planning and directing the movements of all Union armies. Grant, because he disliked the political atmosphere of Washington, established his headquarters with the field army in the Eastern theater, but did not technically command that army. In the new arrangement Halleck received a new office, "chief of staff." He was not, however, a chief of staff in today's sense of the term. Primarily he was a channel of communication between Lincoln and Grant and between Grant and the 17 departmental commanders under Grant. The perfect office soldier, he had found at last his proper niche.

As general in chief, Grant justified every belief in his capacities. He possessed in superb degree the ability to think of the war in over-all terms. But his grand plan of operations that ended the war was partly Lincolnian in concept. Grant conformed his strategy to Lincoln's known ideas: hit the Confederacy from all sides with pulverizing blows and

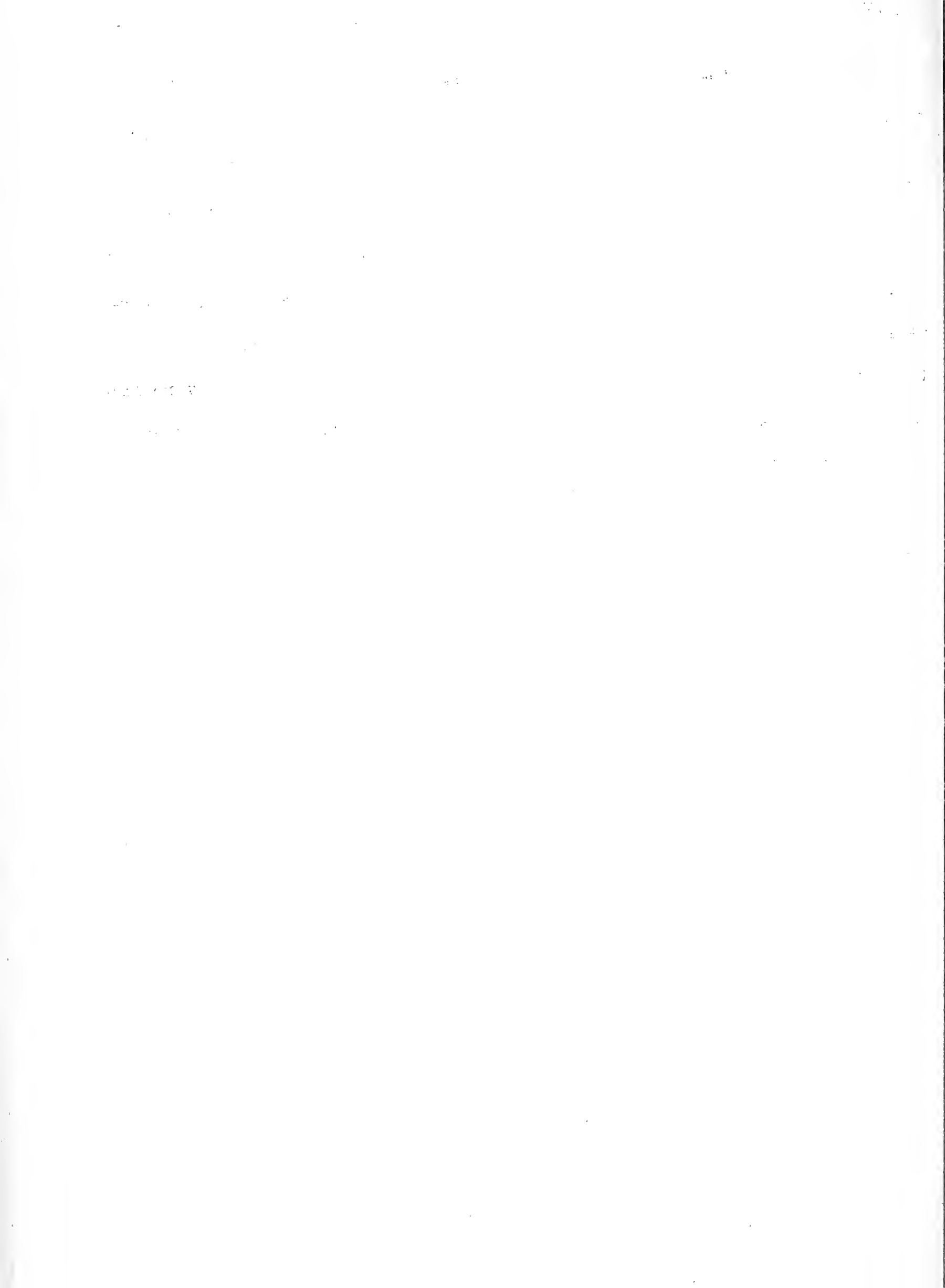


make enemy armies the main objective. The general submitted the broad outlines of his plan to Lincoln, and the President, trusting in Grant, approved the design without seeking to know the details.

The 1864 command system embodied the brilliance of simplicity: a commander in chief to lay down policy and grand strategy, a general in chief to frame specific battle strategy, and a chief of staff to coordinate information. It contained elements that later would be studied by military leaders and students in many nations. Abraham Lincoln, without fully realizing his part, had made a large and permanent contribution to the story of command organization.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958







# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### LINCOLN, HUSBAND AND FATHER

By  
Richard N. Current

The author is Professor of History, The Women's College of the University of North Carolina, and the author of several books on Lincoln.

Lincoln's home life was a "domestic hell," according to his law partner, William H. Herndon. In Herndon's view, Lincoln never really loved his wife, Mary Todd. His one true love was the backwoods beauty Ann Rutledge, whom he knew and courted when a young man in New Salem, Illinois. After Ann's untimely death he never ceased to grieve for her. He finally took Mary Todd as his wife only because she trapped him into marriage. Indeed, he failed to appear at his own wedding the first time it was scheduled. Once the wedding finally was held, he became a hen-pecked husband. Often he was saddled with the care of the children she bore him, and he looked after them in an affectionate, over-indulgent, and abstracted way. His unhappiness at home helped to account for his eventual rise to fame. To get away from his ill-tempered wife, he devoted himself to the law and to politics far more seriously than he



otherwise would have done. Had it not been for Mrs. Lincoln, he might never have set out on the path that led to the presidency, and so the American people owe her a debt of gratitude.

That version of Lincoln's marriage is far from the true one, but it must be mentioned because it appears in countless stories, plays, movies, and radio and television programs, as well as works ostensibly based upon historical fact. It is still widely believed. Yet Herndon, the man responsible for it, though he worked with Lincoln in their Springfield law office for 17 years, never set foot inside the Lincoln house and never heard Lincoln speak of his feelings toward either Ann Rutledge or Mary Todd. Herndon based his account on his own "intuition" and on the remembered gossip of some of Lincoln's New Salem and Springfield acquaintances.

When, after Lincoln's death, Herndon first told his story of the Ann Rutledge romance, Mrs. Lincoln declared she had never heard of Ann. "My husband was truth itself," the widow protested, "and as he always assured me he had cared for no one but myself . . . I shall . . . remain firm in my conviction that Ann Rutledge is a myth -- for in all his confidential communications such a romantic name was never breathed." Of course, Ann Rutledge was not entirely a myth, for she actually lived -- and died. But Lincoln's affection for her was exaggerated beyond all reality in the recollections of some of those who had known her.

In truth, Lincoln did not desert Mary Todd on her wedding day, though he did break his engagement to her and afterward was reluctant to renew it and go through with the marriage. The reason was not that



he doubted his love for her but rather that he feared he could not make her happy. She was nearly ten years younger than he and was in many ways his exact opposite. She was gay, quick-witted, and talkative, sometimes charming, sometimes sharp-tongued. A member of an aristocratic Kentucky family, she was better educated than most young ladies of her time and place. In Springfield, where she lived with a married sister, she had plenty of admirers, and her sister advised her that she could do much better than to marry a man so awkward, ill-bred, and unpromising as Lincoln. Yet the headstrong Mary, in love with him, quickly accepted when he proposed. At the wedding he indicated his devotion to her by placing on her finger a ring on the inside of which were engraved the words: "Love is eternal."

The married life of the Lincolns lasted about twenty-two and a half years. During the last few of those years Lincoln unquestionably had serious difficulties with his wife. She seemed to lose her sense of values, at least money values, and ran into embarrassing debts. And she staged some painful scenes of wifely jealousy. In 1865, for example, when she with her husband was visiting Grant's army near Richmond, she flew into a rage when she learned that he had ridden side by side with two officers' wives at a military review.

By that time, Mary was no longer quite herself. She had suffered unbearable afflictions in the death of her favorite son, in the ironies of war that made enemies of Kentucky relatives and friends, and in the unfair criticisms of her as mistress of the White House.



These experiences aggravated her nervousness, her feelings of insecurity, her lack of self-control. She was beginning to show signs of the insanity which was to engulf her in the lonely years of her widowhood after her husband had been murdered at her side. In that long time of sadness the thing she treasured most was the memory of her love for him and his love for her.

During the first 20 years or so of their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln had occasional tiffs. These sometimes were exacerbated by her fits of temper. A Springfield neighbor recalled having once seen Mary with a kitchen knife in her hand chasing her husband down the street. Another neighbor, James Gourley, reported that at times "Mrs. L. got the devil in her," and then Lincoln "would pick up one of his children and walk off, would laugh at her, pay no earthly attention to her when in that wild furious condition." But Gourley sympathized with Mrs. Lincoln. He knew she was lonely by day and terrified by night during Lincoln's long absences on the lawyer's circuit. "She always said that if her husband had stayed at home as he ought to that she could love him better." Yet Gourley declared that "Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln were good neighbors" and that most of the time they got along very well with one another.

On the whole, the married life of the Lincolns for the first 20 years was pretty much like that of most normal, devoted American couples of the mid-nineteenth century. Abraham and Mary were fond of one another's company and missed each other when apart. There is ample evidence of this in the letters the two exchanged in 1848, while he was





a congressman in Washington and she, with their boys, was visiting relatives in Kentucky. As parents, the Lincolns had a mutual affectionate interest in the doings and the welfare of the children. Touchingly, Mrs. Lincoln reassured their father that they had not forgotten him during their absence from him.

Altogether, four sons were born to the Lincolns: Robert Todd (1843), Edward Baker (1846), William Wallace (1850), and Thomas, known as Tad (1853). "I regret the necessity of saying I have no daughters," Lincoln once wrote. For him, fatherhood brought other and more serious disappointments than the nonappearance of a daughter.

Two of his sons died before him, one in Springfield and the other in the White House. When little Eddie died, in 1850, Lincoln sank into the depths of melancholy, from which he was saved by the necessity of caring for the mother, even more shaken than he. Afterwards Lincoln rented a pew in the First Presbyterian Church and began to attend religious services regularly for the first time in his life. At the death of Willie, in 1862, Lincoln grieved even more deeply -- as deeply as the boy's mother, though not so madly. Again and again he shut himself in a room to weep alone. Nights he dreamed happy dreams of Willie, then awakened to the joyless reality of day. Eagerly he listened to the assurances of clergymen who came to tell him and his wife that the boy was not dead, that he still lived, in heaven.

Of the remaining two boys, Lincoln found much companionship in lovable, lisping Tad, who became more precious than ever after Willie's



death. Lincoln's concern for Tad (and his belief in dreams) is shown in a telegram he sent Mrs. Lincoln on June 9, 1863. She had gone to Philadelphia and had taken the 10-year-old boy with her. "Think you had better put 'Tad's' pistol away," Lincoln said in the telegram. "I had an ugly dream about him."

Lincoln was always rather remote in spirit from the first-born, Robert Todd, the only one of the children to survive to manhood. Robert Todd Lincoln died in 1926 after a distinguished career as secretary of war (1881-1885), minister to England (1889-1893), and president of the Pullman Company (1897-1911). Somehow Robert never learned to know and love his father. As a young man of 21, when asked about the previous life of the newly famous Lincoln, Robert stated: "My Father's life was of a kind which gave me but little opportunity to learn the details of his early career. During my childhood and early youth he was almost constantly away from home, attending courts or making political speeches." Lincoln, it would seem, was practically a stranger to this son of his. During all the years of Robert's adult life he moved in the reflected light of his father's fame. It has been suggested that Lincoln, dead, had more influence upon his eldest son than ever while alive.

One can only speculate about the causes of the estrangement between Lincoln and the boy. Robert may have been affected by jealousy of his younger brothers. Before the first of them was born, Robert had been the center of attention for nearly three years. The



coming of a new baby may have been for him, as it has been for many an erstwhile only child, a traumatic experience. Writing to a friend, several months after the birth of Robert's brother, Lincoln casually noted that Robert had run away, had been found and whipped by his mother, and was expected any minute to run away again. Even when Robert was at that tender age, Lincoln seemed to have toward him an attitude somewhat different from that of a proud and enthusiastic father. Referring to the boy as rather short in stature and full of "mischief" and "animal spirits," Lincoln wrote as if with a touch of disapproval: "He is quite smart enough. I some times fear he is one of the little rare-ripe sort, that are smarter at about five than ever after."

The death of Robert's rival, Eddie, when Robert was seven, seems to have caused the parents to be excessively lenient with the next two children. These boys always did about as they pleased. Herndon recalled that Lincoln sometimes brought one or both of them in a little wagon down town with him and allowed them to play in the law office. "The children -- spoilt ones to be sure -- would tear up the office, scatter the books, smash up pens, spill the ink...." So wrote Herndon, who often felt like wringing their necks.

Herndon considered Lincoln a rather ineffective parent, entirely too weak in discipline. By the standards of the time, to which Herndon adhered, Lincoln doubtless was insufficiently strict. By the standards of the 20th century, with its "permissive" attitude toward children, at least in the United States, he was <sup>a</sup> good enough, easy-going



father. Certainly he was fond of both boys and girls, and they of him. In dealing with them he was sympathetic and understanding (though with some qualifications in the case of his son Robert). During his struggles as a rising lawyer and politician, and still more during his terrible responsibilities as wartime President, his family was for him a joy and a comfort that only he could adequately measure.

Undoubtedly there was a close connection between Lincoln's home life and his public career. But it seems a mistake to suppose, as Herndon and others have done, that unhappiness at home sent Lincoln out to achieve success in law and politics. Probably the true relationship between his domestic and his public life was just the reverse. That is, Lincoln to some extent neglected his family in his pursuit of political success, and when at last he won the highest reward in American politics, he brought upon his wife the unendurable strains of wartime living in the White House. Thus his strivings as a public man were more a cause than a result of his difficulties as a husband.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958







# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

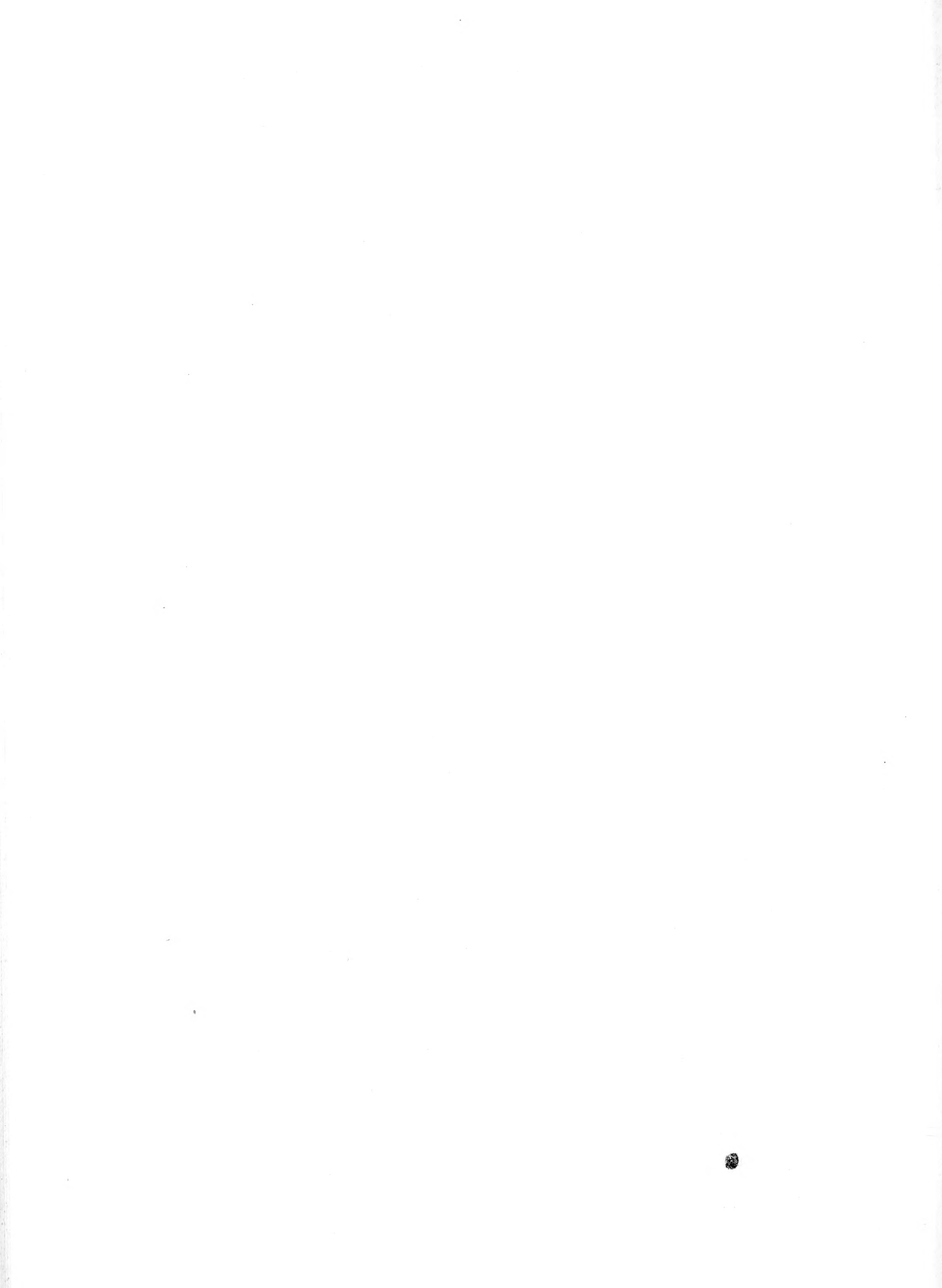
LINCOLN IN DRAMA, NOVEL AND POETRY

By  
Roy P. Basler

The author, director of the Reference Department, Library of Congress, has edited "The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln," (9 vols, 1953), and written extensively on Lincoln.

The river of Lincoln literature flows undiminished. From 1860, the year of Lincoln's nomination for his first term as President of the United States of America, to the present, there have been few low-water marks, but numerous flood stages, testifying to the emotional, sometimes idolatrous, hero-worship of writer and reading public. One must wonder at the personality of the man which is the source of so much narrative, speculation, and interpretation, as well as at the symbolic significance which the Lincoln story has attained as a kind of national epic.

In spite of the good intentions of many biographers, the early life of Lincoln never received an adequate and understanding treatment until more than 50 years after his death, at the hand of the poet Carl Sandburg. Sandburg realized what others had failed to grasp -- that



knowledge of the early life of Lincoln is based so largely on the popular opinion, anecdote, and detail of those who knew him, that if any of these should be credited, all or nearly all of them should be woven into a panoramic tapestry of frontier life.

Lincoln's popular reputation and conception have been largely established in other forms of literature than biography and history. Poets in every section of the country eulogized the martyr following his death; probably no European except Napoleon has had more good poems, or more bad ones, written about him.

The great Lincoln poems are still those written by his contemporaries, Walt Whitman's "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," Herman Melville's "The Martyr," and James Russell Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," but in later years a number of poets have written one of their best about him -- notably Edwin Arlington Robinson's "The Master," Edwin Markham's "Lincoln, the Man of the People," John Gould Fletcher's "Lincoln," Vachel Lindsay's "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight," and Carl Sandburg's "The Long Shadow of Lincoln."

Novelists were somewhat slower to find Lincoln than the poets, and he is a central character in no great novel, though a biographical novel such as Irving Stone's "Love Is Eternal" (1954) achieves more than most good novels of any genre.

Few Lincoln dramas have value either as stage plays or as literature, but John Drinkwater's "Abraham Lincoln" (1919) and Robert E. Sherwood's "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" (1939) are exceptionally fine plays,



the latter in spite of its incorrect emphasis on Lincoln's lack of ambition and the role of Mary Lincoln as the gadfly stinging him to action.

To his contemporaries it seemed indeed a far cry from the prairie Lincoln born in a backwoods log cabin to the President Lincoln who was eulogized in 1865 as his country's martyr. Even some of his friends thought the ugly Illinois lawyer of very mediocre calibre when he was nominated in 1860, but most of them came to praise him five years later as the representative and greatest American.

Two classes of men were never able to comprehend Lincoln: those who judged entirely by conventional standards of breeding or by superficial sophistication, and those who were poisoned by political hatred or blinded by egotism and worship of their own opinions. An absence of bias and a careful reading of his speeches, however, enabled Lincoln's great literary contemporaries Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, John Lothrop Motley, and others to divine the remarkable genius of Lincoln even before most of his close political associates and friends.

The conception of Lincoln as a man of very ordinary talents who became in five years of stress educated to a point of intellectual greatness cannot hold. It was inevitable that Lincoln should grow and change, but the essential elements of greatness which were generally recognized after his death and canonization were, as evidenced in his speeches and writing, certainly present in Lincoln prior to 1860.



It is largely of two species of material, pure fiction and folklore, that the first accounts of the early life of Lincoln were composed. The cycle of stories which revolve about his father and mother, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, passes through many strange and sometimes contradictory phases. Nancy Hanks and the boy Lincoln have become pure legend.

There was no agreement on the physical appearance of Lincoln's mother, even among those who claimed to have known her. Lincoln's purported statement, "All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother," has furnished the keynote of the Nancy Hanks legend perpetuated in poetry and works of fiction. His father lived too long to have a sentimental legend. He was apparently just such a man as were the majority of his neighbors, without great ambition, but with a reputation for strength of moral character.

The historical basis for the element of romantic love in the Lincoln legend is almost nonexistent, but in the Ann Rutledge romance there is sufficient concentration of fiction to make up for the lack of facts. It was inevitable that this romantic story should arise, perhaps because, if for no other reason, of the apparent lack of the very article in Lincoln himself. The warm and fruitful domestic relationship between Lincoln and his wife, Mary Todd, was well known to be on occasions cross and common.

Thus, what was in reality, if in fact at all, an inconsequential early romance between the 25-year-old Lincoln and a young girl in New Salem, who died of chills and fever, was blown into an episode depicting





Ann as Lincoln's only true love, whose death left him forever shrouded in melancholy. All indications are that, although dismissed from serious biography, this legend will never disappear from popular works.

On that Friday night, April 14, 1865, when John Wilkes Booth crept into the President's box at Ford's Theater and murdered Lincoln he accomplished what he thought was a just revenge upon the man who had become, to his unbalanced mind, a monster responsible for all the evil and disgrace which had befallen and would befall the beloved South. But he accomplished far more; he gave the world a martyr and saint where it had once had a man.

The rail-splitter, the flatboatman, the teller of smutty jokes was forgotten. The popular religious interpretation was that Lincoln's death was to atone, even as Christ, for the sin of a nation. Although it is known that Lincoln was never a member of any church, there is throughout his works much general evidence of his faith in God, and even of his definite conviction that he was a direct agent of the Lord.

To this extent Lincoln is certainly not miscast in the legend of prophet, saint, and martyr, but the extent to which the legend goes to exaggerate the element of the supernatural is ridiculous. Lincoln had forecast in early speeches such reforms as prohibition, woman's rights, and the end of slavery, but so had numerous other speech makers whose names are now forgotten.

It is true that Lincoln had three dreams or visions foreshadowing his death, not an uncommon psychological phenomenon, but especially apropos in a legend. However one interprets these "mystical"



data which are made much of in the legend, it is altogether fitting that the Lincoln Memorial in Washington should be in the form of a temple to a prophet, savior, and martyr, and that the sculptured figure enshrined there should represent a mystical, brooding demigod, for Lincoln was indeed something of a mystic as well as a very practical man.

If all the conspiracy of circumstances and events which cast him at once into the sky should be set aside, and the political interpreters of Lincoln should be found false; still, the words of his Second Inaugural Address inscribed on the memorial walls will be a kind of poetic prophecy and its author somewhat allied with God.

Lincoln's two achievements most often extolled in verse as well as prose within a few months after his assassination were the Emancipation Proclamation and the preservation of the Union. The first of these is still an enduring symbol, a climax episode in the legend of the prophet and martyr. In the United States praise of the emancipator has popularly equaled that of the savior of the Union. Abroad, the emancipator overshadows all conceptions of Lincoln save one, as a symbol representative of individualism and personal democracy.

Although Lincoln was convinced throughout his early life that slavery was morally wrong, he did not feel any of the zeal for its abolition which was inspiring young men in New England. By 1855 he had grown to hate the institution. He repeatedly attempted to influence legislation in behalf of gradual emancipation and compensation for the slaveholders. In connection with these plans, Lincoln proposed colonization for the freed Negroes in other countries.

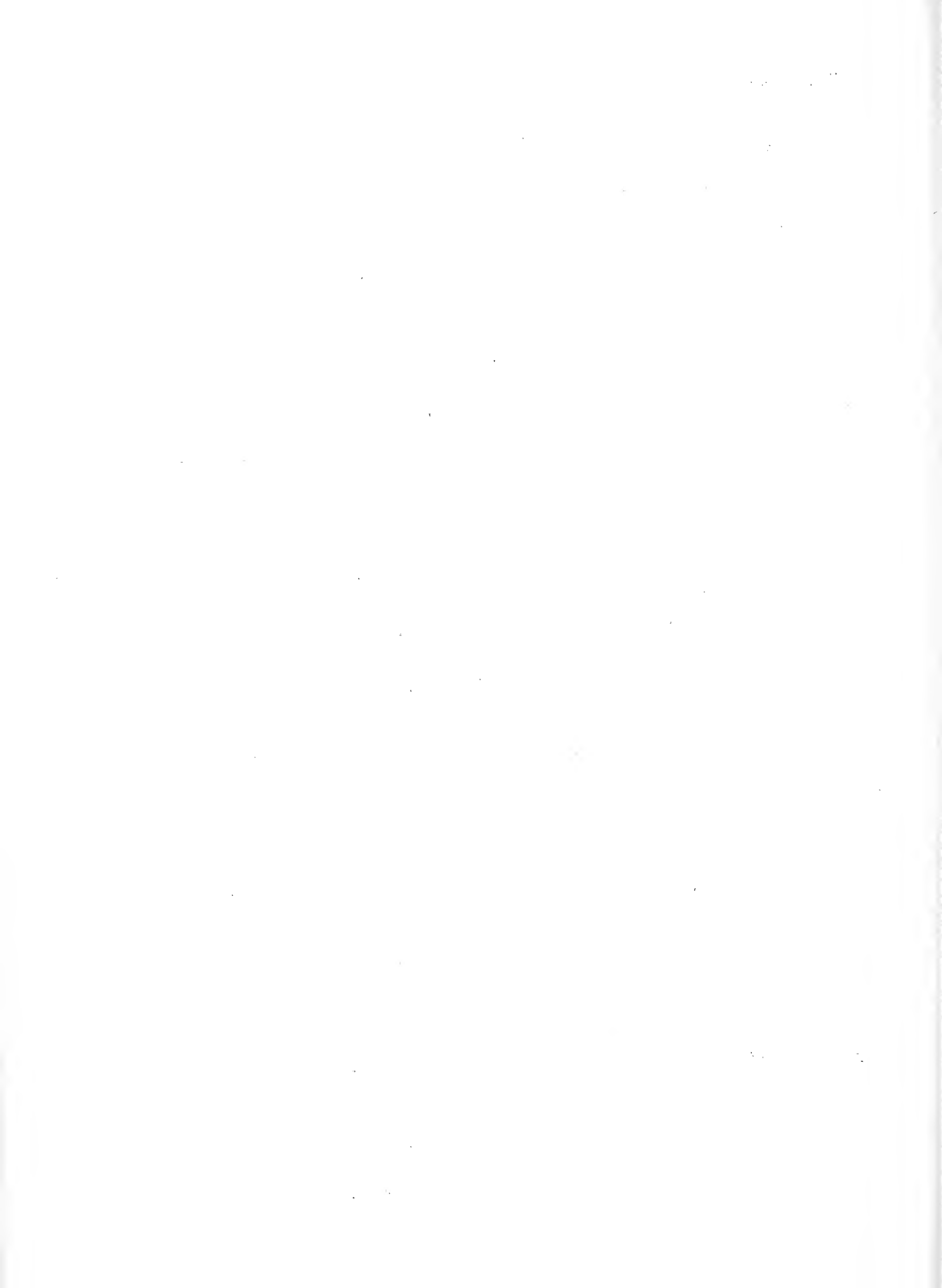


Many contemporaries criticized the Emancipation Proclamation because it was limited to the states in rebellion and had no effect in the loyal slave states. It could have no effect in the rebellious states until the Union armies were victorious, which seemed a far cry in September 1862 when the Proclamation was first issued. For this reason some said specifically that it was a piece of chicane; yet this act was to become "the central act of Lincoln's administration."

Alexander Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy, said that the Union with Lincoln rose in sentiment "to the sublimity of a religious mysticism." Perhaps it did, but one thing Lincoln was practical rather than mystical about; if the Union were destroyed neither he nor anybody could abolish slavery in the foreseeable future.

Lincoln's popular fame was increased in the first instance by a considerable amount of campaign literature which held him up as the veritable democrat and representative American. Lincoln literature has enshrined this symbolism and developed the theme of Lincoln's new and American type of genius, an epitome of the people and a genuine folk hero. But above all, there is the undeniable genius of Lincoln, incontrovertibly evidenced in his writings and his deeds, which must be enshrined as somehow, mystically and uniquely, American.

History and literature are more nearly agreed in the evaluation and interpretation of Lincoln than <sup>it</sup> might be supposed. The bases for estimates of Lincoln are often at variance, but the estimates themselves are in most respects the same in their general terms. Students of Lincoln generally agree that he was the great man of his age.



In spite of Carl Sandburg's monumental "Abraham Lincoln; the Prairie Years" (1926) and "Abraham Lincoln; the War Years" (1945), James G. Randall's scholarly multi-volume "Lincoln the President" (1945-55) and Benjamin P. Thomas' excellent one-volume "Abraham Lincoln" (1952) there is as yet no version of Lincoln biography which can be accepted as a final picture of both the private and the public Lincoln; but the Lincoln who lives in the mind of the average American is not greatly dependent upon the interpretation of the biographers, for he has become a symbol and a myth even larger than his reality in life.

The remarkable thing about the mythos is that Lincoln was a worthy man to be made into a symbol of justice, mercy, spiritual and intellectual strength, or a symbol of democracy and freedom. The legend-making propensities of the people of the United States have clothed him in truths that the mere facts of his life could never otherwise have attained. To paraphrase Shelley's differentiation between poetry and history, there is this difference between a history and a legend, that a history is a catalog of detached facts, which have no other connection than time, place, circumstance, and cause, and effect; a legend is the creation of actions according to the unchangeable forms of human nature, as existing in the mind of the creator, which is itself the image of all other minds.

So in the legend of Abraham Lincoln, these very workings of the poetic mind, whether of the folk or of the creative writer have made -- within a period of recorded history, printing presses, and





modern methods of research -- a myth which symbolizes the quest of a people for their national identity, for liberty under law, and for a mystical equality of all men in spite of differences. It is impossible to conceive of a time when such a legend will lose its universal appeal. As long as men aspire, the Lincoln story will be a source of encouragement and hope.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### LINCOLN'S JOURNEY TO GREATNESS

By  
Philip Van Doren Stern

The author has published "The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln" and three other books on Lincoln.

During the 56 years of his life Abraham Lincoln never traveled farther west than Council Bluffs, Iowa; he visited New England twice, and twice went down the Mississippi River to New Orleans by flatboat. Except for a year and a half in Washington as Congressman, he spent most of the time before he became President in three states: Kentucky, where he was born; Indiana, where he grew up; and Illinois, where he settled in 1830. The area associated with him in those States is so compact that it can easily be covered in one day by automobile. Modern highways now go all the way, but in Lincoln's time there were few roads and even those were bad.

The route Lincoln traveled to greatness begins near Hodgenville, Kentucky, where he was born. There his father had bought a farm of nearly 350 acres of hilly, semi-wild land. On it was an unfailing spring in a small limestone cave. On the hill above this, Thomas Lincoln built



the simple one-room cabin in which his son was born. A huge oak tree, used even then as a boundary marker, grew nearby. The young child must have noticed its massive bulk towering against the sky. It still flourishes, the only living thing in all that wilderness area associated with the infant Lincoln.

Today the U.S. Department of the Interior has established a national park on the Lincoln birthplace farm. Well-tended lawns replace rough fields, and an imposing granite memorial stands on the hill where Thomas Lincoln's cabin once stood. A broad flight of stone stairs leads up to the memorial which houses a little cabin made of squared logs. Despite tradition attaching to it, this is not the building, in which the future President came into the world. The cabin, slightly smaller than the original, measures 13 by 17 feet.

When the child was two years old, his father built a similar cabin on a farm about 10 miles away. Here, on the banks of a small mountain stream called Knob Creek, little Abraham spent his early boyhood. Here he and his sister walked two miles to a one-room log schoolhouse in which the pupils recited their lessons out loud. No trace of home or school remains, but the cabin of one of his boyhood friends and school mates, Austin Gollaher, has been placed on the site of the second Lincoln dwelling place. Nearby is a pool where this friend once saved the young Lincoln from drowning.

When their son was seven years old the Lincolns moved to Indiana. There they settled in the midst of a great forest where they first lived in a "half-faced camp." This was a roughly built, three-sided shelter with the

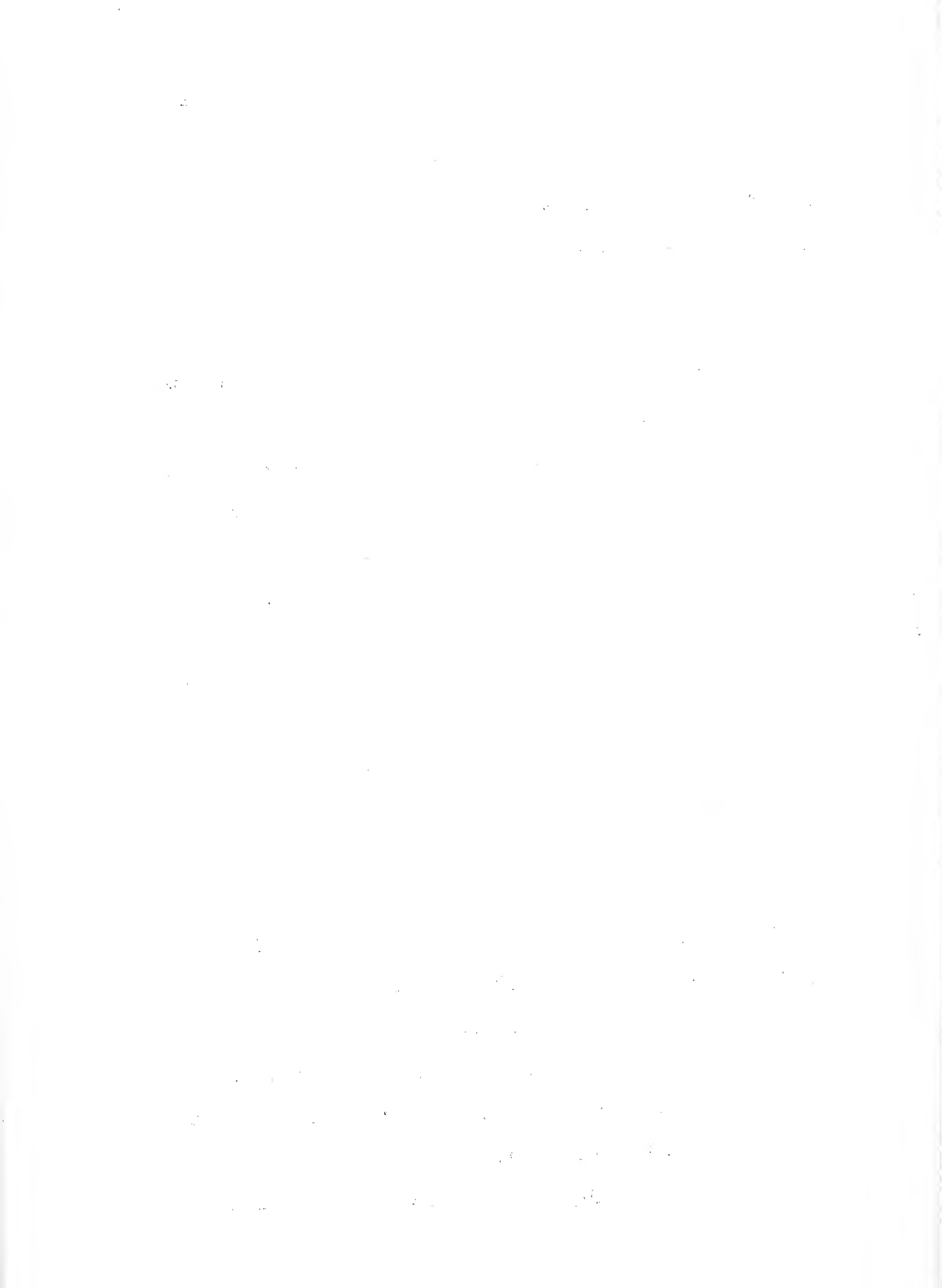


open face kept heated by a huge wood fire which had to be kept going day and night. Then Thomas Lincoln constructed a sturdy log cabin. His son, helping him and growing up in the forest, became an expert axman. Because of his skill, he later became famous as "the Rail-Splitter Candidate."

The Lincoln cabin had a fireplace made of rough stones. This, and the four ground sills, which formed the foundation of the cabin, have been reproduced in enduring bronze on the original site. Most of this part of Indiana has long ago been cleared, so that open farm fields replace the once-endless stretches of virgin forest. But the acres which Thomas Lincoln owned have been allowed to remain as woodland. The cabin site is in a lonely, tree-shadowed spot; on a slope above it is the grave of Lincoln's mother who died in 1818 and was buried in the silent forest. Near the public road is a park with a large white stone memorial building decorated with bas-reliefs portraying the life of the Lincoln family as it migrated westward.

\* \* \*

In 1828, Lincoln saw his first large city, when he helped to take a flatboat down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. He and his friends drifted leisurely downstream, passing pleasant river towns that were later to become cities. When he arrived in New Orleans, Lincoln witnessed a spectacle that has now vanished from the world. As many as 1,500 flatboats could be seen in the harbor there. River steamers came and went, and ocean-going ships departed daily for Liverpool or Havre. And in this city of nearly 50,000 people, where more of the





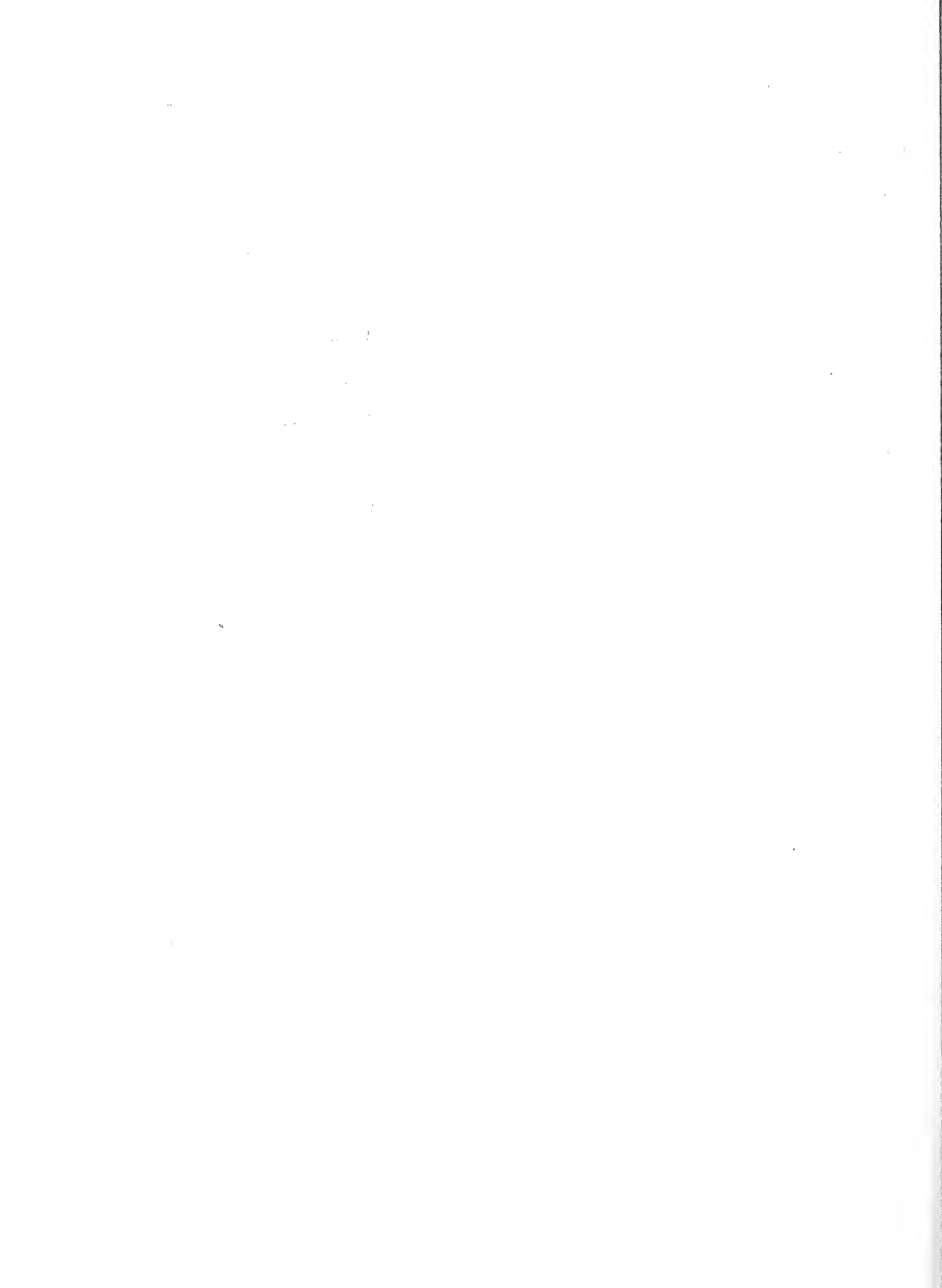
inhabitants spoke French than English, and half the population was black, slaves were sold in the public market.

Today New Orleans preserves some of the quaint, old-world charm it had when Lincoln visited it more than a century ago. Stucco buildings with iron-latticed balconies line the narrow streets of the French quarter. But the rest of the modern city is very much like any other American community of its size. Most of the shipping is gone from the port. Passenger steamers on the Mississippi are hardly ever seen, and only cargo ships and heavy freight barges lie alongside the once-bustling wharves.

\* \* \*

Soon after Lincoln returned to his family, they decided to move to Illinois. They went by wagon across the level prairies where there then were no roads. They settled on a farm near Decatur, where they survived a bitter winter in which the snow piled up in drifts 15 feet high. When spring came, Lincoln left to take another flatboat to New Orleans. On the way down the Sangamon River, the boat had to be taken over a mill dam that had just been built at a recently established town named New Salem. That was Lincoln's first glimpse of the pioneer village in Illinois in which he was to spend the next six years, for he settled there after returning from this second trip to New Orleans.

New Salem was located on a tree-covered ridge overlooking the river. Here a saw and grist mill had been built; log cabins, which served as houses, stores, and workshops stood on the crest of the ridge to make a tiny community that was almost entirely self-sustained. The



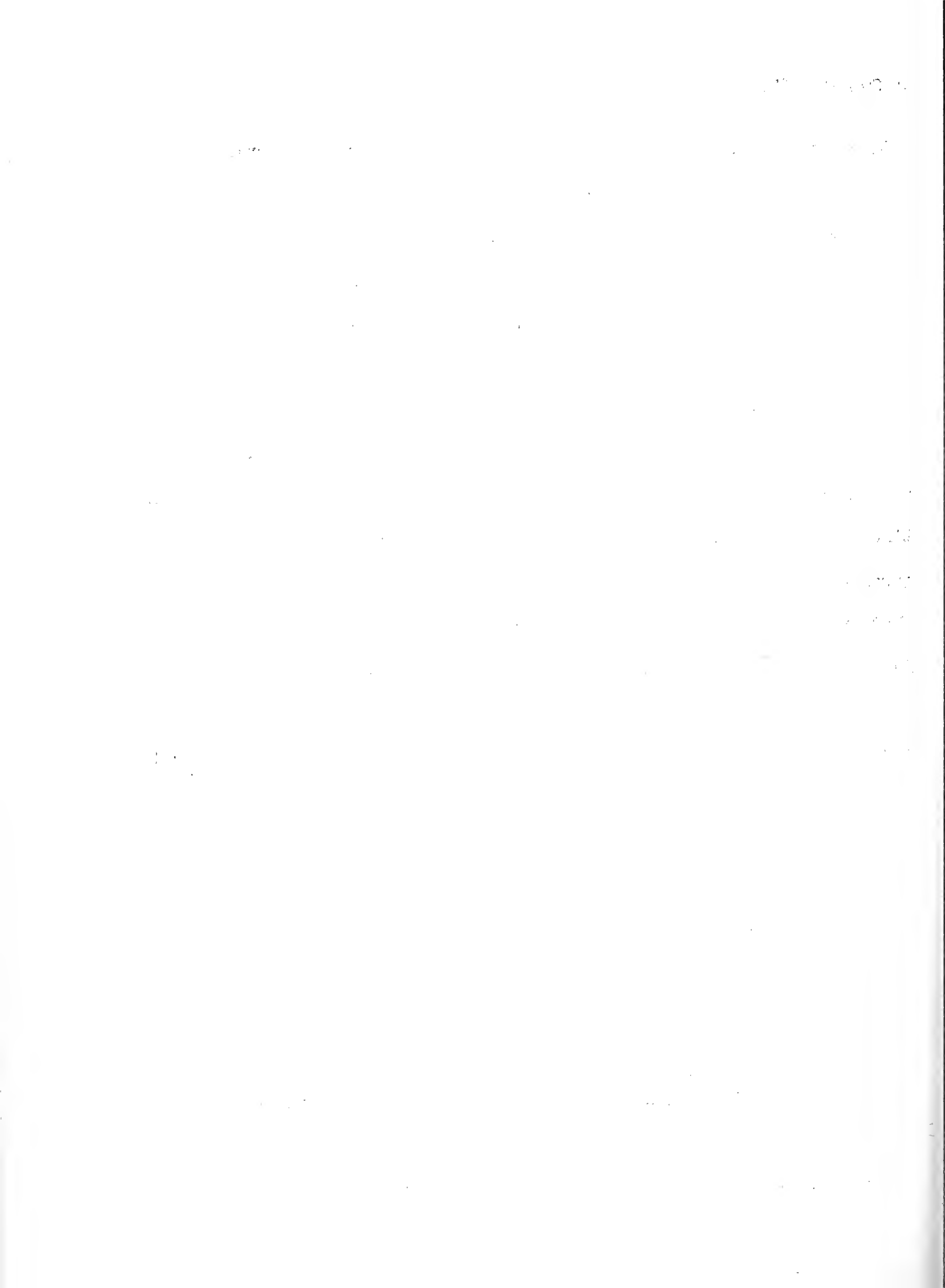
village people practiced the essential handicraft arts and trades which they and their ancestors had developed over many centuries in similar small towns farther east in America and in Europe.

In 1837 Lincoln moved to nearby Springfield, which had just been made the Illinois State capital. Most of the other townspeople left New Salem about the same time. The village soon decayed, and in 10 years the once-thriving community reverted to overgrown wilderness. The place remained deserted until 1918 when the state acquired it. The actual work of restoring the village to the condition it was in Lincoln's time began in 1932. Today the town that played an important part in Abraham Lincoln's career is so perfect a replica of the original village that hundreds of thousands of visitors who come there each year can see just how the young Lincoln and his neighbors lived.

The mill on the riverbank has been rebuilt; so has a wool-carding factory in the center of the town. Even the complicated circular treadmill by which a slowly moving ox supplied motive power to operate the carding machine has been reconstructed. So have the general stores in which the future President once worked. The cooper shop is the only building that stood there in Lincoln's time, but all the other structures have been reproduced so accurately that New Salem today looks just as it did 150 years ago.

\* \* \*

Springfield, Lincoln's next home, was hardly more than a village in 1837. Work was started on the new State House then, and teams of 10 or 12 oxen began dragging great blocks of cut stone to the

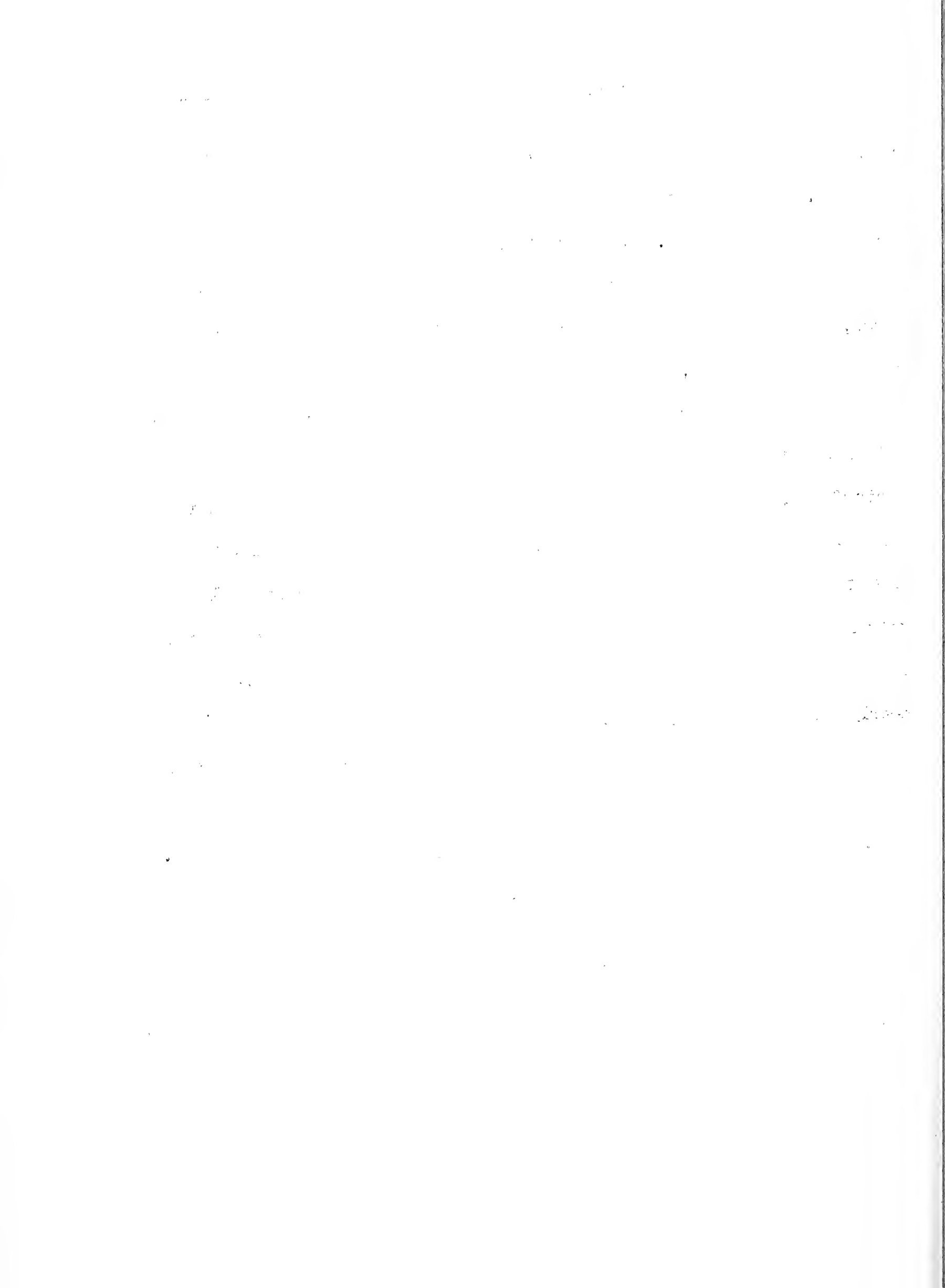


central square that was to be the focus of Lincoln's career for the next 23 years. During those years he saw the prairie village grow into a thriving state capital. New streets were laid out on which new houses were built, and the horse-drawn stage coach was soon replaced by railroads, while telegraph lines were built to tie once widely separated communities together.

Lincoln married Mary Todd in 1842; two years later they moved into a substantial frame house which still stands near the center of Springfield. This well-preserved home, furnished in the style of the period, shows how the family lived. The spacious, comfortable, but unpretentious house was well suited to their needs. Lincoln could walk in there today and feel that everything is just as it was when he left this pleasant house to journey to Washington as President-elect nearly one hundred years ago.

On a rainy morning in February 1861 he went from this house to the Great Western station to get on the train that was to take him east. There he made his farewell speech to his friends and neighbors. He was never to see Springfield again.

The small brick railroad station still stands on a side street. It is no longer used for passengers, but a bronze tablet in front of it reproduces the text of the words Lincoln spoke that morning. Around it the small town he knew has grown into a modern city of 100,000 people. The square where Lincoln had several successive law offices has been changed completely by high buildings erected there since, but the



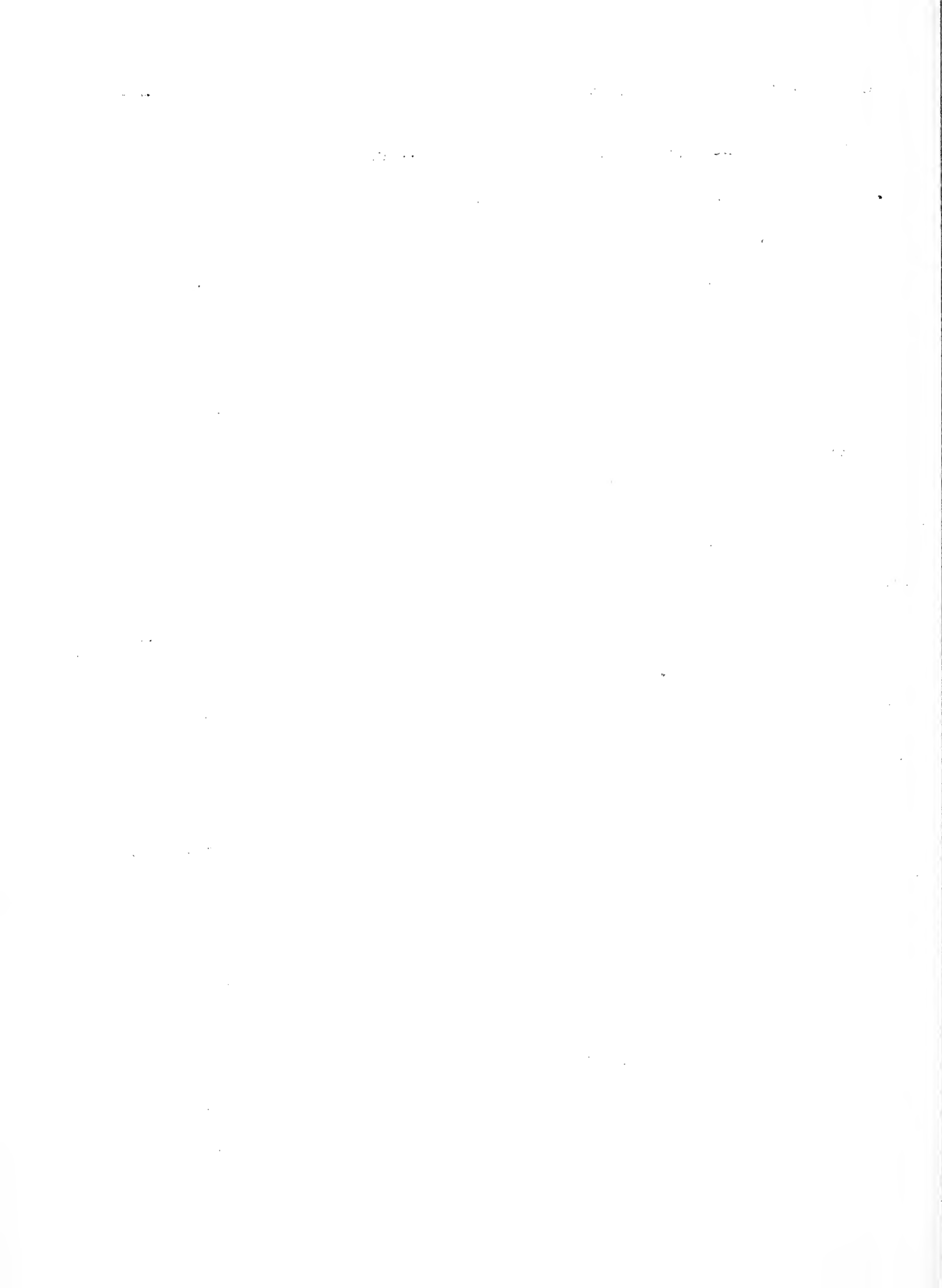
old State House -- except for an added story -- remains much as he knew it. In that building he made some of the speeches which, in turn, made him President.

Some of the court houses of the old Eighth Judicial Circuit still stand in the small towns around Springfield. In them one can see the actual trial rooms in which Lincoln pleaded for his clients. In them he and his colleagues were helping to shape American jurisprudence while the law of the new nation slowly evolved.

\* \* \*

In Washington only a few of the landmarks associated with Lincoln remain, for the semi-provincial little city that was the capital of the United States during his administration has undergone vast changes in recent years. But these landmarks are important ones. The White House, where the Lincoln family lived, underwent extensive renovations in 1948-52, when the sagging interior of the historic old building had to be completely reconstructed inside the original sandstone walls. But the Lincoln bedroom on the second floor, with its extra-large bed used by the very tall President, has been furnished in the style of his day.

And the Capitol of the United States, where Lincoln served as Congressman and as President, is almost exactly as it was in his time. Its vast dome was completed during his administration, and the finishing touches on the exterior of the Senate and House wings were being made at the time of his death. In front of this world-famous





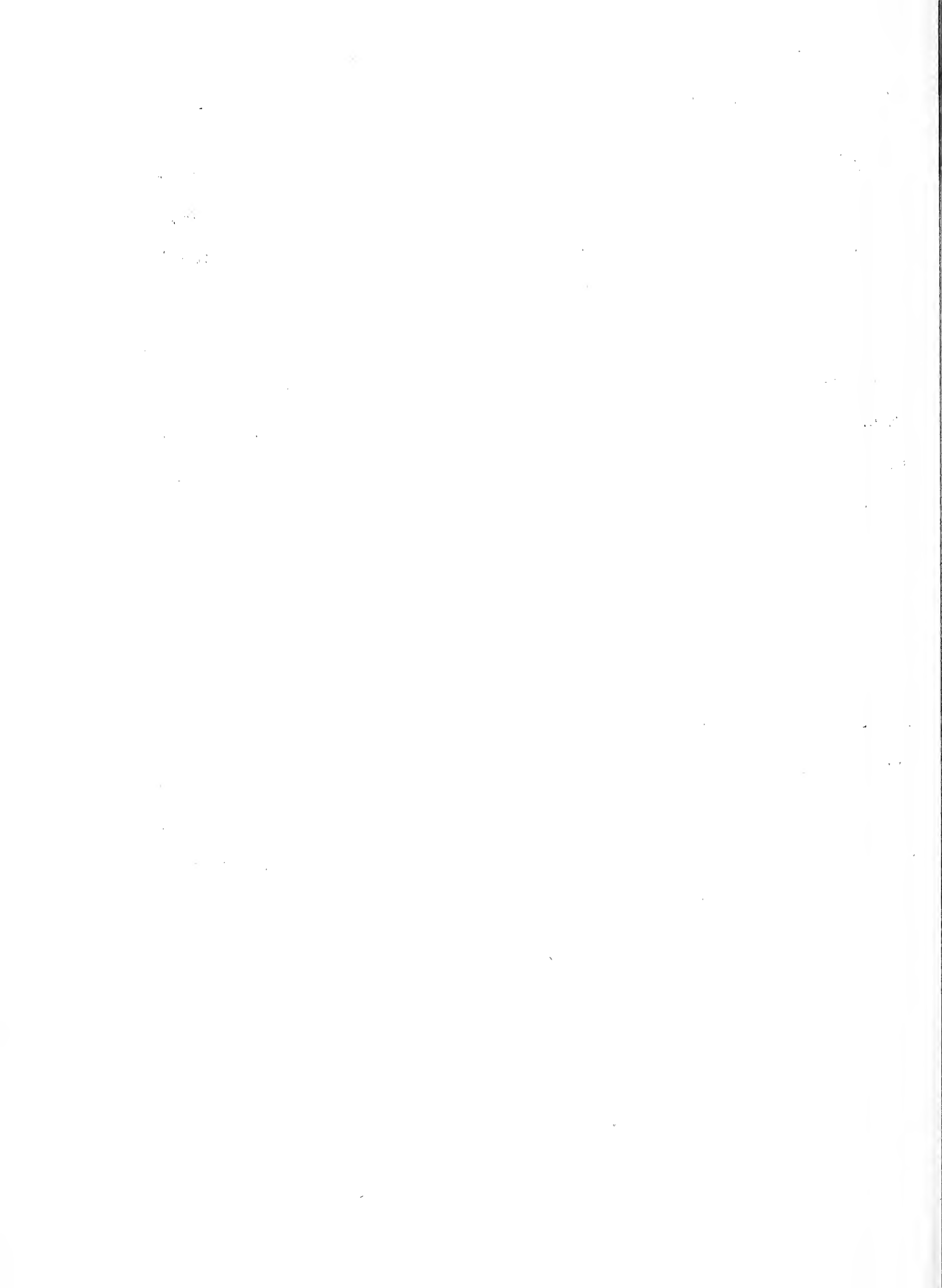
building, Lincoln was twice inaugurated, and to it he often came to sign bills or address Congress. And in the rotunda under the great dome, his body lay in state in April 1865, after he had been assassinated in Ford's Theatre. The theatre itself has been made into a museum, showing Lincoln's career from his birthplace to the Presidency. Across the street is the little red-brick boardinghouse where the mortally wounded man died. To this unimpressive looking house the dying man was brought, and here the leaders of the nation gathered in a narrow hall-bedroom on that fatal night.

The dead President's body was taken by train to Springfield for burial. From Chicago the train steamed southward through the country Lincoln had known so well. All along the way, day and night, vast throngs lined the tracks to see the heavily draped funeral car pass. The tolling bell of the engine could be heard far across the prairie, and its long plume of black smoke drifted out over the plowed land where tender green corn shoots were springing from the dark, rich soil. When the train arrived in Springfield, the streets were crowded with people who had known Lincoln all their lives.

They buried him on top of a ridge north of the town. There, under the tall shaft of a sculptured monument, his body still lies. And every year hundreds of thousands of people go out of their way to visit the grave of this man who rose from humble circumstances to become America's best-loved President.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### THE DEATH OF LINCOLN

By  
William E. Baringer

The author, Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Florida, has written three books about Lincoln.

The President did not want to go to the theatre that Friday night, April 14, 1865. Throughout the long war, he had visited Ford's Theatre as often as he could. It was a way of relaxing for a few hours, of getting away from the tensions and pressures that beset him at the White House.

But now the war was nearly over. General Ulysses S. Grant had accepted General Robert E. Lee's surrender five days earlier, on Palm Sunday, and the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia had disbanded. Heaving a great sigh of relief, Washington had been celebrating all week. The rival Confederate government was disintegrating, and the surrender of other Confederate armies was hourly anticipated.

Abraham Lincoln, chief architect of this triumph, also looked forward to a lifting of the heavy burdens of his office. In more than four years as chief magistrate, he had labored without respite. His

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

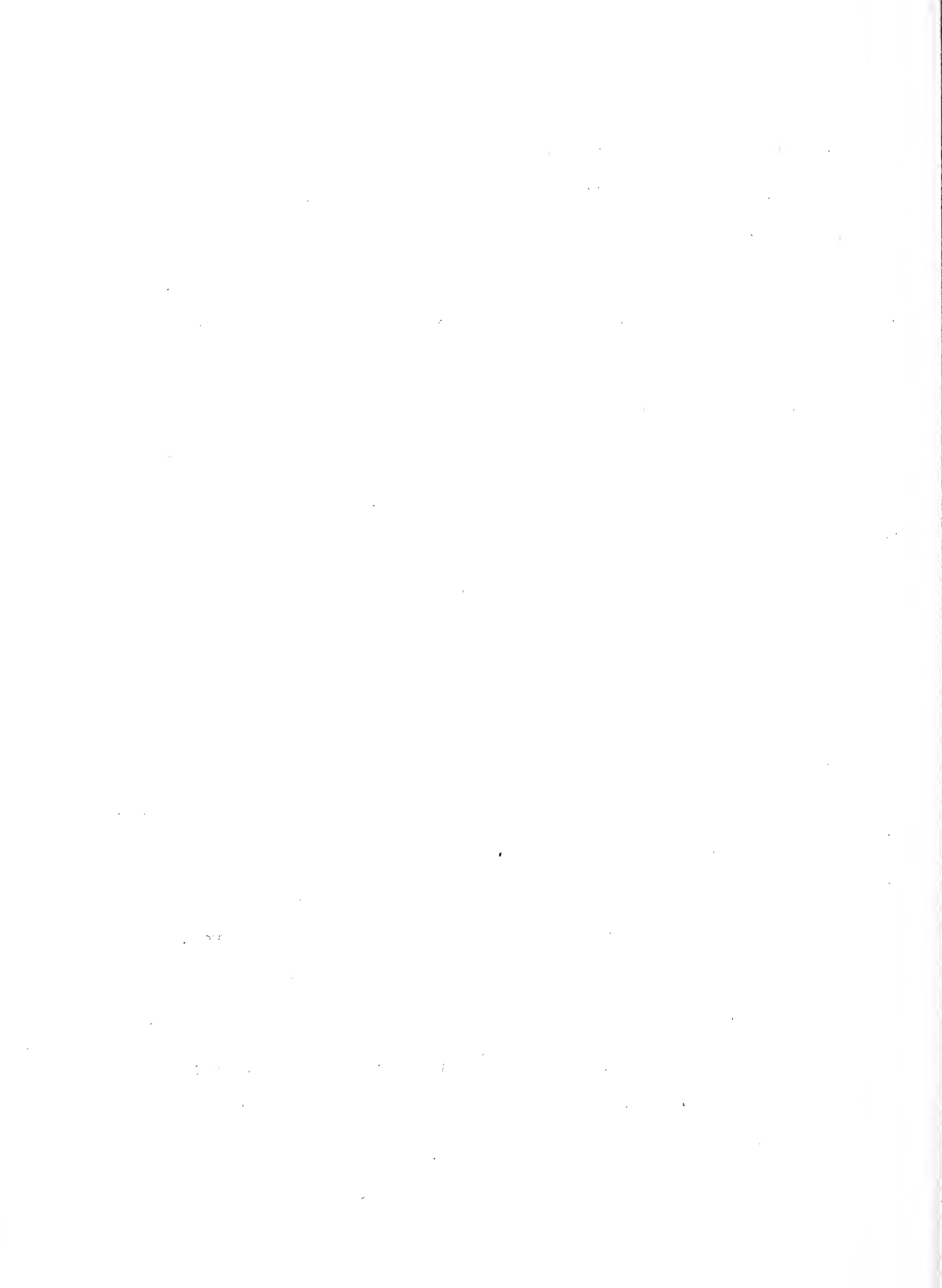
1918

only relaxation had been a few hours at concerts or the theatre, drives about Washington with Mrs. Lincoln, and, more recently, spending a few days with Grant's army.

The President was in a mellow mood. He had talked to Mrs. Lincoln that afternoon about what they would do when his second term ended. He had given much more thought to the problem of bringing the seceded states back into the Union, a situation in which there was no American precedent. Lincoln's plan was to restore the strayed states as quickly and simply as possible. He had applied this policy during the war, in captured areas. Congress favored another plan, which penalized "rebels," but had not insisted. Now Lincoln was ready to press his scheme to completion while Congress was in recess.

Good Friday was cabinet day at the White House, and an invited guest, General Grant, attended. The general also held a presidential invitation to the theatre that evening. Mainly because of him, Lincoln had agreed to go, and the papers had announced that he and Grant, and the two wives, would attend. Grant was seldom seen in the capital. The theatre party would give the people their first look at General Lee's conqueror, the scheduled star of the evening. Mrs. Grant, however, asked the general to decline, and the Grants soon left town.

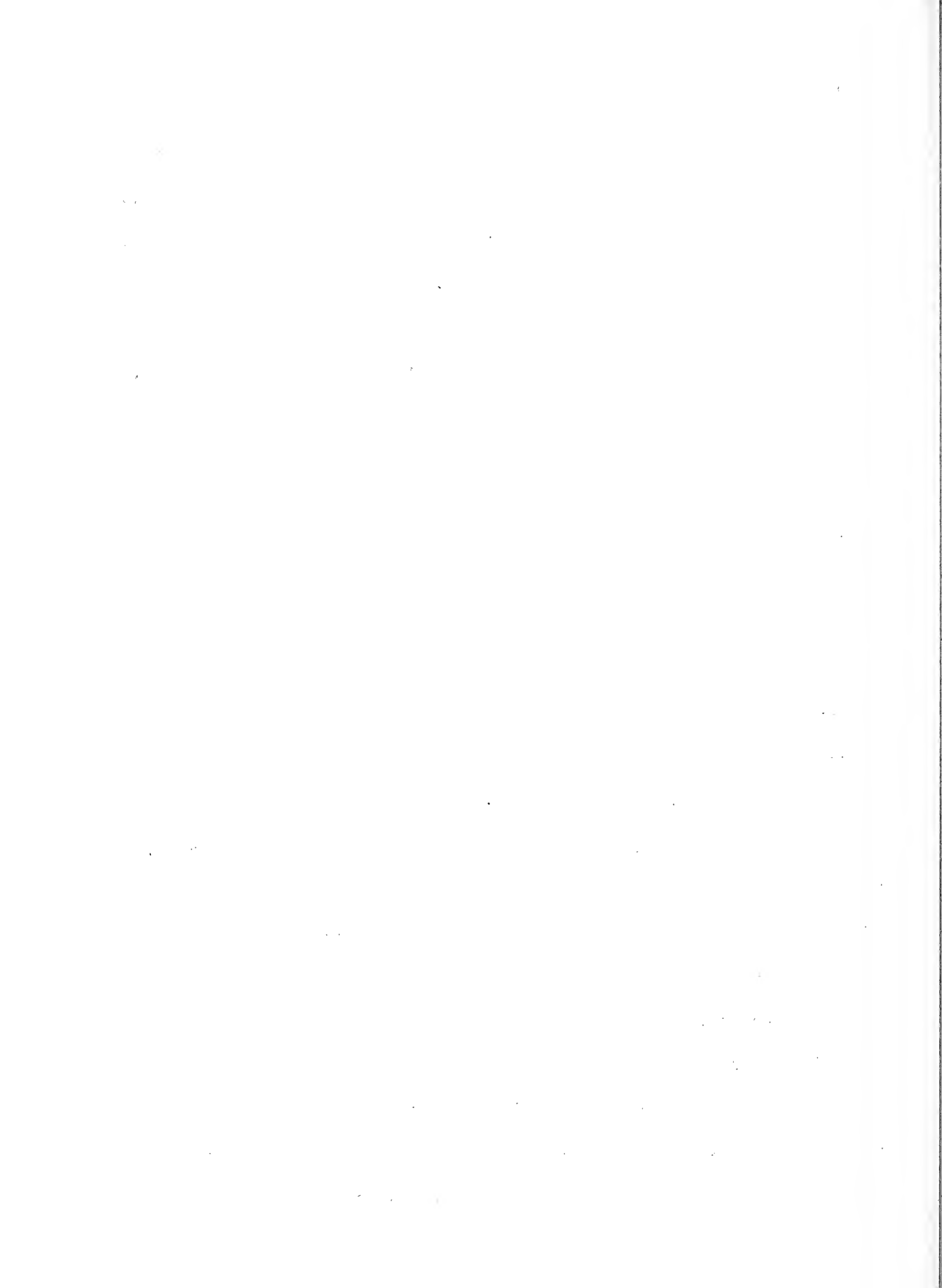
The President then favored canceling the theatre party. That would disappoint the public, and he reluctantly agreed to go. The party was rounded out by adding Major Henry B. Rathbone and Clara Harris, his fiancée, the daughter of Senator Harris.



Among those who read the announcement was John Wilkes Booth, actor. This handsome young man was a lesser member of the Booth family, the country's leading theatrical dynasty. The late Junius Brutus Booth, his father, and Edwin Booth, elder brother, were outstanding Shakespearean actors. John Wilkes, inferior to his relatives in his profession, attempted to outdo them in other ways. He became a poseur, a flamboyant, unbalanced romantic addicted to drink and adulation. Long black hair, black eyes, a drooping moustache and brooding expression gave him the look of a young Mephistopheles, and made him fascinating to women. A psychiatrist would have found him an absorbing subject. He had a neurotic ambition to make his name immortal by some sensational act.

Booth had been keeping watch on the President for months, intending to kidnap him and spirit him to Richmond, the capital of the Confederate Government, holding him for a ransom which would reinvigorate the failing Southern cause and make Booth a hero. The actor had gathered a small band of Southern sympathizers and ex-Confederate soldiers to execute this wild scheme. But they found Lincoln always out of reach. After General Lee's surrender, nothing could revive the Lost Cause, so Booth decided to revenge the South by assassinating the President.

Assassination danger was not new to Lincoln. Years before, after his election, he had received a stack of anonymous threats by mail. These did not worry him. A few months later, on the long rail journey to Washington, more rumors flew of plots against his life; all proved groundless. In the White House, the new President's custom of seeing anyone who had the patience to wait his turn, placed him in daily





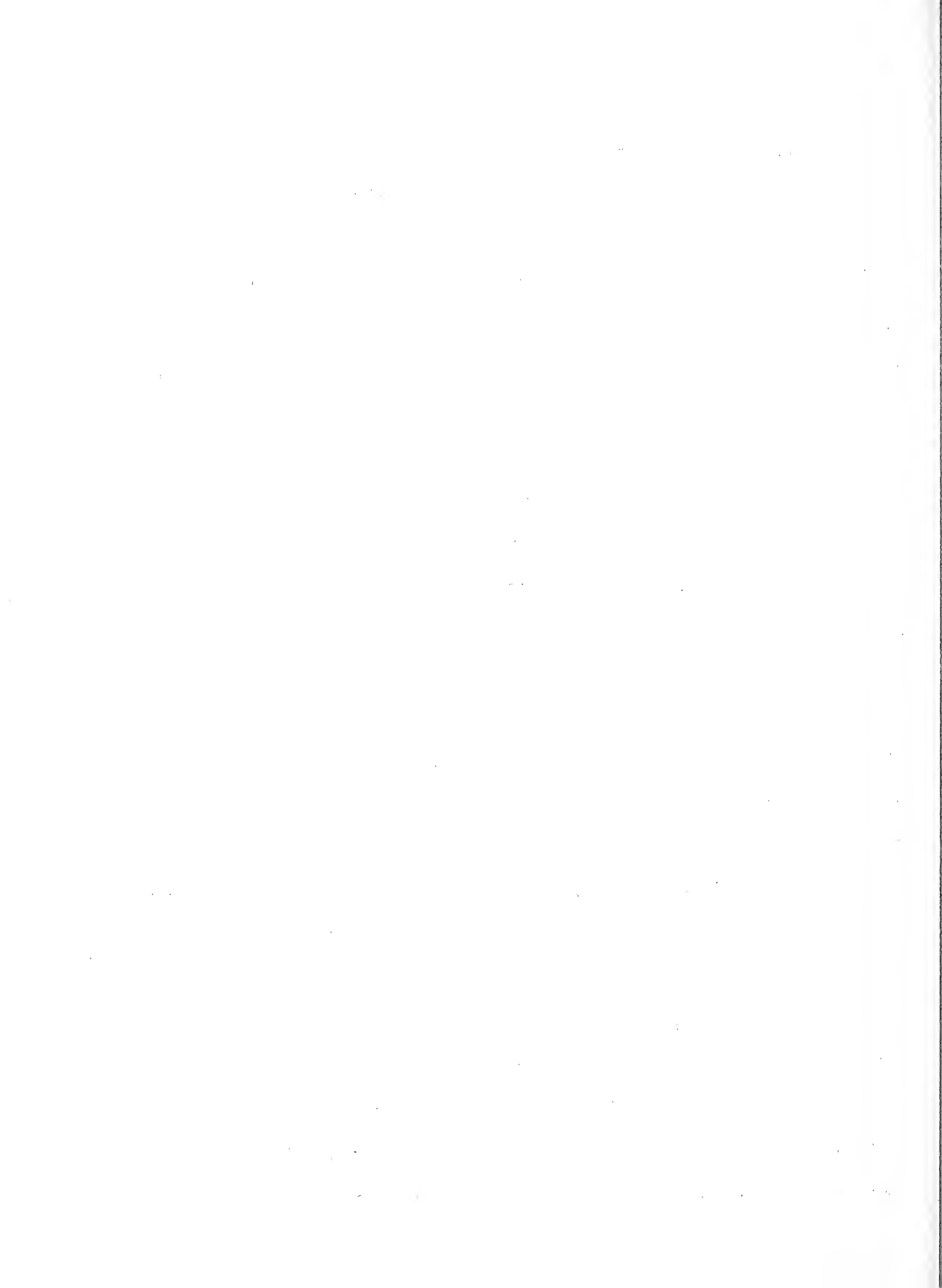
danger, and alarmed many of his friends. But not the President. He took the fatalistic view that if anyone was determined to kill him, there was no effective way to prevent it.

Secretary of State William H. Seward took a historical stand. "Assassination," said he, "is not an American custom." Elections provided a more efficient way of getting rid of public officials, and no President had ever been assassinated.

War brought new dangers. Lincoln became an active military figure. To remove him would produce important military results. So the War Department assigned special guards to the President, which had much to do with frustrating Booth's kidnap designs. The approach of peace produced an inevitable let-down in vigilance, and the President's regular bodyguards were on other assignments on April 14.

Booth spent a busy day making preparations. He arranged some personal affairs, drank his stock of liquor, and hired an escape horse at a livery stable. For weapons he selected a knife and a tiny, one-shot derringer pistol. Several of his band had resigned on learning the new objective -- assassination. Taking Lincoln for himself, the actor assigned one conspirator to assassinate Vice President Andrew Johnson, and two to assault Secretary of State Seward. Booth gave this trio explicit instructions, which they partly failed to carry out, and carefully planned his own program. (Seward was attacked but only wounded.)

The play the President and party were to see was "Our American Cousin," a comedy by the English dramatist Tom Taylor, which had enjoyed much popularity. Thoroughly familiar with play and theatre, the assassin



timed his attack to be delivered when there was only one actor holding the stage. Booth could jump the short distance from presidential box to stage, cross it without involving himself in a crowd of players, and make his escape. Also, a second actor suddenly arriving on stage would bemuse the audience into thinking it all part of the play.

When Booth appeared at the theatre that morning, he excited no suspicion whatever. The presidential box was situated directly over one end of the stage -- occupants looked down upon the action -- and was reached by circling the rear of the balcony. A door closed off the box area from the balcony, and another door gave entrance to the box itself.

Booth dealt with the outer door by means of a short plank and a socket carved in the brick wall, to keep the door firmly shut while he did his work. In the second door he drilled a spy hole. While Booth made these preparations in secret, workmen draped the stage and boxes with flags and bunting for the official visitation. Then, having engaged a friend to hold his horse outside the stage door, the actor's preparations were complete.

The President and party arrived late. When they reached the box, the orchestra struck up "Hail to the Chief." The audience rose, cheered, the President bowed, then seated himself, and the play resumed. Booth watched the action from behind the audience, awaiting the chosen moment. Then he slipped quietly past the curving rows of heads, and found the door unguarded -- the President's assigned protector, police officer John Parker, had gone off for a drink.

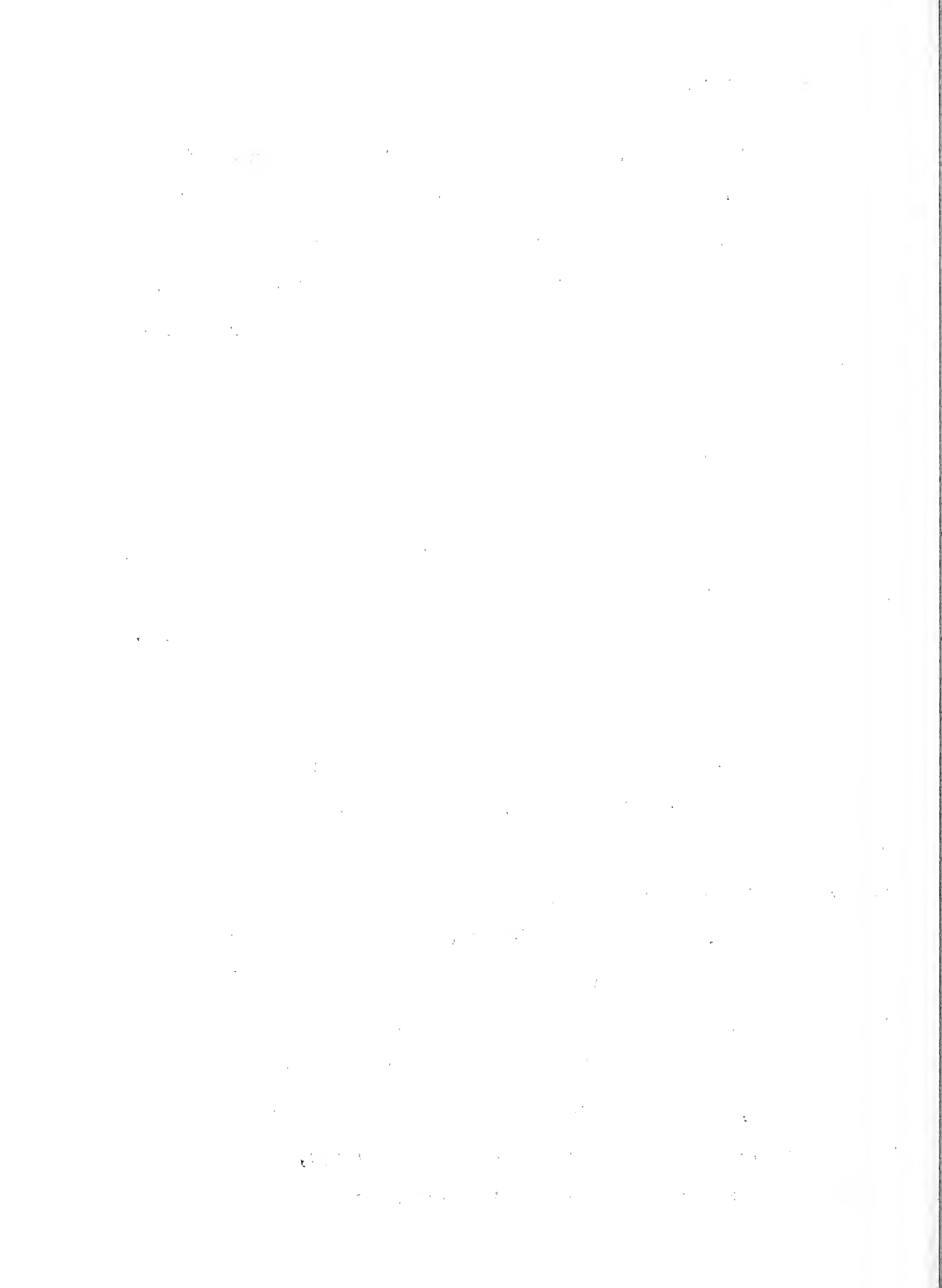


Passing through, Booth wedged the door shut, and applied his eye to the peep-hole. The four occupants of the box stood out clearly against the lighted stage. Silently opening the inner door, he stole up behind his victim and shot him in the back of the head. The President slumped in his chair, unconscious and mortally wounded. Major Rathbone rose to grapple, but a thrust of Booth's knife swept him aside.

A baffled audience saw a figure cross the railing, and jump for the stage, catching a spur on a flag and falling heavily. Booth felt a stab of pain as a bone in his left leg cracked. He stood nevertheless, faced the audience, brandished his knife, and shouted "Sic semper tyrannis," the motto of the State of Virginia. The apparition limped rapidly off the stage, mounted his horse, and rode off toward Virginia.

Nobody was sure who or what they had seen. Screams from the box soon told everyone that something not in the play had happened. The President, attended by three army doctors from the audience, was carried across the street to a private house, his physicians agreeing that their patient would not survive a jolting carriage ride to the White House. There early next morning he died, surrounded by grieving high officials of the government, his oldest son, Robert, and his prostrated wife.

While the War Department carried out an extensive man-hunt which eventually captured the conspirators, tried and punished them except for Booth, who was killed eleven days later in Virginia, resisting arrest, a shocked nation learned the astounding news. Overnight the late President became a major national hero, martyr, symbol to the country and to the world of democracy's values.



His people gave Lincoln the largest funeral the country had ever seen. On Easter Sunday the people put on heavy mourning. A state funeral was held at the White House on Wednesday. The following day the body lay in state in the Capitol rotunda as many thousands filed past the bier.

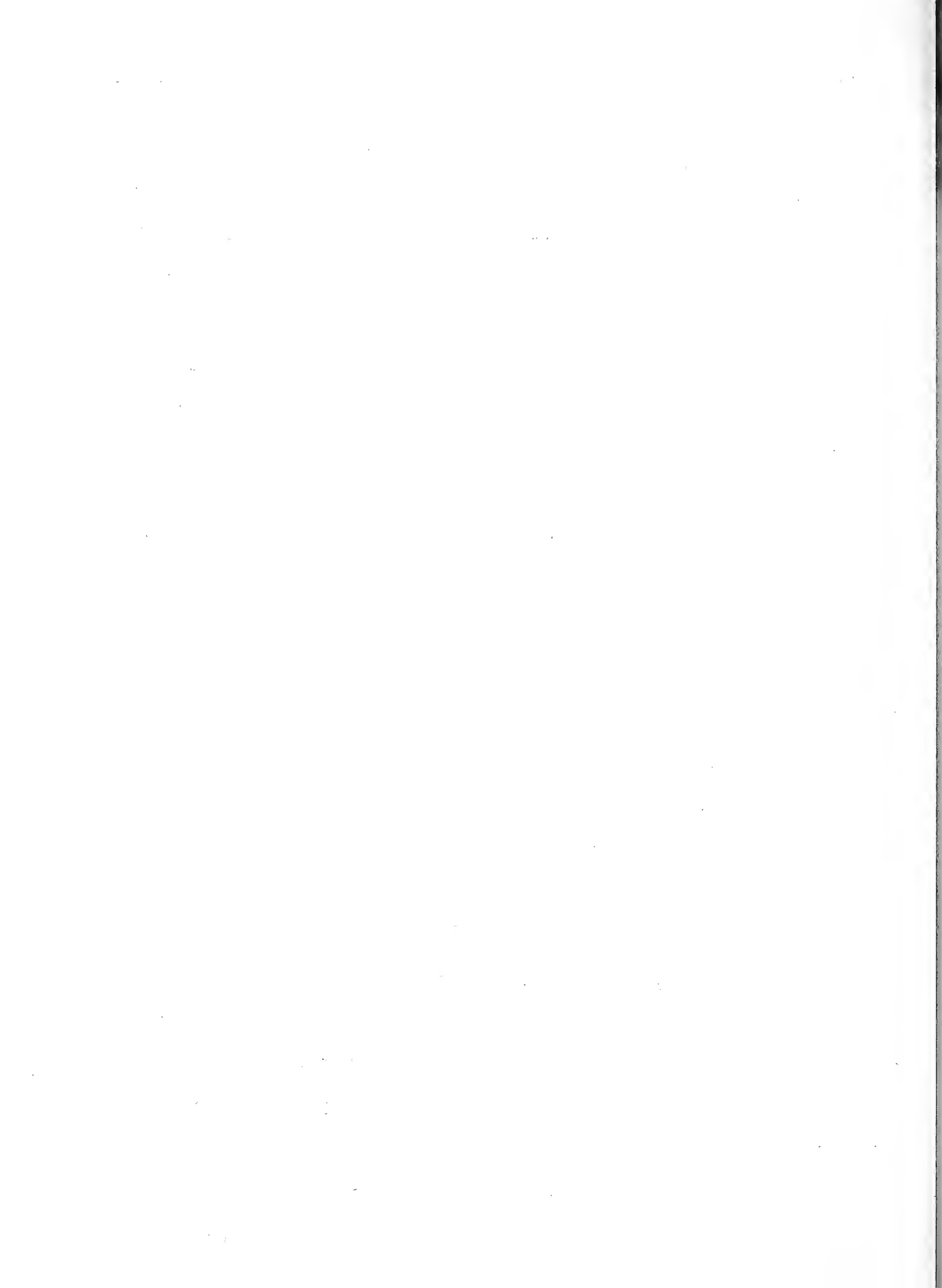
Then Lincoln "returned home," to Illinois, on a slow-paced funeral train. At each large city on the homeward journey, two lines of mourners passed the coffin in steady streams. In rural areas, people stood for hours simply to watch the train pass by. At last, on May 4, after two-and-a-half weeks of obsequies, Lincoln was buried on a hilltop in Oak Ridge cemetery, Springfield where he had married and been a lawyer.

These events gave rise to a Lincoln legend. This was a strong emotion, not easy to analyze, which seemed to attach every American personally to Lincoln. More and more people came to believe him the ideal American, greatest of them all, yet a common man whom events shaped into a hero, an epitome of democracy.

This has grown stronger as years have passed. People of foreign lands, learning of Lincoln's death and his works for man's freedom, felt the same identification in 1865. The common people of Europe and Asia, then their governments, saluted him. The concrete example he gave them of a forward lunge in liberty through the freeing of the slaves inspired an upsurge of democracy in lands long ruled by autocrats.

It has remained an enduring and growing inspiration of what men can do in governing themselves.

\* \* \* \* \*







# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN MEMORIALIZED

By  
Randle Bond Truett

The author, Chief Park Historian,  
U.S. Department of the Interior,  
has written extensively on  
Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln exemplifies what may be accomplished in a free country as the result of hard work. He rose from a very obscure beginning to a place of prominence, respected especially by those that were down-trodden and in need of a champion.

Lincoln is one figure in American history that seems to belong to all. More than 22 cities and towns bear his name, among them Lincoln, Illinois. This town was named in 1853, before Lincoln became President, at a time when his only reputation was that of a good lawyer and an honest man. Numerous streets, avenues, and lakes have been named for Lincoln, as well as schools, libraries, hospitals, churches, and banks.

Since Lincoln's death 90 original heroic statues of the President have been erected throughout the United States. The State of Illinois, which was Lincoln's home for 31 years, leads with 15 memorials within her bounds. Two of the most famous statues stand in Chicago, Illinois, both



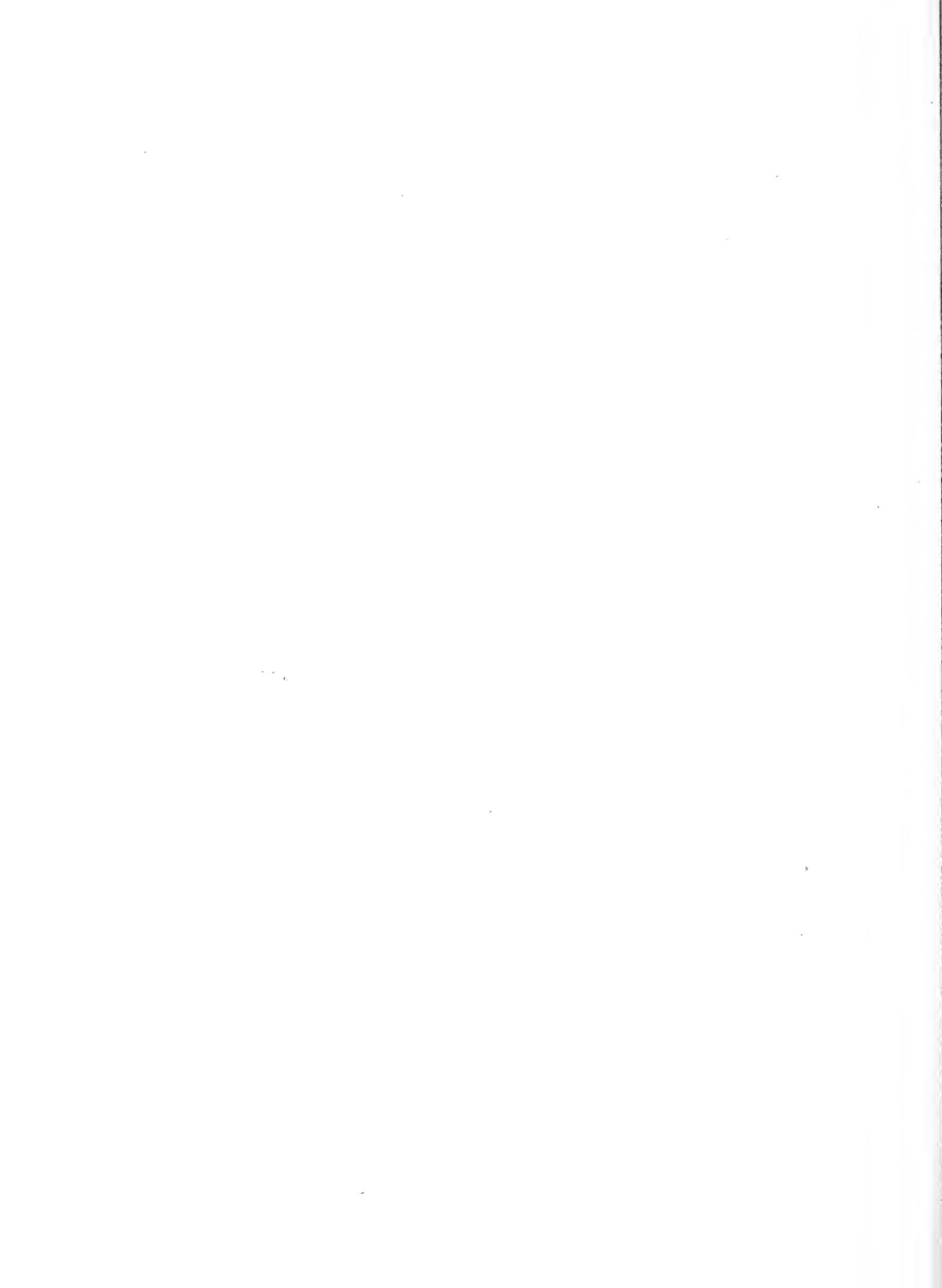
by Augustus Saint-Gaudens -- one is "Lincoln the Man," the other "Lincoln the Head of State." New York has eight and Wisconsin seven "Lincolns." Ohio and the District of Columbia have five. Six states, California, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, follow, each with four. There are 26 in twelve other States.

The memorials show Lincoln as a boy and as a man; with and without a beard; as a rail splitter, orator, emancipator; seated and standing; addressing juries, and rapt in meditation. Some of the statues and busts exist only in plaster, some in wood, but the great majority are in bronze, with a few in marble, granite, and limestone.

Many heroic Lincoln statues and busts in countries overseas tell of the universal interest in the President. One by Saint-Gaudens stands in London opposite Westminster Abbey, others are in Edinburgh, Manchester, Hingham, Oslo, Paris, Havana, Florence, San Juan (Puerto Rico) and Honolulu.

A unique memorial is the Abraham Lincoln totem pole, carved and erected by the Indians of Alaska. The original was carved about 1882 and erected at Old Tongass village. In 1940 the original pole, weather-beaten and decayed by wind and rain, was brought to Saxman (Alaska), where a replica was carved and erected. The original carving is being preserved as an historical curiosity.

There are, of course, many smaller statues and busts in museums, public buildings, and schools all over the world. Perhaps no other man has been so often commemorated.



Lincoln's portrait has been reproduced on American coins, banknotes and stamps of countries such as Cuba, Indonesia, Philippine Islands, Monaco, San Marino and the Canal Zone.

Hundreds of painters, engravers and lithographers memorialized Lincoln. The portraits by George A. P. Healy are probably the most important. One Healy "Lincoln" hangs in the White House as does the painting "The Peacemakers" in which Healy shows Lincoln together with General Grant, General Sherman, and Admiral Porter in conference. Another Healy Lincoln portrait hangs in the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington; others are displayed in the Chicago Historical Society, the Minnesota State House, and the Newberry Library, Chicago. Another fine Lincoln portrait in the White House is by William Cogswell, a Chicago artist.

In addition to the statues and busts of Lincoln there are several larger memorials. In Hodgenville, Kentucky, is the traditional Lincoln birthplace cabin. Today it stands within the Memorial Building in Abraham Lincoln National Historical Park. The area of the Park encompasses a large portion of the original Sinking Spring Farm which, at the time of Lincoln's birth, was owned by his father, Thomas Lincoln.

At New Salem, Illinois, is "The Lincoln Village" precisely reproduced. Here is where Lincoln first left his imprint upon the pages of history. Each building of this small village has been reconstructed and furnished exactly as it appeared during the years that Lincoln lived here. The Lincoln-Berry store, the Hill-McNeil store, the doctor's office, the tavern, and the mill are reminiscent of the years that Lincoln spent in the village as storekeeper and postmaster. In Springfield, Illinois, is



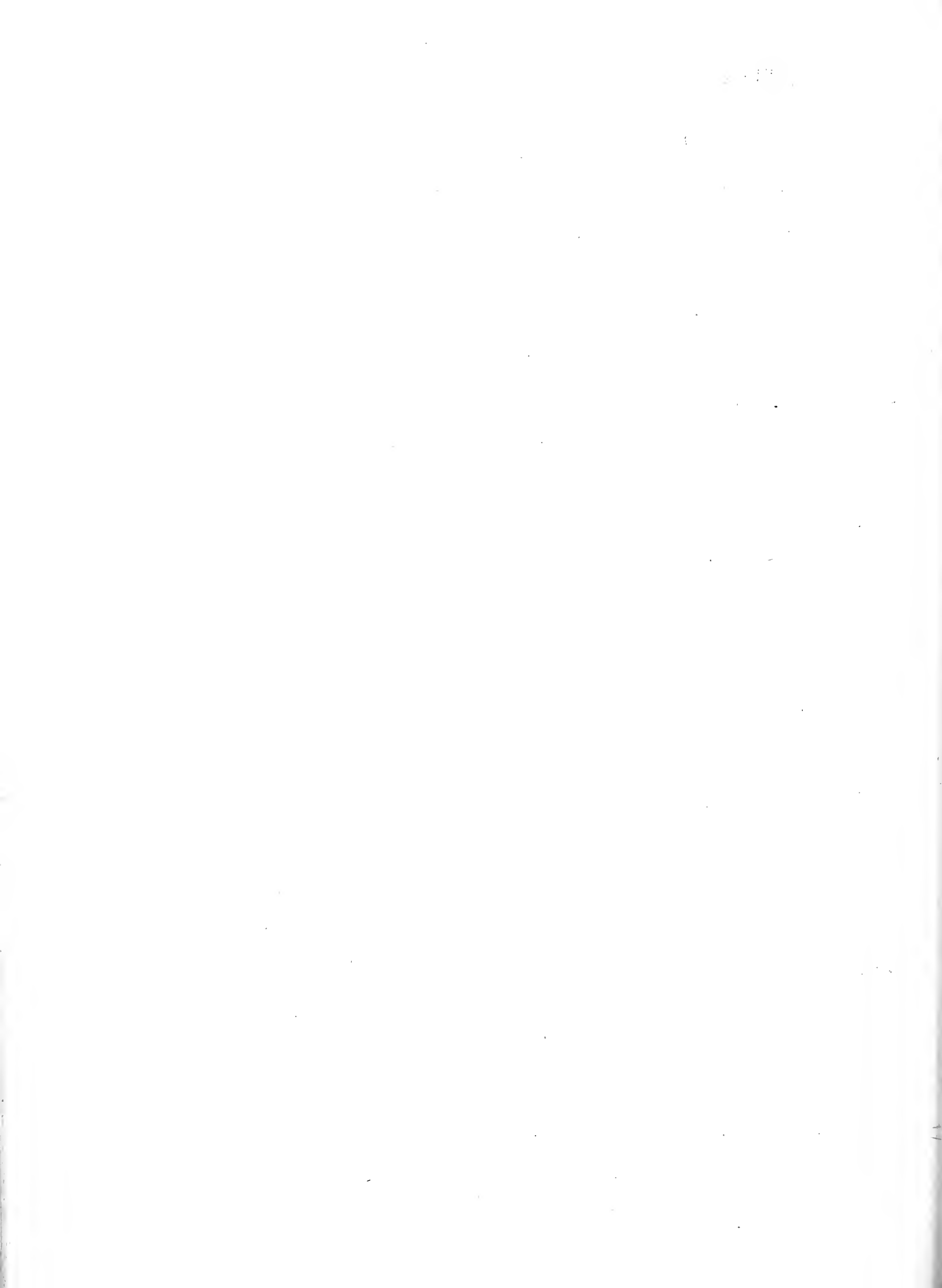
preserved the Lincoln home which he, his wife and his children occupied from 1844 until they moved in 1861 to the White House in Washington.

At the scene of Lincoln's celebrated "Gettysburg Address" in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, stands a simple, dignified Memorial. Lincoln had come to this battlefield to dedicate a portion of it as burial ground of the thousands who fell in the struggle, in 1863. This area is now the Gettysburg National Cemetery.

In the White House, on the second floor, is the Lincoln Bedroom, maintained in memory of the great Emancipator, furnished with period pieces of furniture including Lincoln's own walnut bed.

The Lincoln Museum, housed in the old Ford's Theatre Building, Washington, where the President was assassinated by a half-demented actor, is devoted to the life story of the President, delineating each phase of his life by means of photographs, documents, and personal belongings. Among the important items on display are those connected with the assassination: the derringer that was used by John Wilkes Booth, his diary and his boot and spur. The President, mortally wounded, was taken across the street to the Petersen House where the next morning, on April 15, 1865, he passed away. This home, furnished in the style of the time, is now maintained as a memorial to Lincoln.

The Lincoln Tomb in Oak Park Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois, contains the bodies of Abraham Lincoln, his wife, and three of his children. Erected in 1874, it was designed by Larkin Meade. The obelisk rises 100 feet above a simple, square building which stands on a beautiful

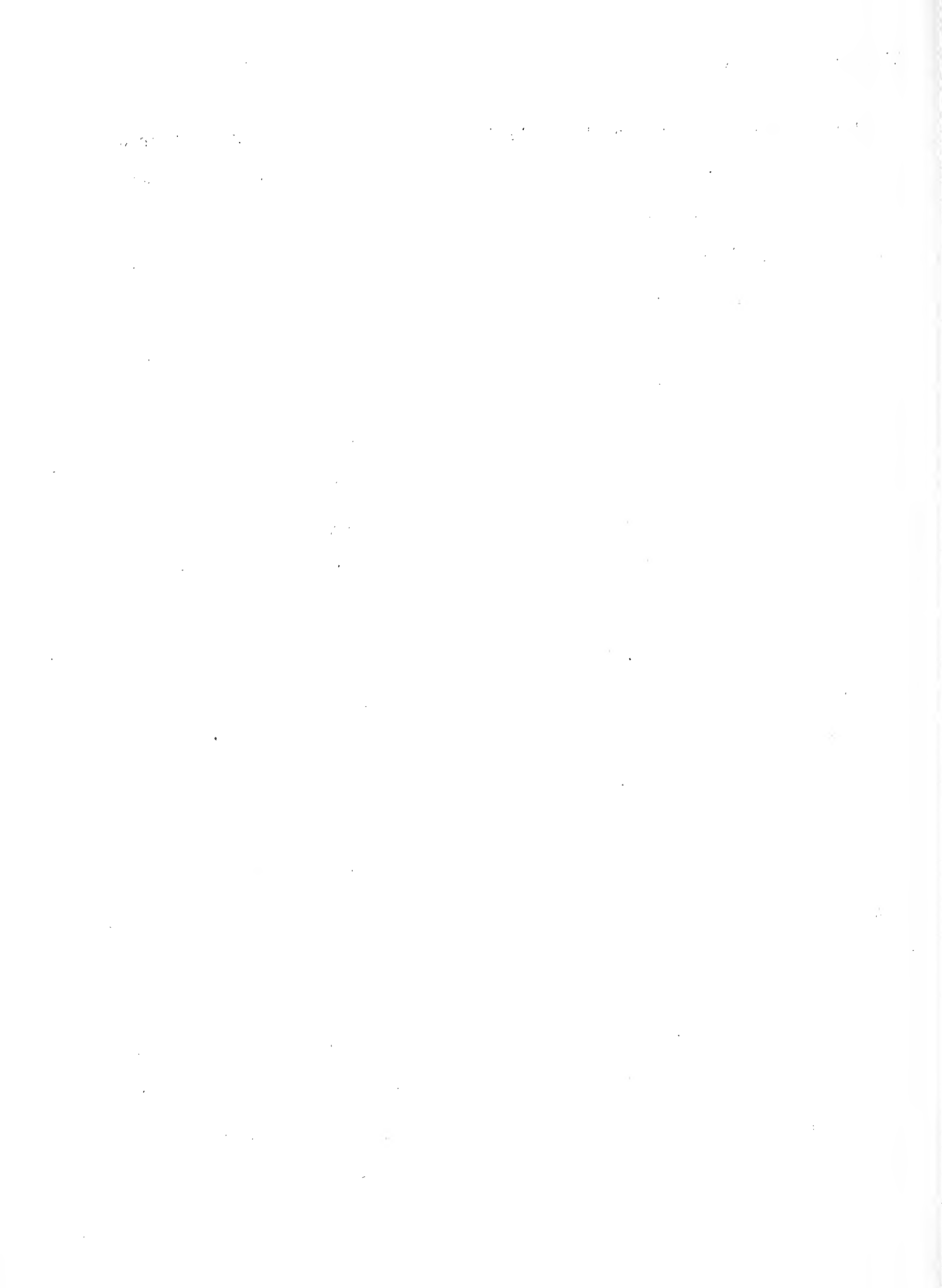




headland. Around the top of the building and the polished shaft are groups of statuary in bronze. In front of the building is a heroic bronze head of Lincoln, by Gutzon Borglum. The entrance opens into a rotunda, in which is a small model of Daniel Chester French's statue "Seated Lincoln."

The sarcophagus chamber is a semi-circular room of marble, with black pilasters and frieze. The sarcophagus bears a marker of granite, with the simple inscription, "Abraham Lincoln 1809-1865." Above a bronze grille admitting light, are inscribed, in black marble, the words of Lincoln's Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, uttered at the President's death "Now He Belongs To The Ages." In one of the walls of the sarcophagus chamber are the vaults containing the bodies of Mrs. Lincoln and the children.

The Lincoln Memorial in Washington occupies a position of pre-eminence in the capital. It is of white marble and its architecture is classical, being modeled after the Parthenon in Athens. Surrounding the walls is a colonnade, 189 feet in length and 118 feet wide, of 36 columns, each 44 feet high. The cornerstone was laid in 1915 and the dedication took place in 1922. Henry Bacon was the architect of the building. The sculptor of the colossal seated figure of Lincoln was Daniel Chester French. In 1957, more than 2,300,000 persons visited the memorial. Most foreign visitors, in Washington officially, ask to be taken to the Lincoln Memorial where they stand, hat in hand, in reverence, reading the inscription above the statue "In this temple as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union, the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever."



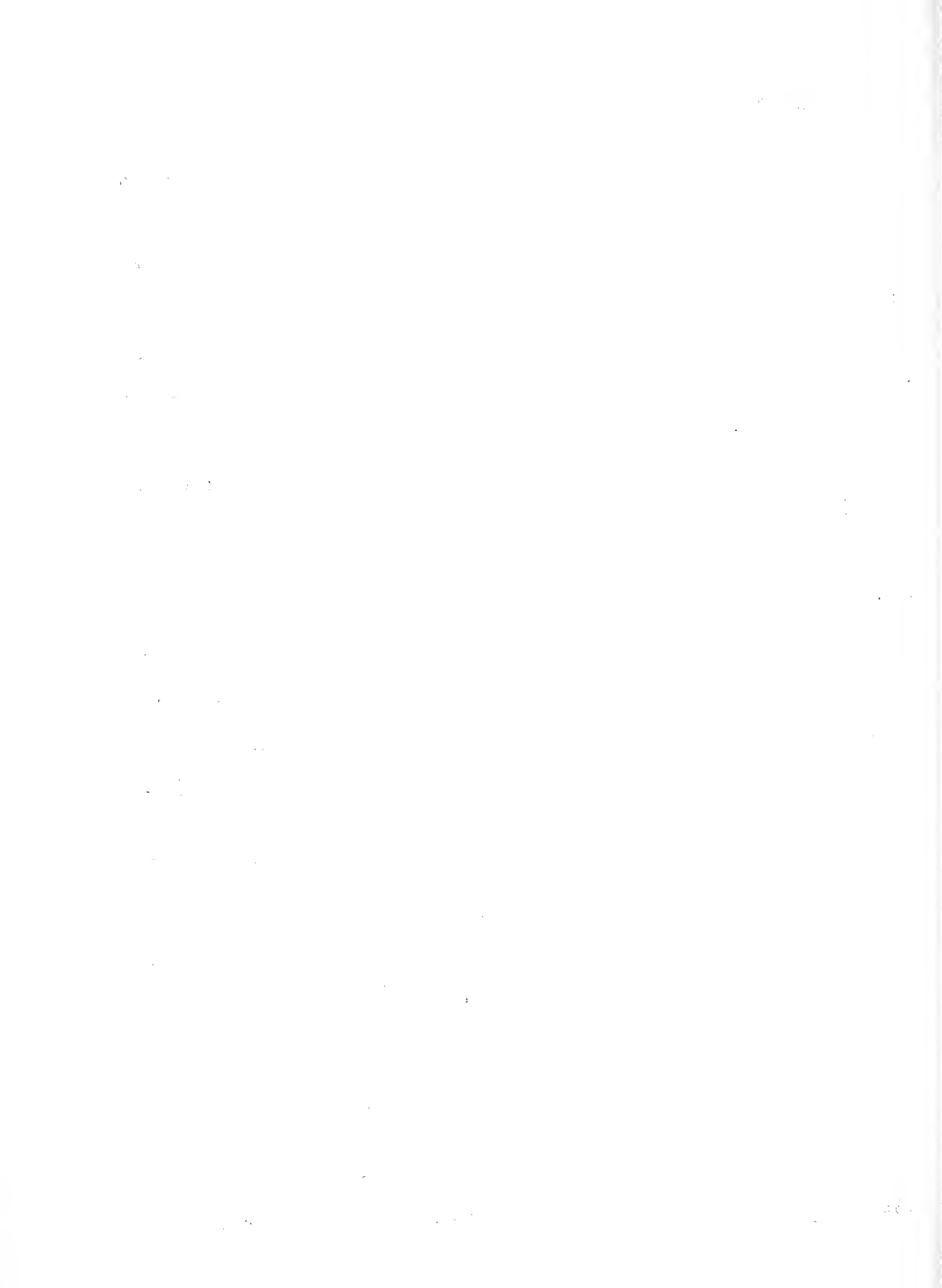
Interest in Lincolniana is widespread. There are collectors in all walks of life, from the individual who is accumulating books on Lincoln to the large collections such as the Library of Congress, National Archives, Lincoln National Life Foundation, Lincoln Museum, Chicago Historical Society, Lincoln Memorial University, and various colleges and universities. All collections contain articles which belonged to Lincoln as well as personal letters and official documents.

The major Lincoln letters and documents are being preserved by the Library of Congress and the National Archives in Washington.

The Lincoln Museum in the Ford's Theatre Building has many items that once belonged to the President; among them are: the Lincoln Family Bible, his books, his gloves, one of his shawls, his inkstand, his shaving mug, and many pieces of his china from the White House. In the collection are also a cooking stove, a cradle used by Lincoln's children, a dining room table, a small desk, and several chairs, all from Lincoln's Springfield home.

About 40 years ago James and Harry Kazanjian, two brothers, gem cutters, came to the United States from Armenia. Years later, as very successful men, they were able to buy five of the largest sapphires ever to be found in the world. They conceived the idea of creating a lasting memorial -- as they phrased it, "The Crowning Jewels of America" -- rather than cut these sapphires into gem stones.

Lincoln was the first American selected to be portrayed in sapphire. The original sapphire weighed 2,302 carats and when completed 1,318 carats. Norman Maness was the sculptor. The life mask by Leonard



Volk was used as a basis for the head. The Abraham Lincoln Sapphire was unveiled in 1951, and since that time three additional heads have been carved, Washington, Jefferson, and Eisenhower. In January 1957 the Kazanjian Foundation was formed and received as a gift from the Kazanjian brothers the four sapphire heads and the fifth sapphire, which became the largest star sapphire in the world, the "Star of Queensland." (The Foundation was established to support scientific, artistic and cultural pursuits, and to provide scholarships for foreign-born students.)

The prophetic utterance, "Now He Belongs To The Ages," has come to pass. Lincoln's acceptance is world-wide as is attested to by the many memorials. It is remarkable the effect the face of this great man has on the people of all nations.

Abraham Lincoln, though born 150 years ago, is still very much alive: His philosophy and psychology are as vital and pertinent today as when he lived.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

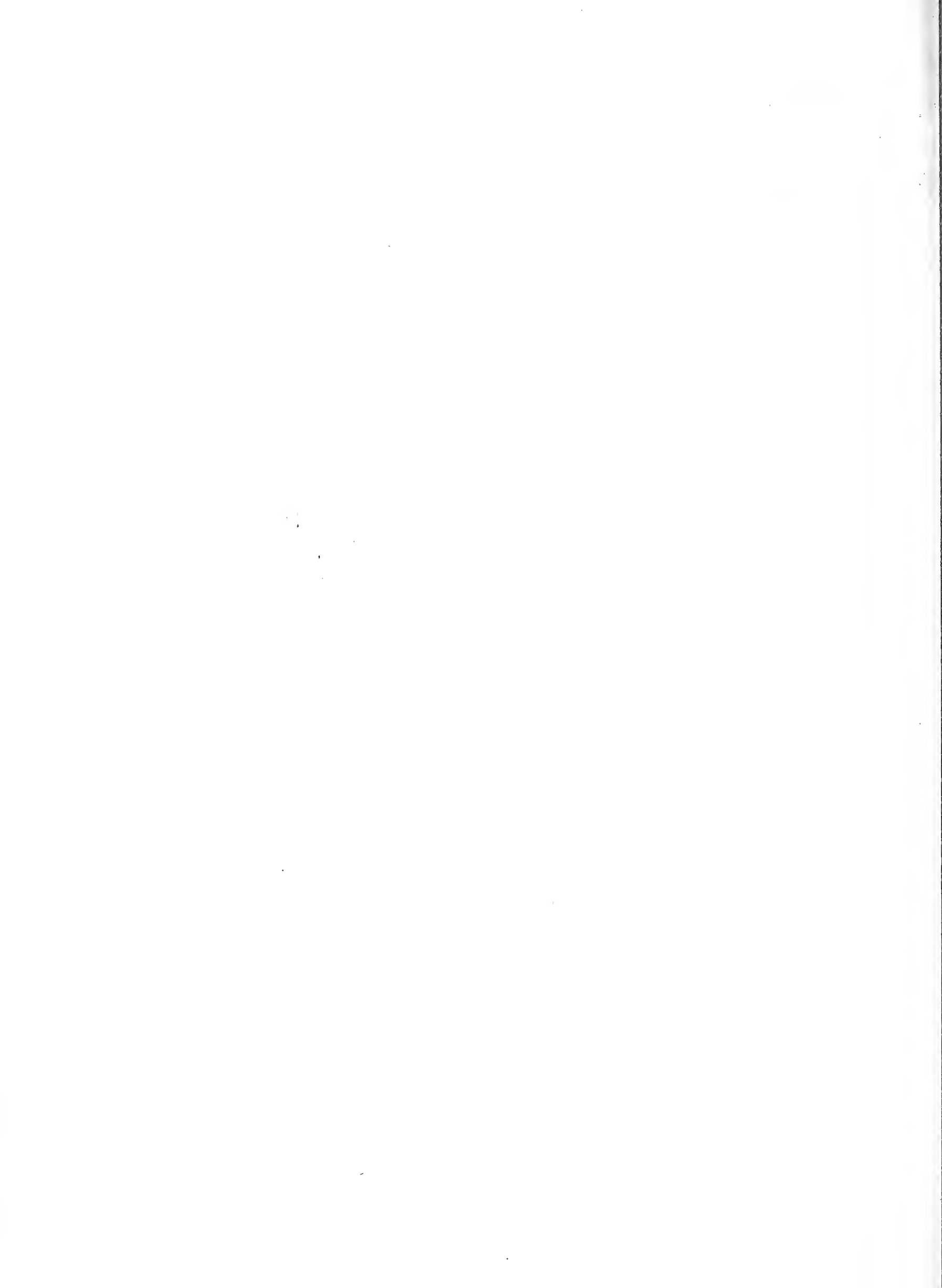
### LINCOLN LITERATURE, COLLECTIONS AND SOCIETIES

By  
R. Gerald McMurtry

The author is Director of "The Lincoln National Life Foundation" in Fort Wayne. He has written 25 books and pamphlets on Lincoln and his contemporaries.

Abraham Lincoln has become a universal figure. The life, career, and deeds of no other American are so well known. His contributions to humanity have made his name immortal. Due to his universality, he has become, in the minds of some men, a subject for folklore and tradition. Yet if competent authorities are followed, Lincoln's words are before us and his deeds are of record.

The present extent of Lincoln literature is voluminous. Incomplete surveys indicate that Lincolniana exceeds in bulk and in total number of publications the literature of any other historical character (Biblical characters excepted). In 1945 the Illinois State Historical Library of Springfield, Illinois, published a "Lincoln Bibliography 1839-1939" compiled by Jay Monaghan. The items listed totaled 3,943 publications. The total count did not include different imprints,





variations, revisions, reprintings and editions which fall within the Monaghan definition of what constitutes an item of Lincolniana.

From 1940 through 1957 about 1,500 Lincoln books, brochures, pamphlets, and folders, of which Lincoln was the dominating theme, have come from the press. Oddly enough, many earlier publications missed entirely by the bibliographer keep turning up. In Lincoln bibliography one finds a live field, but one does not find finality.

In a bibliographical study of Lincolniana it is found that books, brochures, pamphlets, and folders appear in about 32 different languages and dialects ranging from Arabic to Yiddish. Undoubtedly one of the most interesting of these publications appears in Siouan. While a great many of the foreign publications are by native authors, quite a few are translations of works by American biographers.

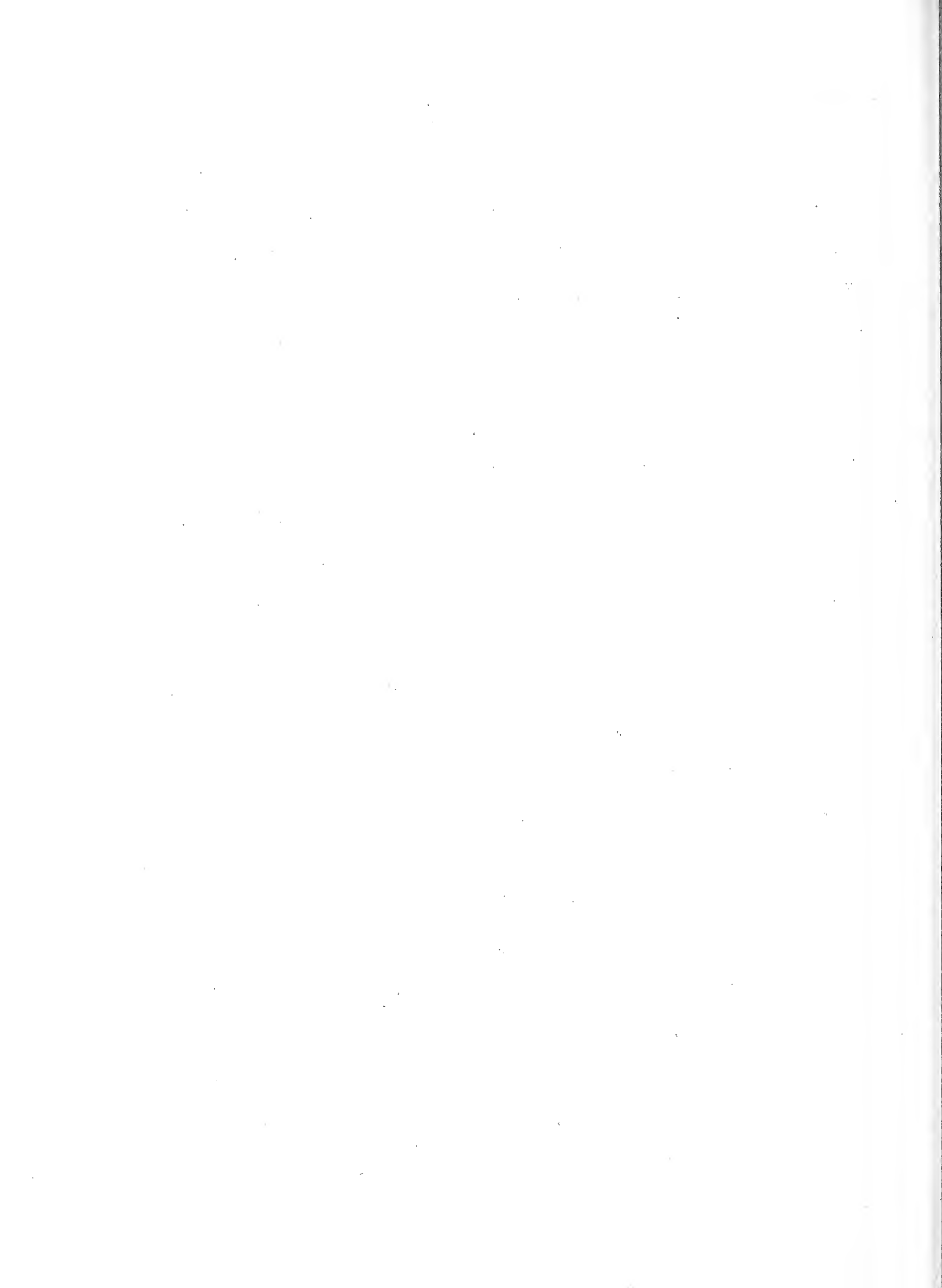
The nation which has manifested the greatest interest in Lincoln, except English speaking countries, is Germany. Approximately 75 German-Lincoln publications have come from the press. Other nations which have found Lincoln a towering figure of history, judging by the number of their publications, are Japan, France, Spain and Spanish speaking countries in Central and South America. A complete collection of books about Lincoln in foreign languages would number between 250 and 300 items. The Monaghan Lincoln bibliography has a special section devoted to "Foreign Language Titles" beginning with number 3,731 and extending to 3,943. A considerable number of title pages and cover titles in Chinese, Hebrew, Japanese, Persian, Polish, Russian and Turkish are pictorially reproduced on the back pages of Volume II.



The cover pages and frontispieces of several of the foreign publications reveal interesting portraits of Lincoln, who is depicted with all the racial characteristics usually associated with the Swedish, the French, the Dutch, the German, and the Japanese. One artist has conceived a portrait which reveals a Greek influence drawn along the lines of a young Lord Byron.

Through the medium of Braille, children's stories, plays, fiction, and biographies of Lincoln have been published for the blind. Approximately 15 basic studies by such authors as Andrews, Aulaire, Drinkwater, Hamilton, Pillsbury, Sandburg, Schurz, Stevenson, Tarbell, and Wright-Davis constitute this special phase of Lincoln works. As one would expect the Gettysburg Address is available in Braille.

Lincoln research and writing go continually forward. This has been true since the 1860's. The earliest works were by political biographers who hoped to influence the voter with a Lincoln-Hamlin or a Lincoln-Johnson biographical sketch. After Lincoln's assassination certain writers "who knew Lincoln personally" made their contributions, only to be followed by those writers "who knew someone who knew Lincoln." Today there is a feeling on the part of the casual observer that modern Lincoln studies are merely repetitious of what has been previously written and published. This is not a correct observation because the modern school of biographers and historians have been forced to go to original sources for information, consequently most of the current Lincoln publications are both scholarly in treatment and scientific in approach.



A recent compilation of 109 basic Lincoln books reveals that 69 were published since 1933 and that 10 basic books written before that date have been reprinted within the last 25 years. The historian and biographer today finds many mechanical avenues of approach to develop a Lincoln topic. There is the biography, the monograph, a general history, minute studies, and collateral works. Then, too, it is an encouraging fact that Lincoln material of prime value is still being discovered and utilized by the energetic and skilled research student.

The compiled writings of Abraham Lincoln exceed in wordage the works of Shakespeare. Lincoln is like Shakespeare in that a Lincoln text serves for almost any theme. A great many new Lincoln letters and documents are constantly being discovered and a lively market is found for each item. Lincoln holographs are quite valuable but not excessively rare.

Since 1940 a new Lincoln book, brochure, pamphlet or folder has come from the press on the average of more than one a week. The year 1940 saw 163 items of Lincolniana published. The years 1941 and 1942 averaged two items per week. Up to date 52 items published in 1957 have been recorded and 1958 promises to be a banner year, to say nothing of an avalanche of Lincoln works expected from the presses in 1959, the sesquicentennial year of the president's birth.

In the United States about 250 people consider themselves bona fide collectors of Lincolniana, while about 25 institutions carry on a concerted specialization of the Lincoln subject. The great centers of



Lincoln information are to be found in institutional libraries in Washington, D.C.; Fort Wayne (Indiana); Springfield (Illinois); Chicago (Illinois); Providence (Rhode Island); San Marino (California); Bloomington (Indiana); Harrogate (Tennessee); Iowa City (Iowa); and Los Angeles (California).

The institutions which excel in the field of Lincolniana are the Library of Congress, Lincoln National Life Foundation, Illinois State Historical Library, University of Chicago Library, Brown University Library, Henry E. Huntington Library, Indiana University Library, Lincoln Memorial University Library, University of Iowa Library and Occidental College Library. In all of these libraries and in many others not mentioned, a great many unique Lincoln items are preserved for posterity and are made available for the research student.

Two of these institutions publish Lincoln periodicals. "Lincoln Lore," published by the Lincoln National Life Foundation from April 15, 1929 (No. 1) to July 25, 1956 (No. 1420), took the form of a one-page leaflet and was issued weekly. "Lincoln Lore" is now published monthly as a four-page illustrated folder beginning with the July 1956 issue (No. 1421) and running up to the current date. The subscription list of 8,000 libraries, historical societies, schools, students and collectors receive the publication free of charge. The "Lincoln Herald," a quarterly, pictorial magazine published by Lincoln Memorial University, first appeared in February 1938, and has been published with some interruptions but without a lapse in volume or number since that date. The subscription list numbers about 4,000 subscribers.

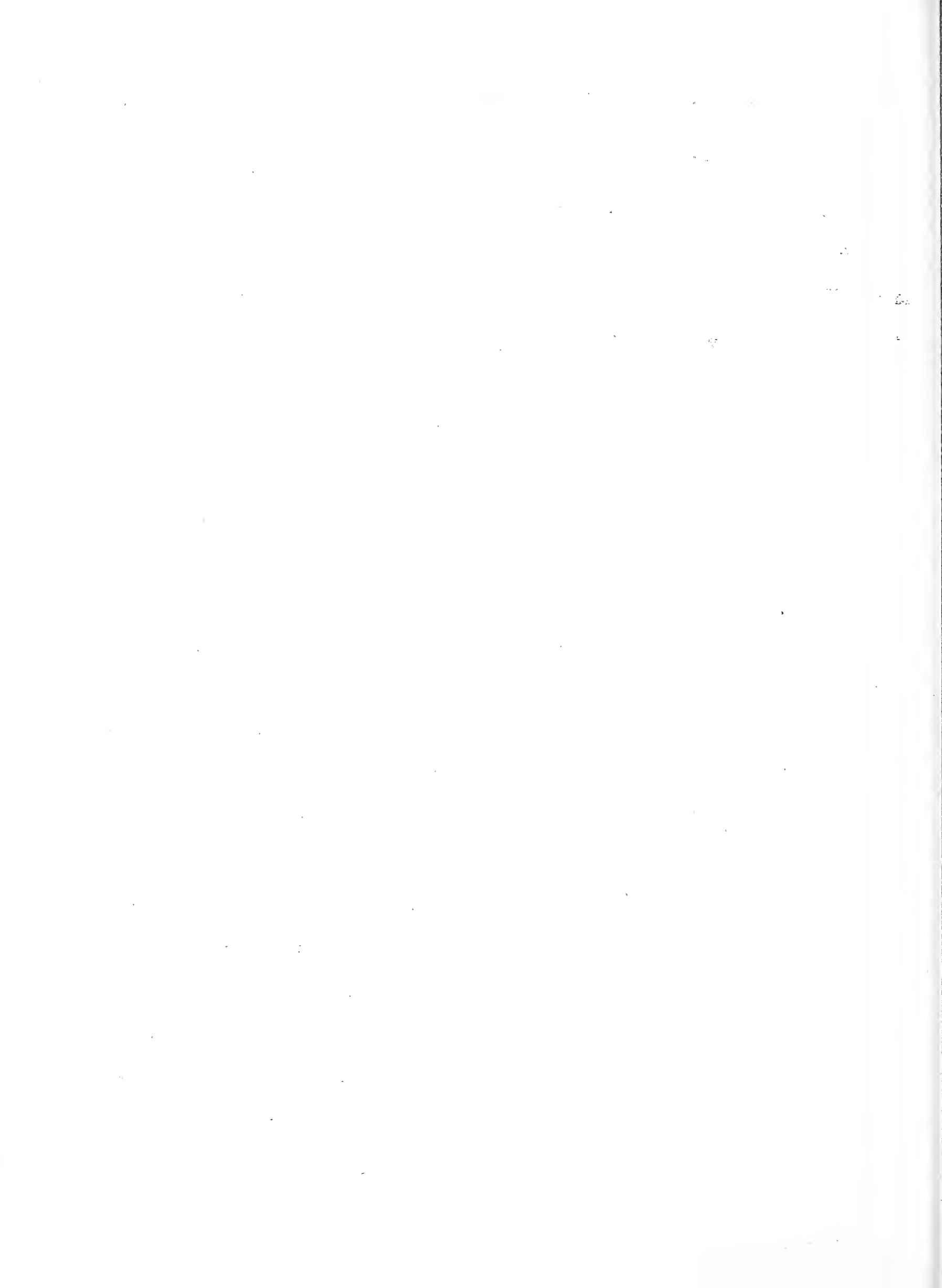




Undoubtedly the finest collection of Lincolniana in private hands is that of William H. Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky. It is rich in manuscript material and contains a great many of the personal belongings of Lincoln and his wife Mary Todd Lincoln. Outstanding manuscript collections are presently owned by Mrs. Foreman M. Lebold of Chicago, Illinois, and Mr. Justin G. Turner of Los Angeles, California. Thomas I. Starr and William Springer of Detroit, Michigan own exceptionally fine libraries of Lincolniana. The best photographic collections of Lincolniana are owned by Frederick H. Meserve of New York City, Stefan Lorant of Lenox, Massachusetts and Lloyd Ostendorf of Dayton, Ohio.

Lincoln is revered for his human understanding, his record of service, his fascinating personality, his common touch, and his articulate skill in expressing the issues of that tragic but interesting period of the American Civil War. On the other hand Lincoln is a paradox, a challenge to the student who knows full well he can hardly ever master his great personality or fathom the depths of his statesmanship or encompass his visions of democracy.

Because of Lincoln's constant and vital presence in world history and the great impact of the War Between the States, about 60 Lincoln Fellowships and Civil War Societies (not including those organizations based on a blood relationship or honorary affiliation) have been founded in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, and India. Although unorganized and with no central headquarters, these study groups bring about an exchange of ideas, promote the study of Lincoln and his contemporaries, and disseminate authentic information about the war, and the administration of the divided country, North and South.

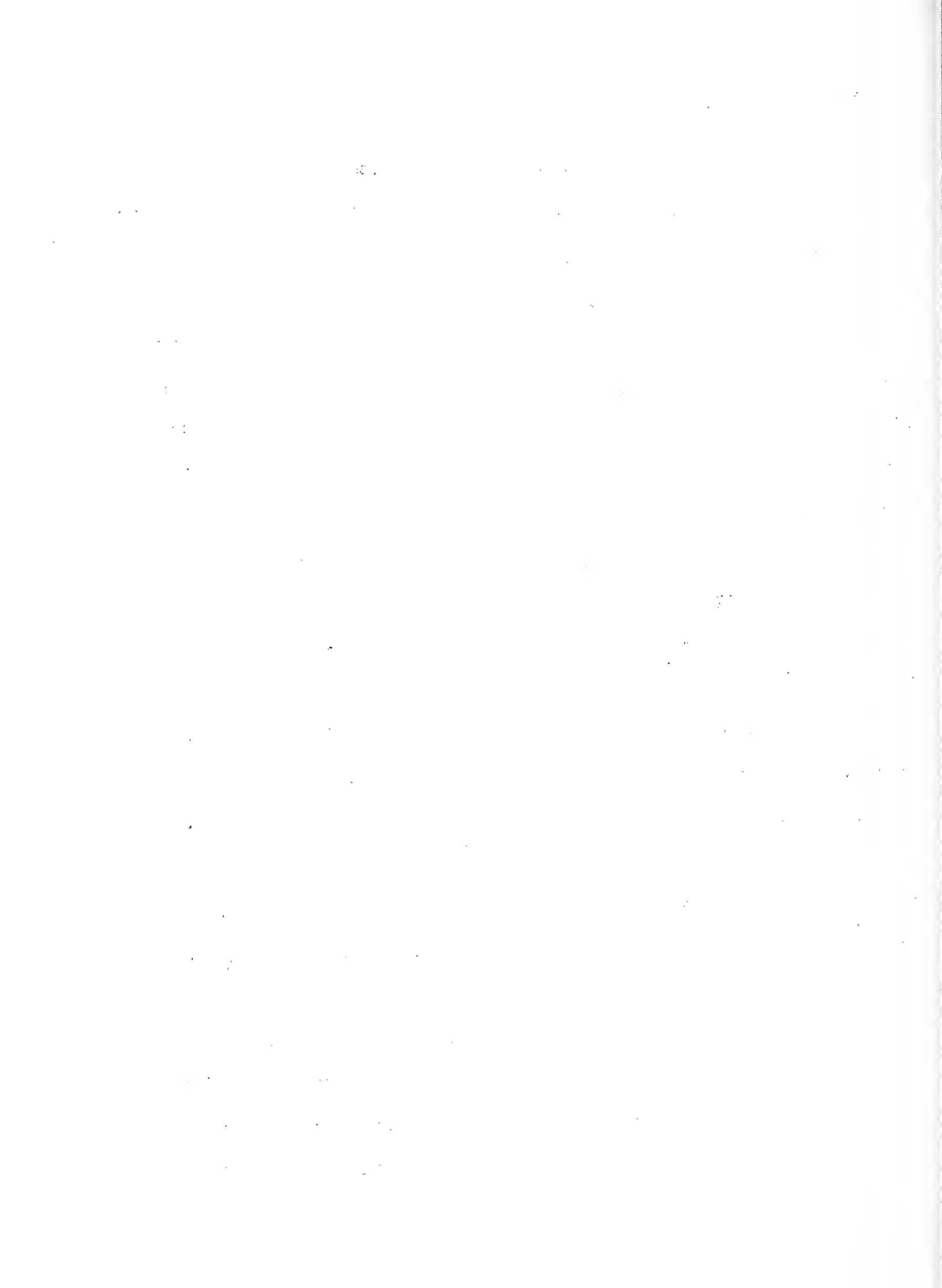


Ten of these societies (eight in the United States, the Lincoln Fellowship of Hamilton, Ontario in Canada, and the Abraham Lincoln Society of India in New Delhi) devote their meetings almost exclusively to a discussion of Abraham Lincoln.

In making a study of Lincolniana one will find some monumental works dealing with the Sixteenth President. Carl Sandburg's six-volume biography "The Prairie Years" and "The War Years" (1926 and 1939) will long remain the most widely read and the most frequently quoted work on Abraham Lincoln.

In a detailed study of Lincoln's life and career no source material could excel his own words as found in his letters, addresses, state papers and recorded conversations. In 1953 the Rutgers University Press published "The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln" which was sponsored by The Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, Illinois, and compiled by Roy P. Basler, editor, and Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, assistant editors. This nine-volume work covers the period from 1824 to 1865.

To make an exhaustive study of Lincoln's life the student should read about a dozen books dealing with the ancestry, the Kentucky, Indiana and rural Illinois years, the legislative and congressional careers, the debates with Douglas, the legal phase, the women in Lincoln's life, the religion of Lincoln, the presidential years, the works of Lincoln, and last but not least, the aftermath. Those who cannot devote so much time to one subject are grateful for Benjamin P. Thomas' "Abraham Lincoln" (1952), which is an authentic, comprehensive one-volume biography.

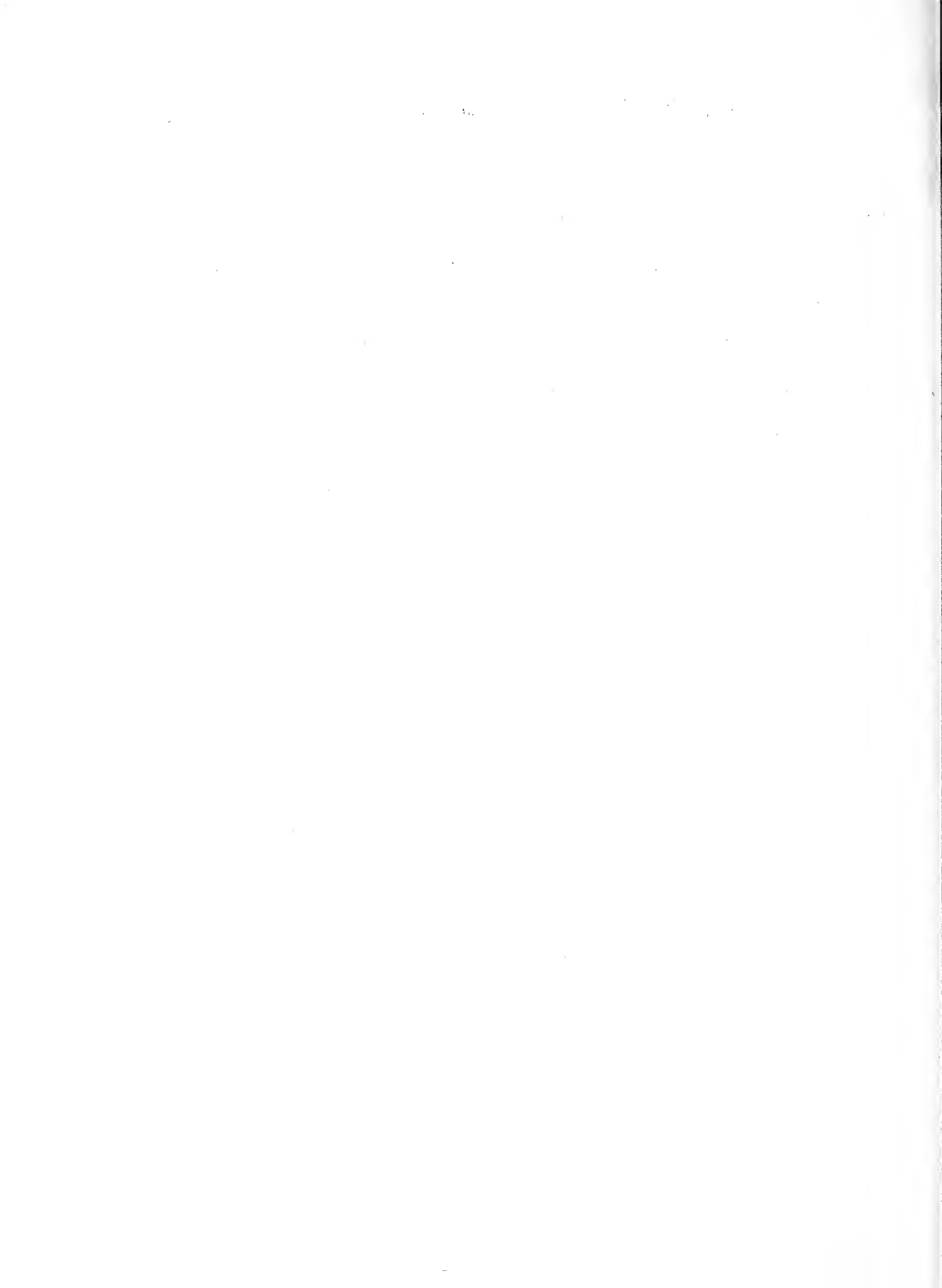


What a full life was Lincoln's! Testimonials from the four corners of the world witness to his renown. Visiting Lincoln's birthplace in Kentucky on April 23, 1954 President Dwight D. Eisenhower eulogized the great president:

"Abraham Lincoln has always seemed to me to represent all that is best in America in terms of its opportunity, and the readiness of Americans always to raise up and exalt these people who live by truth, whose lives are examples of integrity and dedication to our country."

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## TWO CONTEMPORARIES ON ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Walt Whitman

(From: "November Boughs")

.....Though hundreds of portraits have been made [of Lincoln], by painters and photographers, (many to pass on, by copies, to future times,) I have never seen one yet that in my opinion deserv'd to be called a perfectly good likeness; nor do I believe there is really such a one in existence. May I not say too, that, as there is no entirely competent and emblematic likeness of Abraham Lincoln in picture or statue, there is not--perhaps cannot be -- any fully appropriate literary statement or summing up of him yet in existence?.....

One of the best of the late commentators on Shakspeare, (Professor Dowden,) makes the height and aggregate of his quality as a poet to be, that he thoroughly blended the ideal with the practical or realistic. If this be so, I should say that what Shakspeare did in poetic expression, Abraham Lincoln essentially did in his personal and official life. I should say the invisible foundations and vertebra of his character, more than any man's in history, were mystical, abstract, moral and spiritual--while upon all of them was built, and out of all of them radiated, under the control of the average of circumstances, what the vulgar call horse-sense, and a life often bent by temporary but most urgent materialistic and political reasons.

10



He seems to have been a man of indomitable firmness (even obstinacy) on rare occasions, involving great points; but he was generally very easy, flexible, tolerant, almost slouchy, respecting minor matters. I note that even those reports and anecdotes intended to level him down, all leave the tinge of favorable impression of him. As to his religious nature, it seems to me to have certainly been of the amplest, deepest-rooted, loftiest kind.

\* \* \*

(From: "Specimen Days")

August 12. 1863--I see the President almost every day, as I happen to live where he passes to or from his lodgings out of town. He never sleeps at the White House during the hot season, but has quarters at a healthy location some three miles north of the city, the Soldiers' home, a United States military establishment. I saw him this morning about 8½ coming in to business, riding on Vermont avenue, near L street. He always has a company of twenty-five or thirty cavalry, with sabres drawn and held upright over their shoulders. They say this guard was against his personal wish, but he let his counselors have their way. The party makes no great show in uniform or horses. Mr. Lincoln on the saddle generally rides a good-sized, easy-going gray horse, is dress'd in plain black, somewhat rusty and dusty, wears a black stiff hat, and looks about as ordinary in attire, &c., as the commonest man. A lieutenant, with yellow straps, rides at his left, and following behind, two by two, come the cavalry men, in their yellow-striped jackets. They are generally going at a slow trot, as that is the pace set them by the one they wait upon. The sabres and



accoutrements clank, and the entirely unornamental cortège as it trots toward Lafayette square arouses no sensation, only some curious stranger stops and gazes. I see very plainly Abraham Lincoln's dark brown face, with the deep-cut lines, the eyes, always to me with a deep latent sadness in the expression. We have got so that we exchange bows, and very cordial ones. Sometimes the President goes and comes in an open barouche. The cavalry always accompany him, with drawn sabres. Often I notice as he goes out evenings -- and sometimes in the morning, when he returns early -- he turns off and halts at the large and handsome residence of the Secretary of War, on K street, and holds conference there. If in his barouche, I can see from my window he does not alight, but sits in his vehicle, and Mr. Stanton comes out to attend him. Sometimes one of his sons, a boy of ten or twelve, accompanies him, riding at his right on a pony. Earlier in the summer I occasionally saw the President and his wife, toward the latter part of the afternoon, out in a barouche, on a pleasure ride through the city. Mrs. Lincoln was dress'd in complete black, with a long crape veil. The equipage is of the plainest kind, only two horses, and they nothing extra. They pass'd me once very close, and I saw the President in the face fully, as they were moving slowly, and his look, though abstracted, happen'd to be directed steadily in my eye. He bow'd and smiled, but far beneath his smile I noticed well the expression I have alluded to. None of the artists or pictures has caught the deep, though subtle and indirect expression of this man's face. There is something else there. One of the great portrait painters of two or three centuries ago is needed.

\* \* \*



(From: "Specimen Days")

April 16, 1865--I find in my notes of the time, this passage on the death of Abraham Lincoln: He leaves for America's history and biography, so far, not only its most dramatic reminiscence--he leaves, in my opinion, the greatest, best, most characteristic, artistic, moral personality. Not but that he had faults, and show'd them in the Presidency; but honesty, goodness, shrewdness, conscience, and (a new virtue, unknown to other lands, and hardly yet really known here, but the foundation and tie of all, as the future will grandly develop,) UNIONISM, in its truest and amplest sense, form'd the hardpan of his character. These he seal'd with his life. The tragic splendor of his death, purging, illuminating all, throws round his form, his head, an aureole that will remain and will grow brighter through time, while history lives, and love of the country lasts. By many has this Union been help'd; but if one name, one man, must be pick'd out, he, most of all, is the conservator of it, to the future. He was assassinated--but the Union is not assassinated--ca ira! One falls, and another falls. The soldier drops, sinks like a wave--but the ranks of the ocean eternally press on. Death does its work, obliterates a hundred, a thousand--President, general, captain, private--but the Nation is immortal.

\* \* \*

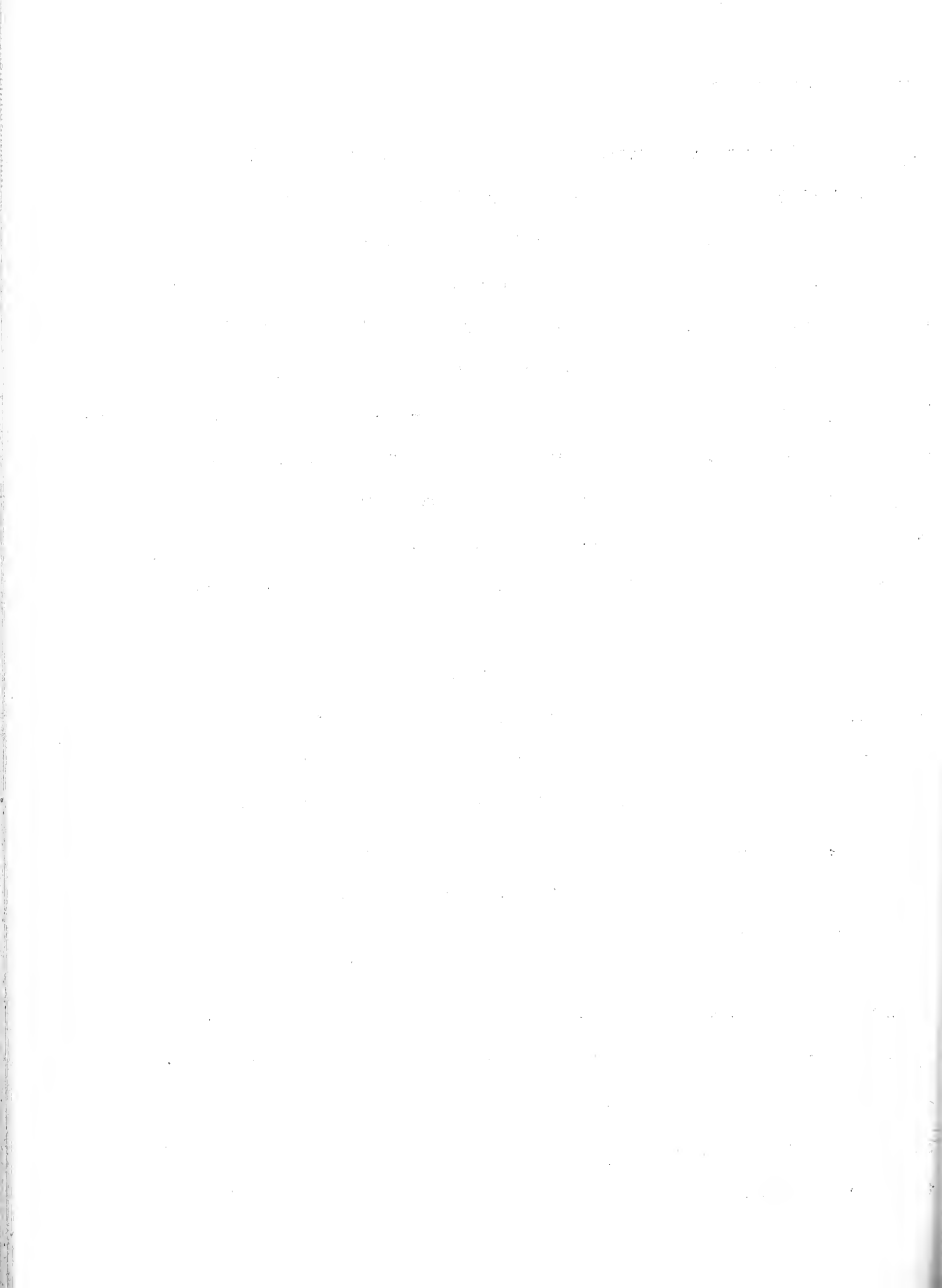
(From Walt Whitman's lecture "Death of Lincoln" delivered in New York April 14, 1879--in Philadelphia, 1880 and in Boston, 1881.)

The grand deaths of the race--the dramatic deaths of every nationality--are its most important inheritance-value--in some respects beyond its literature and art--(as the hero is beyond his finest portrait, and the



battle itself beyond its choicest song or epic.) Is not here indeed the point underlying all tragedy? the famous pieces of the Grecian masters -- and all masters? Why, if the old Greeks had had this man, what trilogies of plays -- what epics would have been made out of him! How the rhapsodes would have recited him! How quickly that quaint tall form would have enter'd into the region where men vitalize gods, and gods divinify men! But Lincoln, his times, his death -- great as any, any age -- belong altogether to our own, and are autochthonic. (Sometimes indeed I think our American days, our own stage -- the actors we know and have shaken hands, or talk'd with -- more fateful than any thing in Eschylus -- more heroic than the fighters around Troy -- afford kings of men for our Democracy prouder than Agamemnon -- models of character cute and hardy as Ulysses -- deaths more pitiful than Priam's.)

When, centuries hence, (as it must, in my opinion, be centuries hence before the life of these States, or of Democracy, can be really written and illustrated,) the leading historians and dramatists seek for some personage, some special event, incisive enough to mark with deepest cut, and mnemonize, this turbulent Nineteenth century of ours, (not only these States, but all over the political and social world) -- something, perhaps, to close that gorgeous procession of European feudalism, with all its pomp and caste-prejudices, (of whose long train we in America are yet so inextricably the heirs) -- something to identify with terrible identification, by far the greatest revolutionary step in the history of the United States, (perhaps the greatest of the world, our century) -- the absolute extirpation and erasure of slavery from the States -- those historians will seek in vain for any point to serve more thoroughly their purpose, than Abraham Lincoln's death.





Dear to the Muse--thrice dear to Nationality--to the whole human race--precious to this Union--precious to Democracy--unspeakably and forever precious--their first great Martyr Chief.

\* \* \*

One of the best known poems by Walt Whitman, is "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," an elegy on the death of Abraham Lincoln. Published in "Sequel to Drum-Taps" (1865-1866) and "Leaves of Grass" (1867), it presents a lament by the poet as he witnessed the funeral procession of the dead president, and makes use of three recurring symbols: a lilac branch, signifying love; "the drooping star in the west," representing Lincoln; and a singing thrush, symbolizing the poet himself. The following is an excerpt from "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd."

Over the breast of the spring, the land, amid cities,  
Amid lanes and through old woods, where lately the violets peep'd  
from the ground, spotting the gray debris,  
Amid the grass in the fields each side of the lanes, passing the  
endless grass,  
Passing the yellow-spear'd wheat, every grain from its shroud in  
the dark-brown fields uprisen,  
Passing the apple-tree blows of white and pink in the orchards,  
Carrying a corpse to where it shall rest in the grave,  
Night and day journeys a coffin.



Coffin that passes through lanes and streets,  
 Through day and night with the great cloud darkening the land,  
 With the pomp of the inloop'd flags with the cities draped  
     in black,  
 With the show of the States themselves as of crape-veil'd women  
     standing,  
 With processions long and winding and the flambeaus of the night,  
 With the countless torches lit, with the silent sea of faces and  
     the unbared heads,  
 With the waiting depot, the arriving coffin, and the sombre faces,  
 With dirges through the night, with the thousand voices rising  
     strong and solemn,  
 With all the mournful voices of the dirges pour'd around the coffin,  
 The dim-lit churches and the shuddering organs -- where amid these  
     you journey,  
 With the tolling tolling bells' perpetual clang,  
 Here, coffin that slowly passes,  
 I give you my sprig of lilac.

\* \* \*

"O Captain! My Captain!" -- "Hush'd be the Camps To-Day" -- "This  
 Dust was once the Man" were written as a tribute to Abraham Lincoln shortly  
 after his assassination. They appeared in Walt Whitman's book of verse  
 "Sequel to Drum-Taps" (1865-66) and later in "Leaves of Grass" (1867).

O CAPTAIN! MY CAPTAIN!

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,  
 The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,  
 The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,  
 While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;  
     But O heart! heart! heart!  
     O the bleeding drops of red,  
     Where on the deck my Captain lies,  
     Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;  
 Rise up -- for you the flag is flung -- for you the bugle trills,  
 For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths -- for you the shores  
     a-crowding,  
 For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;  
     Here Captain! dear father!  
     This arm beneath your head!  
     It is some dream that on the deck,  
     You've fallen cold and dead.



My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,  
 My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will,  
 The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,  
 From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won;  
     Exult O shores, and ring O bells!  
     But I with mournful tread,  
     Walk the deck my Captain lies,  
     Fallen cold and dead.

## HUSH'D BE THE CAMPS TO-DAY

Hush'd be the camps to-day,  
 And soldiers let us drape our war-worn weapons,  
 And each with musing soul retire to celebrate,  
 Our dear commander's death.

No more for him life's stormy conflicts,  
 Nor victory, nor defeat -- no more time's dark events,  
 Charging like ceaseless clouds across the sky.

But sing poet in our name,  
 Sing of the love we bore him -- because you, dweller in camps,  
     know it truly.

As they invault the coffin there,  
 Sing -- as they close the doors of earth upon him -- one verse,  
 For the heavy hearts of soldiers.

## THIS DUST WAS ONCE THE MAN

This dust was once the man,  
 Gentle, plain, just and resolute, under whose cautious hand,  
 Against the foulest crime in history known in any land or age,  
 Was saved the Union of these States.

\* \* \*



Herman Melville

The great novelist, author of "Moby Dick," "Typee" and "Omoo," and of four volumes of poetry, has memorialized Abraham Lincoln in several poems, among them "The Martyr."

## THE MARTYR

Indicative of the Passion of the People on the 15th Day  
of April, 1865

Good Friday was the day  
Of the prodigy and crime  
When they killed him in his pity,  
When they killed him in his prime  
Of clemency and calm --  
When with yearning he was filled  
To redeem the evil-willed,  
And, though conqueror, be kind;  
But they killed him in his kindness,  
In their madness and their blindness,  
And they killed him from behind.

There is sobbing of the strong,  
And a pall upon the land;  
But the People in their weeping  
Bare the iron hand;  
Beware the People weeping  
When they bare the iron hand.

He lieth in his blood --  
The father in his face;  
They have killed him, the Forgiver --  
The Avenger takes his place,  
The Avenger wisely stern,  
Who in righteousness shall do  
What the heavens call him to,  
And the parricides remand;  
For they killed him in his kindness,  
In their madness and their blindness,  
And his blood is on their hand.





There is sobbing of the strong,  
And a pall upon the land;  
But the People in their weeping  
Bare the iron hand:  
Beware the People weeping  
When they bare the iron hand.

(From: "Battle Pieces and Aspects  
of the War"; 1866)

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### THE WORLDLY WISDOM OF LINCOLN

If A. can prove, however, conclusively, that he may of right, enslave B. -- why may not B. snatch the same argument, and prove equally, that he may enslave A ? --

You say A. is white, and B. is black. It is color, then: the lighter having the right to enslave the darker? Take care. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet with a fairer skin than your own.

You do not mean color exactly? -- You mean the whites are intellectually the superiors of the blacks, and, therefore have the right to enslave them? Take care again. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet with an intellect superior to your own.

But, say you, it is a question of interest; and if you can make it your interest, you have the right to enslave another. Very well. And if he can make it his interest, he has the right to enslave you.

("Fragment on Slavery" in "The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*



Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better, or equal hope, in the world?

(From Lincoln's First Inaugural Address,  
March 4, 1861)

\* \* \*

Lincoln remarked that very exaggerated accounts of the carnage in the Civil War had been produced by including among the killed large numbers of men whose term of enlistment had expired, and who had been replaced by others, or had reenlisted themselves. He told in illustration of this remark one of his characteristic stories:

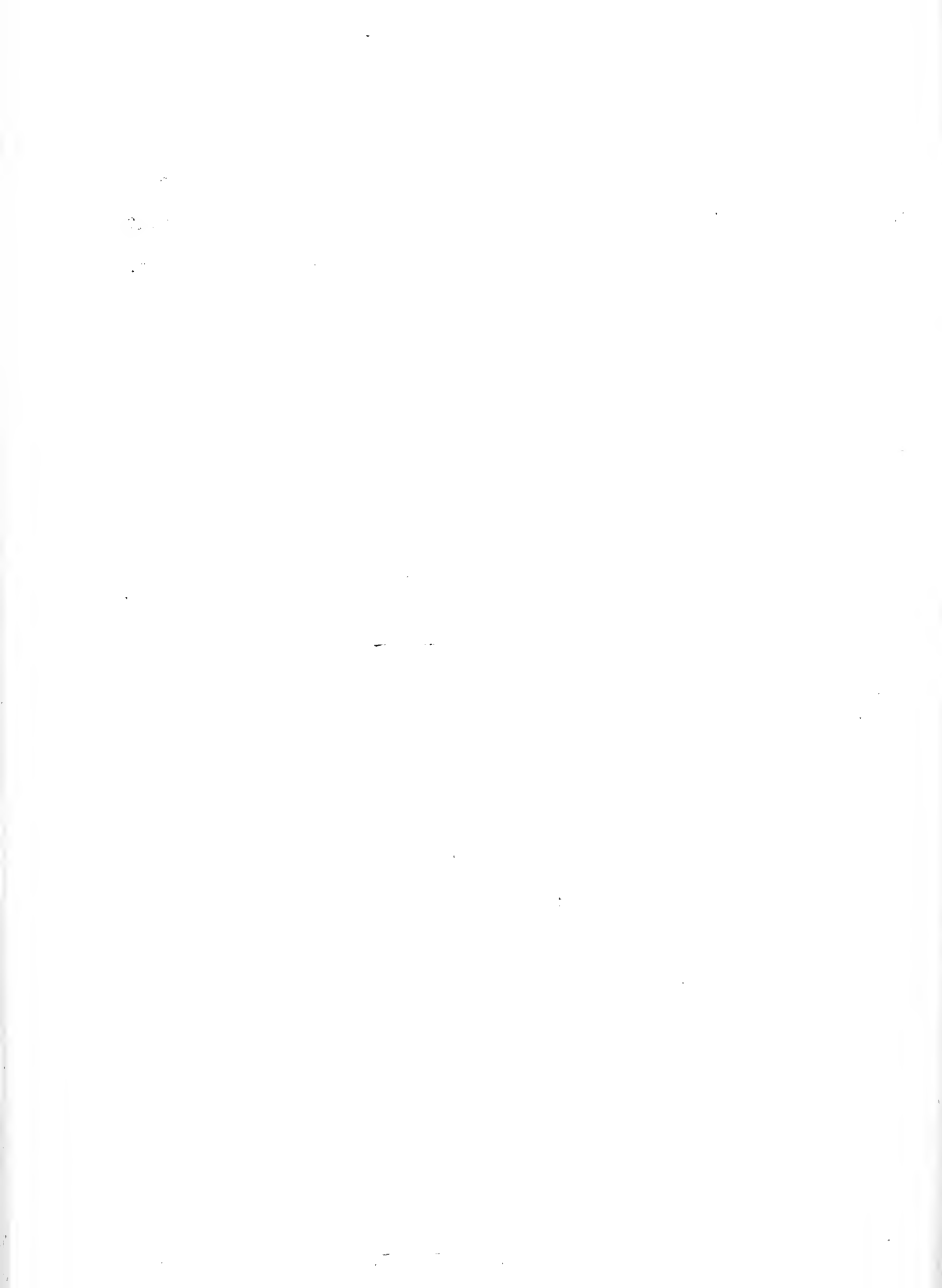
"A Negro had been learning arithmetic. Another Negro asked him, if he shot at three pigeons sitting on a fence and killed one, how many would remain. 'One,' replied the arithmetician. 'No,' said the other Negro, 'the other two would fly away.'"

(Goldwin Smith: "President Lincoln";  
Macmillan's Magazine)

\* \* \*

(From a letter to Captain James M. Cutts, October 26, 1863)

.....You were convicted of two offences. One of them, not of great enormity, and yet greatly to be avoided, I feel sure you are in no danger of repeating. The other you are not so well assured against. The advice of a father to his son "Beware of entrance to a quarrel, but being in, bear it that the opposed may beware of thee," is good, and yet not the best. Quarrel not at all. No man resolved to make the most of himself, can spare time for personal contention. Still less can he afford to take all the consequences, including the vitiating of his temper, and the loss of self-control. Yield larger things to which you can



show no more than equal right; and yield lesser ones, though clearly your own. Better give your path to a dog, than be bitten by him in contesting for the right. Even killing the dog would not cure the bite. In the mood indicated deal henceforth with your fellow men, and especially with your brother officers; and even the unpleasant events you are passing from will not have been profitless to you.

("The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,"  
edited by Roy P. Basler)

\* \* \*

I think very much of the people, as an old friend said he thought of woman. He said when he lost his first wife, who had been a great help to him in his business, he thought he was ruined -- that he never could find another to fill her place. At length, however, he married another, who he found did quite as well as the first, and that his opinion now was that any woman would do well who was well done by. So I think of the whole people of this nation -- they will ever do well if well done by. We will try to do well by them in all parts of the country, North and South, with entire confidence that all will be well with all of us.

(From a speech at Bloomington, Illinois, 1860 --  
"The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

One summer morning, passing by the White House at an early hour, Noah Brooks saw President Lincoln standing at the gateway, looking anxiously down the street; and in reply to a salutation, he said, "Good-morning, good-morning! I am looking for a news-boy; when you get to





that corner I wish you would start one up this way.

(Noah Brooks: "Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln"; in "Harper's New Monthly Magazine," 1865)

\* \* \*

Lincoln, speaking of unjust newspaper attacks, said in 1864:

"A traveller on the frontier found himself out of his reckoning one night in a most inhospitable region. A terrific thunder-storm came up, to add to his trouble. He floundered along until his horse at length gave out. The lightning afforded him the only clew to his way, but the peals of thunder were frightful. One bolt, which seemed to crash the earth beneath him, brought him to his knees. By no means a praying man, his petition was short and to the point, -- 'O Lord, if it is all the same to you, give us a little more light and a little less noise!'"

(Francis Bicknell Carpenter: "Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

Office seekers worried the life out of President Lincoln, besieging him everywhere. Referring to this annoyance, he said: "I am like a man so busy in letting rooms in one end of his house, that he can't stop to put out the fire that is burning the other."

(Henry Jarvis Raymond: "The Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

A gentleman was pressing very strenuously the promotion of an officer to a "Brigadiership." "But we have already more generals than we know what to do with," replied Lincoln. "But," persisted the visitor,



"my friend is very strongly recommended." "Now look here," said President Lincoln, throwing one leg over the arm of his chair, "you are a farmer, I believe; if not, you will understand me. Suppose you had a large cattle yard full of all sorts of cattle, -- cows, oxen, bulls -- and you kept killing and disposing of your cows and oxen, in one way and another, -- taking good care of your bulls. By-and-by you would find that you had nothing but a yard full of old bulls, good for nothing under heaven. Now, it will be just so with the army, if I don't stop making brigadier-generals."

(Francis Bicknell Carpenter: "Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

Lincoln disliked titles being tacked onto his name and he incurred the criticism of fashionable Washington circles by his use of his last name only, without the prefacing "Mr. President." To an intimate friend who addressed him always by his proper title he said: "Now call me Lincoln, and I'll promise not to tell of the breach of etiquette -- if you won't -- and I shall have a resting spell from 'Mr. President.'"

(Noah Brooks: "Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln" in "Harper's New Monthly Magazine," 1865)

\* \* \*

(From an address before the Wisconsin Agricultural Society 1859)

It is said an Eastern Monarch once charged his wise men to invent him a sentence, to be ever in view, and which should be true and appropriate in all times and situations. They presented him the words:



"And this, too, shall pass away." How much it expresses! How chastening in the hour of pride! -- How consoling in the depths of affliction!

"And this, too, shall pass away." And yet let us hope it is not quite true. Let us hope, rather, that by the best cultivation of the physical world, beneath and around us; and the intellectual and moral world within us, we shall secure an individual, social and political prosperity and happiness, whose course shall be onward and upward, and which, while the earth endures, shall not pass away.

("The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

At the White House one day some gentlemen were present, excited and troubled about the commissions or omissions of the administration. President Lincoln heard them patiently, and then replied: -- "Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold, and you had to put it into the hands of an acrobat to carry across the Niagara River on a rope, would you shake the cable, or keep shouting out to him -- 'Stand up a little straighter -- stoop a little more -- go a little faster -- lean a little more to the north -- lean a little more to the south'? No, you would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The Government are carrying an immense weight. Untold treasures are in their hands. They are doing the very best they can. Don't bother them. Keep silence, and we'll get you safe across.

(Henry Jarvis Raymond: "The Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*



Some simple remark would often prompt Lincoln to tell an apropos story. On one occasion Secretary of the Treasury Chase happened to remark to Lincoln: "I am so sorry that I had to write a letter to Mr. So-and-So before I left home." Lincoln promptly responded: "Chase, never regret what you don't write; it is what you do write that you are often called upon to feel sorry for."

(General Egbert L. Viele: "Lincoln as a Story-teller,"  
in "The Independent," 1895)

\* \* \*

Judge Baldwin, of California, being in Washington, called one day on General Halleck and asked for a pass outside the Northern lines to see a brother in Virginia. "We have been deceived too often," said General Halleck, "and I regret I can't grant it." Judge Baldwin then went to Secretary of War Stanton, and was very briefly disposed of with the same result. Finally he obtained an interview with President Lincoln, and stated his case. "Have you applied to General Halleck?" inquired the President. "Yes, and met with a flat refusal," said Judge Baldwin. "Then you must see Stanton," continued Lincoln. "I have, and with the same result," was the reply. "Well, then," said Lincoln, with a smile, "I can do nothing; for you must know that I have very little influence with this administration."

(Henry Jarvis Raymond: "The Life and Public  
Services of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

Notes

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It is essential for the company to have a clear and concise system in place to ensure that all financial data is properly documented and accessible.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data. This includes both qualitative and quantitative approaches, as well as the use of advanced statistical software to process large datasets.

3. The third part of the document provides a detailed overview of the results obtained from the data analysis. It highlights key trends and patterns, as well as the implications of these findings for the company's overall performance and future strategy.

4. The final part of the document offers conclusions and recommendations based on the findings. It suggests several areas for improvement and provides specific recommendations for how the company can better manage its resources and optimize its operations.



(From an address to the Indiana Legislation in 1861)

Solomon says that there is "a time to keep silence," and when men wrangle by the month with no certainty that they mean the same thing, while using the same word, it perhaps were as well if they would keep silence.

(Nicolay and Hay: "Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

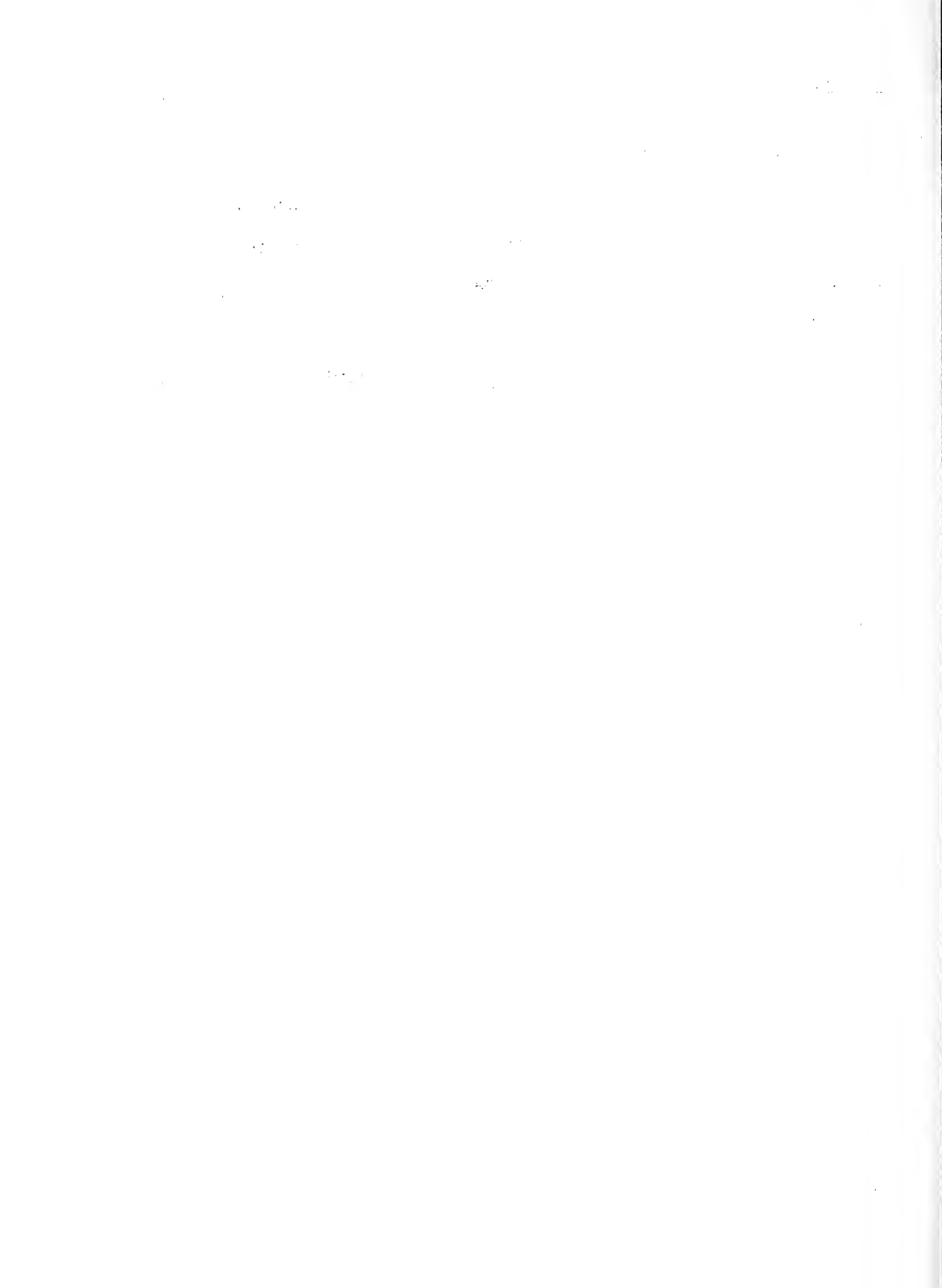
A man watches his pear-tree day after day, impatient for the ripening of the fruit. Let him attempt to force the process and he may spoil both fruit and tree. But let him patiently wait, and the ripe pear at length falls into his lap....I have done what no man could have helped doing, standing in my place.

(Francis B. Carpenter: "Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \* \* \*

(Some of the items contained herein have been condensed in the interest of brevity.)

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## WIT AND HUMOR OF LINCOLN

Captain Lincoln was drilling his men during the Black Hawk (Indian) War, marching with a front of over twenty men across a field, when he found himself before a gap in the fence through which he wanted to go.

"I could not for the life of me," said Lincoln, "remember the proper word of command for getting my command endwise, so that it could get through the gate; so, as we came near I shouted: 'This company is dismissed for two minutes, when it will fall in again on the other side of the gate!'"

(Ida Minerva Tarbell: "The Life of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

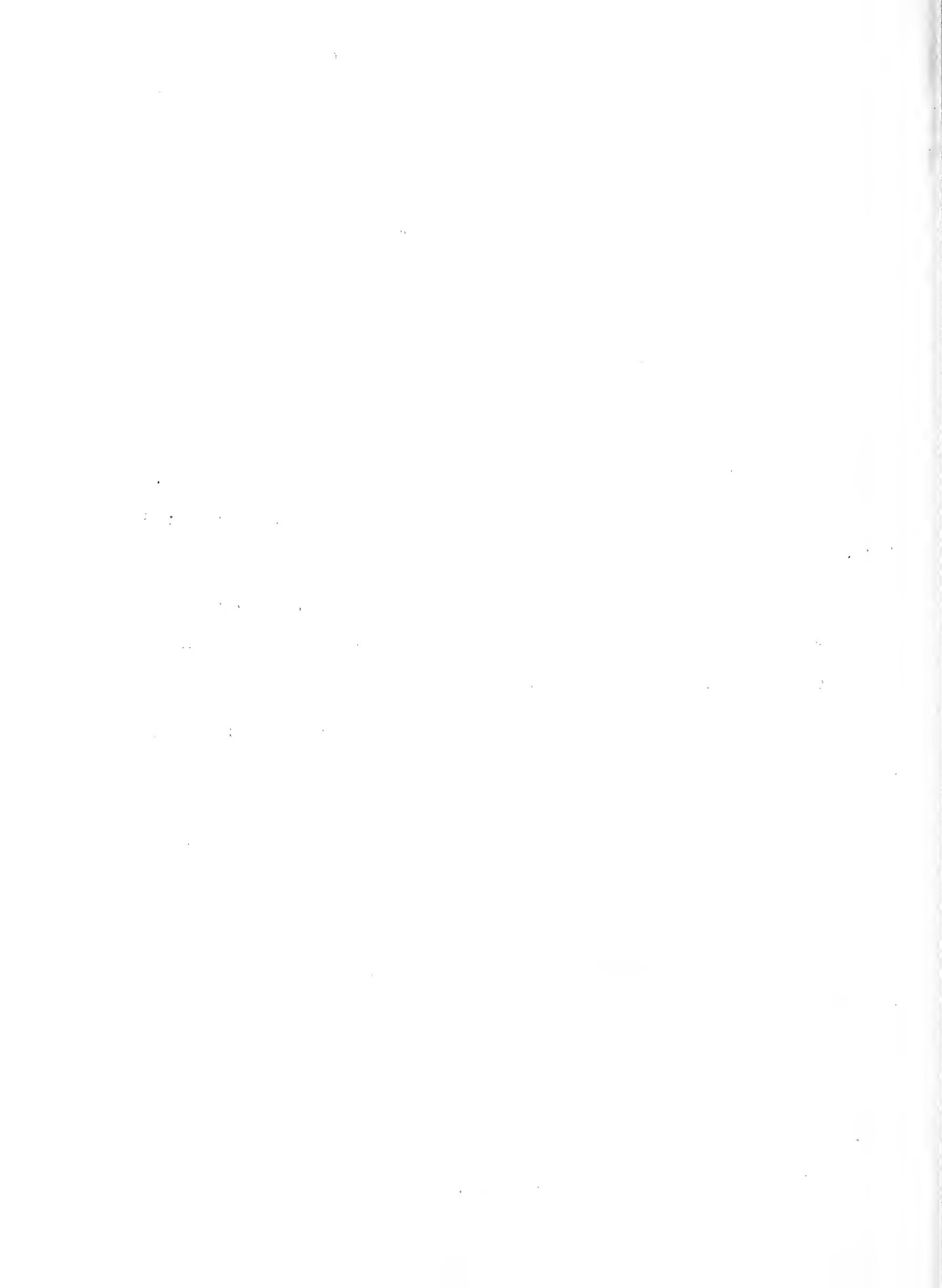
In the days when Lincoln was practicing law in Springfield, he accosted a man driving along the road. Lincoln said: "Will you have the goodness to take my overcoat to town for me?"

"With pleasure," replied the stranger, "but how will you get it again?"

"Oh, very readily," said Lincoln, "as I intend to remain in it."

(Brant House: "Lincoln's Wit")

\* \* \*



When Daniel Pierce Gardner applied to Lincoln for a soap testimonial, the President-Elect complied with this letter:

Springfield, Illinois,

September 28, 1860

Dear Sir:

Some specimens of your soap have been used at our house and Mrs. L. declares it is a superb article. She at the same time, protests that I have never given sufficient attention to the "soap question" to be a competent judge. Yours truly

A. LINCOLN

("The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,"  
edited by Roy P. Basler)

\* \* \*

Lincoln was a very tall man, reaching a height of six feet, four inches. On his 56th birthday a tall New Englander was introduced to him. When the President saw the giant, lacking but two inches of seven feet, he was speechless with astonishment. As he surveyed him several times from head to foot, the well-known smile spread over his homely face, and his sad eyes sparkled with fun, as he said: "My Friend, will you kindly permit me to inquire if you know when your feet get cold?"

(James Grant Wilson: "Recollections of  
Lincoln")

\* \* \*

Lincoln was his own bootblack, and is known to have continued so to be while in the White House. "In England, Mr. Lincoln, no gentleman



blacks his own boots," is said to have been the surprised remark of an Englishman as he came upon Lincoln in the act of applying blacking to his pedal covertures. "Whose boots does he black?" inquired Lincoln as he spat on his brush.

(William Eleazar Barton: "The Life of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

In February 1861 Lincoln made a speech in Jersey City, New Jersey, and his remarks were received with demonstrations of applause and the waving of handkerchiefs. Loud cries were kept up for "Lincoln, Lincoln," and to quiet the crowd the President-Elect once more came to the front of the platform and said:

There appears to be a desire to see more of me, and I can only say that from my position, especially when I look around the gallery (bowing to the ladies), I feel that I have decidedly the best of the bargain, and in this matter I am for no compromises here.

("The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,"  
edited by Roy P. Basler)

\* \* \*

A Southern lady from Tennessee came to see President Lincoln about her husband, who was confined at Johnson's Island, a northern prison. She urged that her husband was a religious man and should be released. Lincoln said: "You say your husband is a religious man. Tell him when you meet him that I say I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their





Government because, as they think, that Government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven." Lincoln ordered the release of the prisoner, and then later wrote down the little speech and added the caption, "The President's Last, Shortest, and Best Speech."

(Noah Brooks: "Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

In an interview (held at Quincy, Illinois, in 1858) between Lincoln and Petroleum V. Nasby, the name came up of a recently deceased politician of Illinois, whose undeniable merit was blemished by an overweening vanity. His funeral was attended by a very large crowd.

"If General ..... had known how big a funeral he would have," said Lincoln, "he would have died years ago."

(Allen Thorndike Rice: "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of his Time")

\* \* \*

A New York lawyer was desirous of being appointed as a judge.

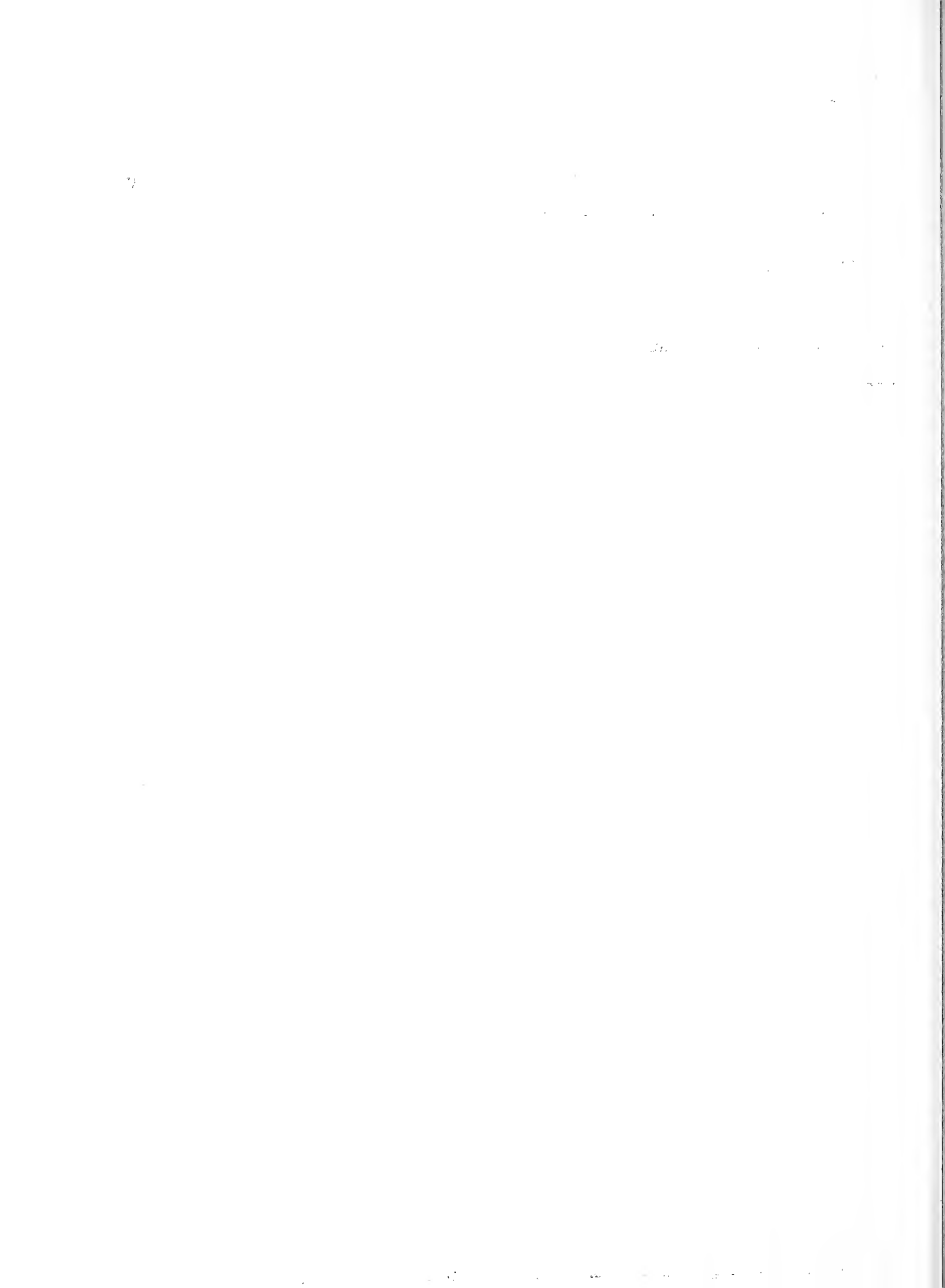
"There are only ten," he exclaimed, "to transact the whole of the state's affairs."

"And so you want to increase them to one hundred," Lincoln is said to have replied, "by adding a cipher to them?"

(Brant House: "Lincoln's Wit")

\* \* \*

Once an Austrian Count applied to President Lincoln for a position in the army. Introduced to Lincoln by the Austrian Minister, he



explained that he was a Count, that his family were ancient and highly respectable, etc. Lincoln, with a merry twinkle in his eye, tapped the Count on the shoulder, in a fatherly way, as if the man had confessed to some wrong, and interrupted in a soothing tone: "Never mind, you shall be treated with just as much consideration for all that."

(Francis F. Browne: "The Every-day Life of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*

Told by Secretary of State Seward:

Lincoln never tells a joke for the joke's sake, they are like the parables of old -- lessons of wisdom. Let me give you an instance. When he first came to Washington, he was inundated with office-seekers. One day he was particularly afflicted; about twenty placehunters from all parts of the Union had taken possession of his room with bales of credentials and self-recommendations about ten miles long. After a while Lincoln said:

"Gentlemen, I must tell you a little story I read one day..... A certain king had a minister upon whose judgment he always depended.... One day he took it into his head to go a hunting, and after summoning his nobles, he summoned the minister and asked him if it would rain. The minister told him it would not, and he and his nobles departed. While journeying along they met a farmer on a jackass. He advised them to return, 'For,' he said, 'it will certainly rain.' But they passed on..... Soon a heavy shower came up and they were drenched to the skin.

"When they had returned to the palace, the king reprimanded the minister severely and sent for the farmer. 'Tell me,' said the king, 'how you knew it would rain?'



"'I did not know,' said the farmer, 'my jackass told me.'

"'And how did he tell you?' asked the king.

"'By pricking up his ears, your majesty,' said the farmer.

"The king sent him away, and procuring the jackass of him, put him (the jackass) in the place of his minister.

"And here," observed Lincoln, "is where the king made a great mistake."

"How so?" inquired his auditors eagerly.

"Why, ever since that time," said Lincoln, with a grin, "every jackass wants an office."

(Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Oct. 31, 1863)

\* \* \*

Robert Dale Owen, the spiritualist, once read President Lincoln a long manuscript on an abstruse subject with which that rather erratic person loved to deal. Lincoln listened patiently until the author asked for his opinion. The President replied with a yawn: "Well, for those who like that sort of thing it is just about the sort of thing they would like."

(Anthony Gross: "Lincoln's Own Stories")

\* \* \*

(Lincoln said in 1858)

"It's a fortunate thing I wasn't born a woman, for I cannot refuse anything."

(William E. Barton: "The Life of Abraham Lincoln")

\* \* \*



(Lincoln said in 1862)

"Horace Greeley reminds me of the big fellow whose little wife beat him over the head without resistance. The man said to others, 'Let her alone. It don't hurt me and it does her a power of good.'"

(Carl Sandburg: "Abraham Lincoln; the War Years")

\* \* \*

(Lincoln said in 1862)

"He can compress the most words into the smallest ideas of any man I ever met."

(Anthony Gross: "Lincoln's Own Stories")

\* \* \*

(Some of these anecdotes have been condensed in the interest of brevity.)

October, 1958







# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN LETTERS

To Jesse W. Fell, enclosing autobiography

Springfield

J. W. Fell, Esq

Dec. 20. 1859

My dear Sir:

Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me.

If any thing be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material. If it were thought necessary to incorporate any thing from any of my speeches, I suppose there would be no objection. Of course it must not appear to have been written by myself.

Yours very truly

A. LINCOLN

I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky.

My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon County, Illinois. My paternal grandfather,



Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where a year or two later he was killed by the Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite, than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up, literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called; but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin', and cipherin'," to the Rule of Three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin, happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the Rule of Three; but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education, I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty-two. At twenty-one I came to Illinois, and passed the first year in Illinois--Macon County. Then I got to New Salem, at that time



in Sangamon, now in Menard County, where I remained a year as a sort of Clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk War; and I was elected a Captain of Volunteers--a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went the campaign, was elated, ran for the Legislature the same year (1832), and was beaten -- the only time I ever have been beaten by the people. The next, and three succeeding biennial elections, I was elected to the Legislature. I was not a candidate afterward. During this Legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was once elected to the lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics, and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said, I am, in height, six feet, four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing, on an average, one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair, and grey eyes--no other marks or brands recollected. Yours very truly

A. LINCOLN

\* \* \*



(This letter written by Lincoln when he was a lawyer typifies the many acts that earned him the sobriquet "Honest Abe.")

To George P. Floyd

Springfield, Illinois,

February 21, 1856

Mr. George P. Floyd,  
Quincy, Illinois.

Dear Sir: I have just received yours of 16th, with check on Flagg & Savage, for twenty-five dollars. You must think I am a high-priced man. You are too liberal with your money.

Fifteen dollars is enough for the job. I send you a receipt for fifteen dollars, and return to you a ten-dollar bill. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

\* \* \*

(Excerpt from a letter)

To Henry L. Pierce and Others

Springfield, Illinois

Gentlemen:

April 6, 1859

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





All honor to Jefferson--to the man who, in the concrete presence of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document, an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so embalm it there, that to-day, and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of re-appearing tyranny and oppression. Your obedient Servant

A. LINCOLN

\* \* \*

Letter to William D. Kelley

Private

Springfield, Illinois

Hon. William D. Kelly

Oct--13. 1860

My dear Sir:

Yours of the 6th. asking permission to inscribe your new legal work to me, is received. Gratefully accepting the proffered honor, I give the leave, begging only that the inscription may be in modest terms, not representing me as a man of great learning, or a very extraordinary one in any respect. Yours very truly

A. LINCOLN

\* \* \*



(In answer to a letter written by a little girl of Westfield, New York, in which she told him that she was 11 years old and asked him "to let his whiskers grow." She added: "You would look a great deal better for your face is so thin.")

Letter to Grace Bedell

Private

Springfield, Illinois

Miss. Grace Bedell

October 19. 1860

My dear little Miss.

Your very agreeable letter of the 15th. is received.

I regret the necessity of saying I have no daughters. I have three sons--one seventeen, one nine, and one seven, years of age. They, with their mother, constitute my whole family.

As to the whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think people would call it a piece of silly affection if I were to begin it now? Your very sincere well-wisher

A. LINCOLN.

(Not long afterwards, Lincoln let his beard grow. Happening to pass through Westfield, he asked for his little friend and said, "You see I let these whiskers grow for you, Grace.")

\* \* \*



To Ephraim D. and Phoebe Ellsworth

To the Father and Mother of Col.

Washington, D. C.

Elmer E. Ellsworth

May 25. 1861

My dear Sir and Madam: In the untimely loss of your noble son, our affliction here, is scarcely less than your own. So much of promised usefulness to one's country, and of bright hopes for one's self and friends, have rarely been so suddenly dashed, as in his fall. In size, in years, and in youthful appearance, a boy only, his power to command men, was surpassingly great. This power, combined with a fine intellect, an indomitable energy, and a taste altogether military, constituted in him, as seemed to me, the best natural talent, in that department, I ever knew.

And yet he was singularly modest and deferential in social intercourse. My acquaintance with him began less than two years ago; yet through the latter half of the intervening period, it was as intimate as the disparity of our ages, and my engrossing engagements, would permit. To me, he appeared to have no indulgences or pastimes; and I never heard him utter a profane, or an intemperate word. What was conclusive of his good heart, he never forgot his parents. The honors he labored for so laudably, and, in the sad end he so gallantly gave his life, he meant for them, no less than for himself.

In the hope that it may be no intrusion upon the sacredness of your sorrow, I have ventured to address you this tribute to the memory of my young friend, and your brave and early fallen child.

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

May God give you that consolation which is beyond all earthly power. Sincerely your friend in a common affliction --

A. LINCOLN

\* \* \*

To George D. Ramsay

Executive Mansion

Majr. Ramsay

October 17, 1861

My dear Sir

The lady -- bearer of this -- says she has two sons who want to work. Set them at it, if possible. Wanting to work is so rare a merit, that it should be encouraged. Yours truly

A. LINCOLN

\* \* \*

To Edwin M. Stanton

Executive Mansion

Hon Sec of War

January 22, 1862

My Dear Sir

On reflection I think it will not do as a rule for the Adjutant General to attend me wherever I go; not that I have any objection to his presence, but that it would be an uncompensating incumbrance both to him and me. When it shall occur to me to go any-





where, I wish to be free to go at once, and not to have to notify the Adjutant General, and wait till he can get ready. It is better, too, for the public service, that he shall give his time to the business of his office, and not to personal attendance on me. While I thank you for your kindness of the suggestion, my view of the matter is as I have stated. Yours truly

A. LINCOLN

\* \* \*

To Fanny McCullough

Executive Mansion

Washington, December 23, 1862.

Dear Fanny

It is with deep grief that I learn of the death of your kind and brave Father; and, especially, that it is affecting your young heart beyond what is common in such cases. In this sad world of ours, sorrow comes to all; and, to the young, it comes with bitterest agony, because it takes them unawares. The older have learned to ever expect it. I am anxious to afford some alleviation of your present distress. Perfect relief is not possible, except with time. You can not now realize that you will ever feel better. Is not this so? And yet it is a mistake. You are sure to be happy again. To know this, which is certainly true, will make you some less miserable now. I have had experience enough to know what I say; and you need only to believe it, to feel better at



once. The memory of your dear Father, instead of an agony, will yet be a sad sweet feeling in your heart, of a purer, and holier sort than you have known before.

Please present my kind regards to your afflicted mother.

Your sincere friend

A. LINCOLN

Miss. Fanny McCullough.

\* \* \*

(Excerpt from a letter)

To the Workingmen of Manchester, England

Executive Mansion, Washington.

To the workingmen of Manchester:

January 19, 1863

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent to me on the eve of the new year.

.... I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workingmen at Manchester and in all Europe are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the actions of our disloyal citizens the workingmen of Europe have been subjected to a severe trial, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under these circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterance upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in



any country. It is, indeed, an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity, and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation, and, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that, whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

\* \* \*

To James H. Hackett

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 17, 1863.

My dear Sir:

Months ago I should have acknowledged the receipt of your book, and accompanying kind note; and I now have to beg your pardon for not having done so.

For one of my age, I have seen very little of the drama. The first presentation of Falstaff I ever saw was yours here, last winter or spring. Perhaps the best compliment I can pay is to say, as I truly can, I am very anxious to see it again. Some of Shakespeare's



plays I have never read; while others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader. Among the latter are Lear, Richard III, Henry VIII, Hamlet, and especially Macbeth. I think nothing equals Macbeth. It is wonderful. Unlike you gentlemen of the profession, I think the soliloquy in Hamlet commencing "O, my offence is rank" surpasses that commencing "To be or not to be." But pardon this small attempt at criticism. I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of Richard III. Will you not soon visit Washington again? If you do, please call and let me make your personal acquaintance. Yours truly

A. LINCOLN

James H. Hackett, Esq

\* \* \*

(Excerpt from a letter)

To James C. Conkling

Executive Mansion,

Hon. James C. Conkling

Washington, August 26, 1863.

My Dear Sir.

.....

Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that, among free men,





there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet; and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case, and pay the cost. And then, there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while I fear, there will be some white ones, unable to forget that, with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they strove to hinder it.

Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result. Yours very truly

A. LINCOLN

\* \* \*

To Edwin M. Stanton

Executive Mansion

Hon. Sec. of War --

Washington, March 1, 1864.

My dear Sir:

A poor widow, by the name of Baird, has a son in the Army, that for some offence has been sentenced to serve a long time without pay, or at most, with very little pay. I do not like this punishment of withholding pay--it falls so very hard upon poor families. After he has been serving in this way for several months, at the tearful appeal of the poor Mother, I made a direction that he be allowed to



enlist for a new term, on the same conditions as others. She now comes, and says she can not get it acted upon. Please do it. Yours truly

A. LINCOLN

\* \* \*

To Mrs. Lydia Bixby

Executive Mansion,

Washington, November 21, 1864.

Dear Madam,-- I have just been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle.

I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save.

I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours, to have laid



so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of Freedom. Yours, very sincerely  
and respectfully,

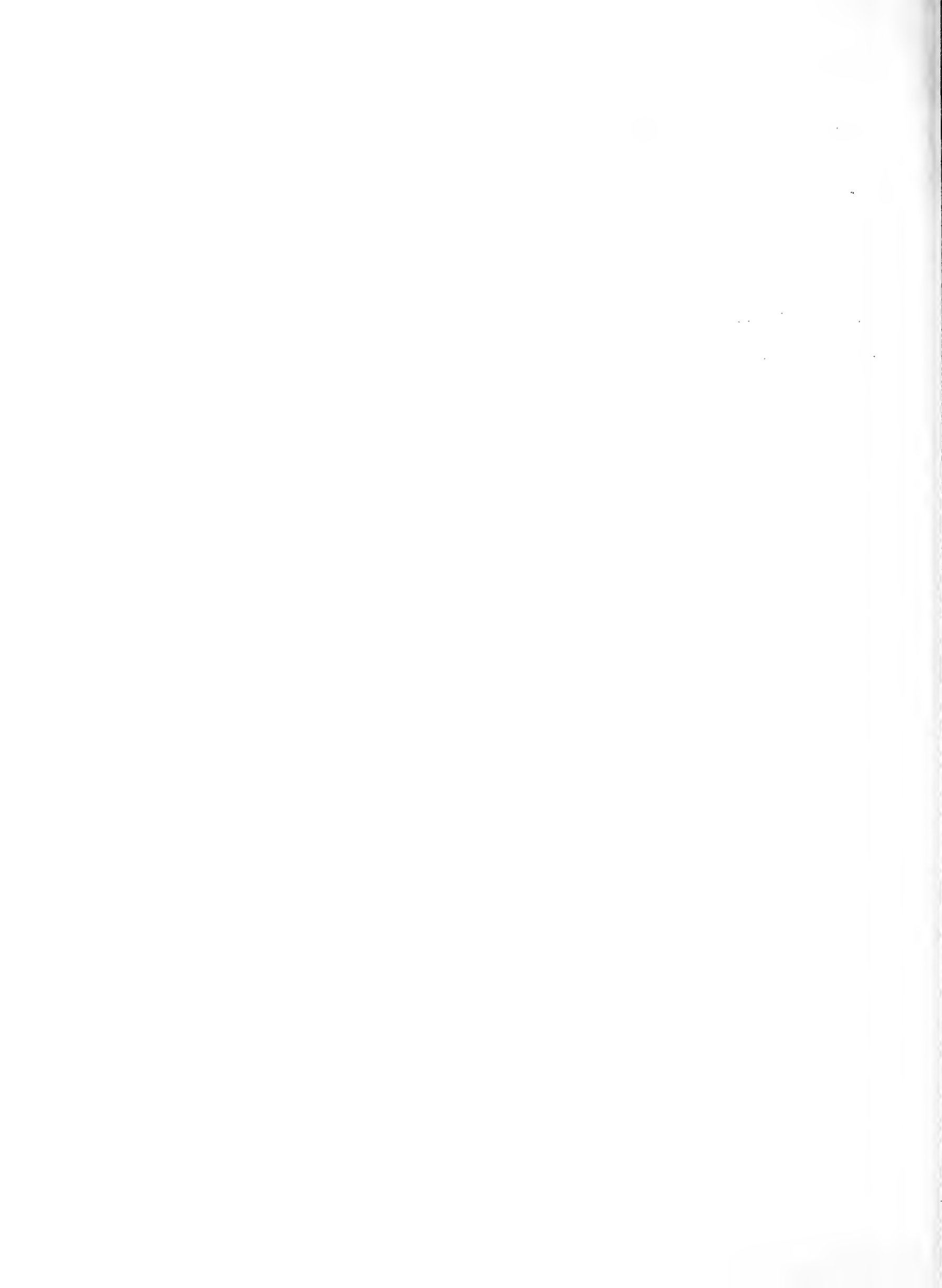
A. LINCOLN

Mrs. Bixby

\* \* \* \* \*

(In some instances in the letters given above the modern version of  
an older word form or usage has been adopted to ease translation.)

October, 1958





# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1859)

## LINCOLN SPEECHES

From a Communication to the People of Sangamo County. March 9, 1832 \*

Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say for one that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition, is yet to be developed. I am young and unknown to many of you. I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relations to recommend me. My case is thrown exclusively upon the independent voters of this county, and if elected they will have conferred a favor upon me for which I shall be unremitting in my labors to compensate. But if the good people in their wisdom shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined.

---

\* Sangamo Journal, March 15, 1832. Nicolay and Hay, the editors of "The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln," 1930, state that this communication was distributed as a handbill. If so no copies seem to have survived. ("The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln," edited by Roy P. Basler; 1953)

1. *Microtus pennsylvanicus*

2. *Microtus pennsylvanicus*

10

100

100

100

100



From Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois.

January 27, 1838.

Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country; and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and Laws, let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor, let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in schools, in seminaries; and in colleges. Let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and in almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation.

\* \* \*

From Address before the Washington Temperance Society,  
Springfield, Illinois. February 22, 1842.

When the conduct of men is designed to be influenced, persuasion, kind, unassuming persuasion, should ever be adopted. It is an old and a true maxim, that a "drop of honey catches more flies than a gallon of gall." So with men. If you would win a man to your cause,



first convince him that you are his sincere friend. Therein is a drop of honey that catches his heart, which, say what he will, is the great high-road to his reason, and which, when once gained, you will find but little trouble in convincing his judgment of the justice of your cause, if indeed that cause really be a just one. On the contrary, assume to dictate to his judgment, or to command his action, or to mark him as one to be shunned and despised, and he will retreat within himself, close all the avenues to his head and his 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, you shall no more be able to pierce him, than to penetrate the hard shell of a tortoise with a rye straw. Such is man, and so must he be understood by those who would lead him, even to his own best interest ...

\* \* \*

A Fragment on Slavery. July 1, 1854(?) \*

If A. can prove, however conclusively, that he may, of right, enslave B.-- why may not B. snatch the same argument, and prove equally, that he may enslave A? -- You say A. is white and B. is black. It is color, then; the lighter having the right to enslave the darker? Take care. By this rule you are to be slave to the first man you meet with a fairer skin than your own.

---

\* Not a speech but a note



You do not mean color exactly? You mean the whites are intel-  
lectually the superiors of the blacks, and therefore have the right to  
enslave them? Take care again. By this rule you are to be slave to the  
first man you meet with an intellect superior to your own.

But, say you, it is a question of interest; and, if you make  
it your interest, you have the right to enslave another. Very well.  
And if he can make it his interest, he has the right to enslave you.

\* \* \*

From "A House Divided," Speech at Springfield, Illinois  
June 16, 1858.

We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated  
with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to  
slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation  
has not only, not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion,  
it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached, and passed.  
"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this govern-  
ment cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free. I do not  
expect the Union to be dissolved-- I do not expect the house to fall --  
but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one  
thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest  
the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest  
in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its  
advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all  
the States, old as well as new -- North as well as South.

\* \* \*



Farewell Address at Springfield, Illinois.February 11, 1861.

My friends -- No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe every thing. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when, or whether ever, I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being, who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him, who can go with me, and remain with you, and be every where for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

\* \* \*

From Speech in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.February 22, 1861.

I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence -- I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army, who achieved that Independence. I have often inquired of myself, what great principle or idea it was that





kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother land; but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in that Declaration of Independence.

\* \* \*

From First Message to the United States Congress, at the Special session  
July 4, 1861.

This is essentially a People's contest. On the side of the Union, it is a struggle for maintaining in the world, that form, and substance of government, whose leading object is, to elevate the condition of men -- to lift artificial weights from all shoulders -- to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all -- to afford all, an unfettered start, and a fair chance, in the race of life.....

Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it, our people have already settled -- the successful establishing, and the successful administering of it. One still remains -- its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world, that those who can fairly carry an election, can also suppress a rebellion -- that ballots are the rightful, and peaceful, successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly, and constitutionally, decided, there can



be no successful appeal, back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take by a war -- teaching all, the folly of being the beginners of a war.

\* \* \*

From Message to Congress at its Regular Session.  
December 3, 1861.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and, with their capital, hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class -- neither work for others, nor have others working for them.... Men with their families -- wives, sons, and daughters -- work for themselves, on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital --



that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed, and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again: as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men, everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world, labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself; then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just, and generous, and prosperous system, which opens the way to all -- gives hope to all, and consequent energy, and progress, and improvement of condition to all.

No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty-- none less inclined to take, or touch, aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

\* \* \*



From Reply to Emancipation Memorial Presented by Chicago  
Christians of All Denominations. September 13, 1862.

The subject presented in the memorial is one upon which I have thought much for weeks past, and I may even say for months. I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, and that by religious men, who are equally certain that they represent the Divine will. I am sure that either the one or the other class is mistaken in that belief, and perhaps in some respects both. I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal His will to others, on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed that He would reveal it directly to me; for, unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it is, I will do it! These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain, physical facts of the case, ascertain what is possible, and learn what appears to be wise and right.

\* \* \*

From Annual Message to Congress. December 1, 1862.

We cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

11. The eleventh part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

12. The twelfth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.



The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We -- even we here -- hold the power, and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free -- honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best, hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just -- a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

\* \* \*

Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cemetery at  
Gettysburg. November 19, 1863.

Four score 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.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate -- we cannot consecrate -- we cannot hallow -- this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember



what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have, thus far, so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us -- that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion -- that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain -- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom -- and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

√The famous Gettysburg Address, which ranks as one of the greatest speeches in the English language, consists of only 10 sentences and took but two short minutes to deliver. Its last words: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" expressed Lincoln's idea of American Democracy.√

\* \* \*

From Address at Sanitary Fair in Baltimore. April 18, 1864.

We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word, we do not all mean the same thing. With some, the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor; while with others, the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name -- liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names -- liberty and tyranny.



The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as a liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails to-day among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty.

\* \* \*

From Speech to the 166th Ohio Regiment. August 22, 1864.

It is not merely for to-day, but for all time to come that we should perpetuate for our children's children that great and free government, which we have enjoyed all our lives. I beg you to remember this, not merely for my sake, but for yours. I happen, temporarily, to occupy this big White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have through this free government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise, and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations. It is for this the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birth-right -- not only for one, but for two or three years. The nation is worth fighting for, to secure such an inestimable jewel.

\* \* \*

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is crucial for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for consistent and reliable data collection processes to support informed decision-making.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in data management and analysis. It discusses how modern software solutions can streamline data collection, storage, and reporting, thereby improving efficiency and accuracy.

4. The fourth part of the document addresses the challenges associated with data management, such as data quality, security, and integration. It provides strategies to overcome these challenges and ensure the integrity and availability of data.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of data governance and compliance. It outlines the necessary policies and procedures to ensure that data is handled in a responsible and lawful manner, in accordance with relevant regulations and standards.

6. The sixth part of the document explores the future of data management and analysis. It discusses emerging trends and technologies, such as artificial intelligence and big data, and their potential impact on the field.

7. The seventh part of the document provides a summary of the key findings and conclusions of the study. It emphasizes the need for a holistic approach to data management and analysis, one that considers all aspects of the data lifecycle.

8. The eighth part of the document offers recommendations for further research and practice. It suggests areas where more data is needed and provides practical advice on how to implement the findings of the study.

9. The ninth part of the document is a conclusion that reiterates the main points of the document and expresses the author's hope that the information provided will be helpful to readers in their own work.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of references, which includes a comprehensive list of the sources used in the study. This list is provided to allow readers to verify the information and explore the topics in more depth.

From Second Inaugural Address. March 4, 1865.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it -- all sought to avert it....Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came...

With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

\* \* \* \* \*

(To ease translation, spelling and punctuation in some of the foregoing quotations have been changed to conform to modern usage.)

October, 1958







# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## FIFTY LINCOLN QUOTATIONS

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope, in the world? (1)

\* \* \*

As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this to the extent of the difference, is no democracy. (2)

\* \* \*

Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you. (3)

\* \* \*

Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in our bosoms. Our defense is in the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, every where. (4)

\* \* \*

---

Reference notes are grouped together at the end of this selection of quotations.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave, must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, can not long retain it. (5)

\* \* \*

If we do right, God will be with us, and if God is with us, we cannot fail. (6)

\* \* \*

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships. (7)

\* \* \*

We can succeed only by concert. It is not "can any of us imagine better?" but "can we all do better?" (8)

\* \* \*

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law. (9)

\* \* \*

The severest justice may not always be the best policy. (10)

\* \* \*

No man is good enough to govern another man, without that other's consent. (11)

\* \* \*

I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights. (12)

\* \* \*



The loss of enemies does not compensate for the loss of friends. (13)

\* \* \*

How miserably things seem to be arranged in this world. If we have no friends, we have no pleasure; and if we have them, we are sure to lose them, and be doubly pained by the loss. (14)

\* \* \*

Free labor has the inspiration of hope; pure slavery has no hope. The power of hope upon human exertion, and happiness is wonderful. (15)

\* \* \*

I cannot understand why men should be so eager after wealth. Wealth is simply a superfluity of what we don't need. (16)

\* \* \*

The way for a young man to rise, is to improve himself every way he can. (17)

\* \* \*

Resolve to be honest at all events. (18)

\* \* \*

I believe I shall never be old enough to speak without embarrassment when I have nothing to talk about. (19)

\* \* \*

A man has not time to spend half his life in quarrels. If any man ceases to attack me, I never remember the past against him. (20)

\* \* \*



The reasonable men of the world have long since agreed that intemperance is one of the greatest, if not the very greatest of all evils among mankind. (21)

\* \* \*

Advancement -- improvement in condition -- is the order of things in a society of equals. (22)

\* \* \*

I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flatboat -- just what might happen to any poor man's son! I want every man to have a chance. (23)

\* \* \*

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. (24)

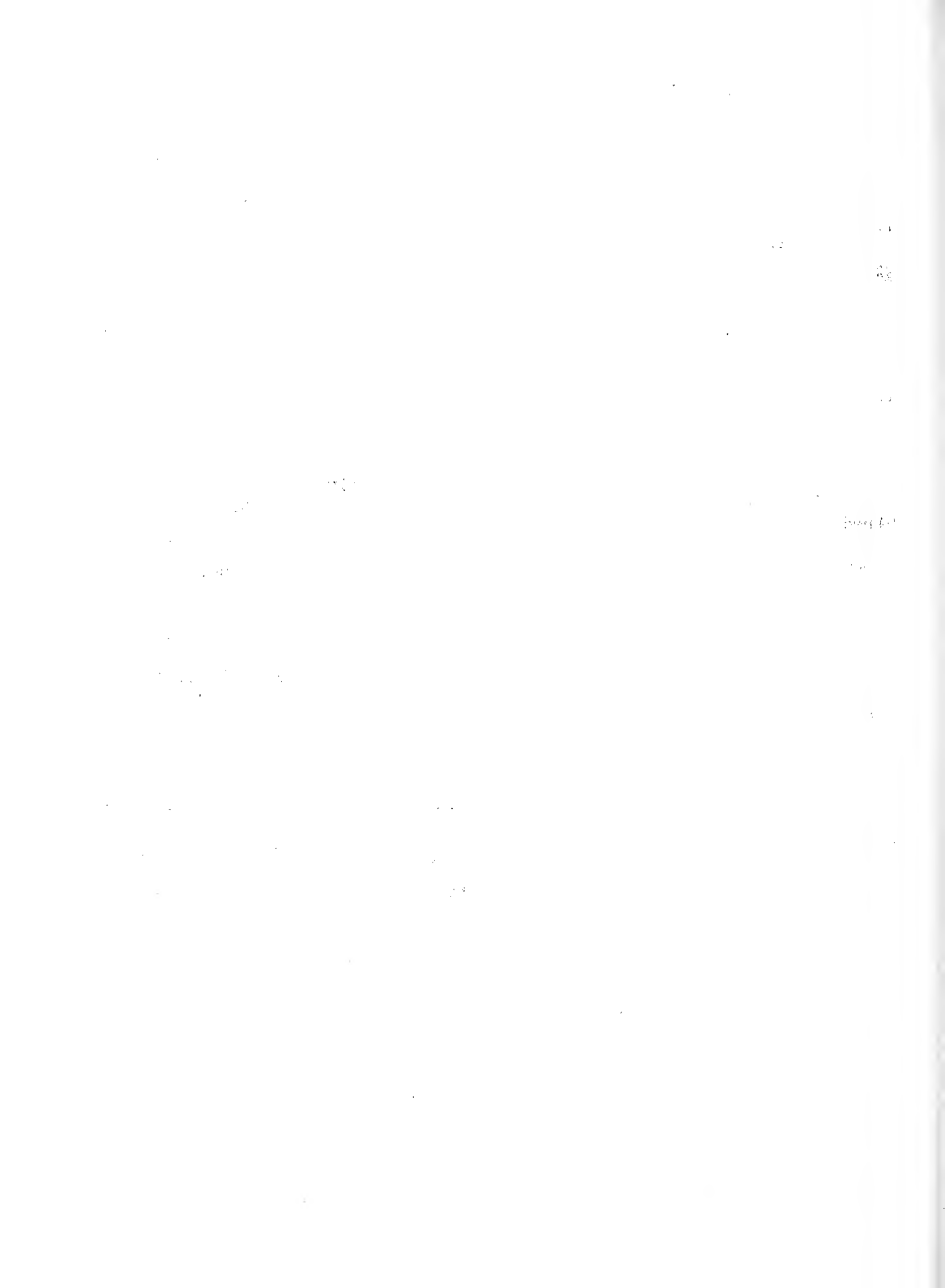
\* \* \*

Property is the fruit of labor -- property is desirable -- -- is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich, shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. (25)

\* \* \*

I hold that if the Almighty had ever made a set of men that should do all the eating and none of the work, he would have made them with mouths only and no hands, and if he had ever made another class that he had intended should do all the work and none of the eating, he would have made them without mouths and with all hands. (26)

\* \* \*





No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty -- none less inclined to take, or touch, aught which they have not honestly earned. (27)

\* \* \*

The true rule, in determining to embrace, or reject any thing, is not whether it have any evil in it; but whether it have more of evil than of good. There are few things wholly evil or wholly good. (28)

\* \* \*

You can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time. (29)

\* \* \*

The plainest print cannot be read through a gold eagle.\* (30)

\* \* \*

The man who stands by and says nothing, when the peril of his government is discussed, can not be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy. Much more, if he talks ambiguously -- talks for his country with "buts" and "ifs" and "ands." (31)

\* \* \*

It is my pleasure that my children are free and happy, and unrestrained by parental tyranny. Love is the chain whereby to bind a child to its parents. (32)

\* \* \*

---

\* A gold coin of the time, worth \$10, so-called because of the eagle impressed on the reverse.



We better know there is a fire whence we see much smoke rising than could know it by one or two witnesses swearing to it. The witnesses may commit perjury, but the smoke can not. (33)

\* \* \*

Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country; and never to tolerate their violation by others. (34)

\* \* \*

Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap -- let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges -- let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs -- let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation. (35)

\* \* \*

Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say for one that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. (36)

\* \* \*

I happen temporarily to occupy this big White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each of you may have through



this free government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations. (37)

\* \* \*

I am conscious of no desire for my country's welfare, that is not in consonance with His (God's) will, and of no plan upon which we may not ask His blessing. It seems to me that if there be one subject upon which all good men may unitedly agree, it is imploring the gracious favor of the God of Nations upon the struggles our people are making for the preservation of their precious birthright of civil and religious liberty. (38)

\* \* \*

I do the very best I know how -- the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference. (39)

\* \* \*

Important principles may, and must, be inflexible. (40)

\* \* \*

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it. (41)

\* \* \*



Stand with anybody that stands <sup>RIGHT</sup> right. Stand with him while he  
is right, and part <sup>PART</sup> with him when he goes wrong. (42)

\* \* \*

A house divided against itself cannot stand. (43)

\* \* \*

It's a fortunate thing I wasn't born a woman, for I cannot  
refuse anything, it seems. (44)

\* \* \*

Die when I may, I want it said of me by those who know me  
best, that I always plucked a thistle and planted a flower when I  
thought a flower would grow. (45)

\* \* \*

Ballots are the rightful, and peaceful, successors of bullets;....  
when ballots have fairly, and constitutionally, decided, there can be no  
successful appeal; back to bullets;....there can be no successful appeal,  
except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. (46)

\* \* \*

That (morality) is the real issue.....It is the eternal struggle  
between these two principles -- right and wrong -- throughout the world.  
They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning  
of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right  
of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same  
principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit  
that says, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No





matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle. (47)

\* \* \*

The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be wrong. God can not be for, and against the same thing at the same time. (48)

\* \* \*

I think the Lord must love the plain people, he has made so many of them. (49)

\* \* \*

Labor is the great source from which nearly all, if not all, human comforts and necessities are drawn. (50)

\* \* \*



Reference Notes

- (1) From the First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861. The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Roy P. Basler, Editor; 1953. (Vol. 4, p. 260)
- (2) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 2, p. 532)
- (3) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 4, p. 259, 269)
- (4) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 3, p. 95)
- (5) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 3, p. 376)
- (6) Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Nicolay and Hay, Editors. (Vol. 10, p. 149)
- (7) Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Nicolay and Hay, Editors. (Vol. 2, p. 57-58)
- (8) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 5, p. 537)
- (9) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 1, p. 113)
- (10) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 5, p. 330)
- (11) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 2, p. 266)
- (12) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 2, p. 493)
- (13) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 5, p. 295-296)
- (14) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 1, p. 281)
- (15) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 3, p. 462)
- (16) Allen Thorndike Rice: Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of his Time; 1886. (p. 452)
- (17) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 1, p. 497)
- (18) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 2, p. 82)
- (19) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 8, p. 154)
- (20) John Hay: Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay; 1939. (p. 234)
- (21) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 6, p. 487)



Reference Notes (continued)

- (22) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 3, p. 462)
- (23) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 4, p. 24)
- (24) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 7, p. 259)
- (25) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 7, p. 259)
- (26) William Dean Howells: Lives and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin; 1860. (p. 148)
- (27) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 5, p. 52-53)
- (28) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 1, p. 484)
- (29) Speech at Clinton, Illinois, September 2, 1858. In the footnote to The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, vol. 3, p. 81, the editor remarks: "Tradition has come to attribute to the Clinton Speeches one of Lincoln's most famous utterances...In 1905 testimony was gathered by the Chicago 'Tribune' and Brooklyn 'Eagle' to prove that Lincoln used the epigram at Clinton. The testimony was conflicting and dubious in some particulars, but the epigram has remained a favorite in popular usage."
- (30) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 2, p. 409)
- (31) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 6, p. 265)
- (32) William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik: Herndon's Life of Lincoln; 1930. (p. 413)
- (33) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 8, p. 77-78)
- (34) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 1, p. 112)
- (35) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 1, p. 112)
- (36) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 1, p. 8)
- (37) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 7, p. 512)
- (38) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 6, p. 39-40)
- (39) Francis Bickwell Carpenter: Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln; 1866. (p. 258-259)

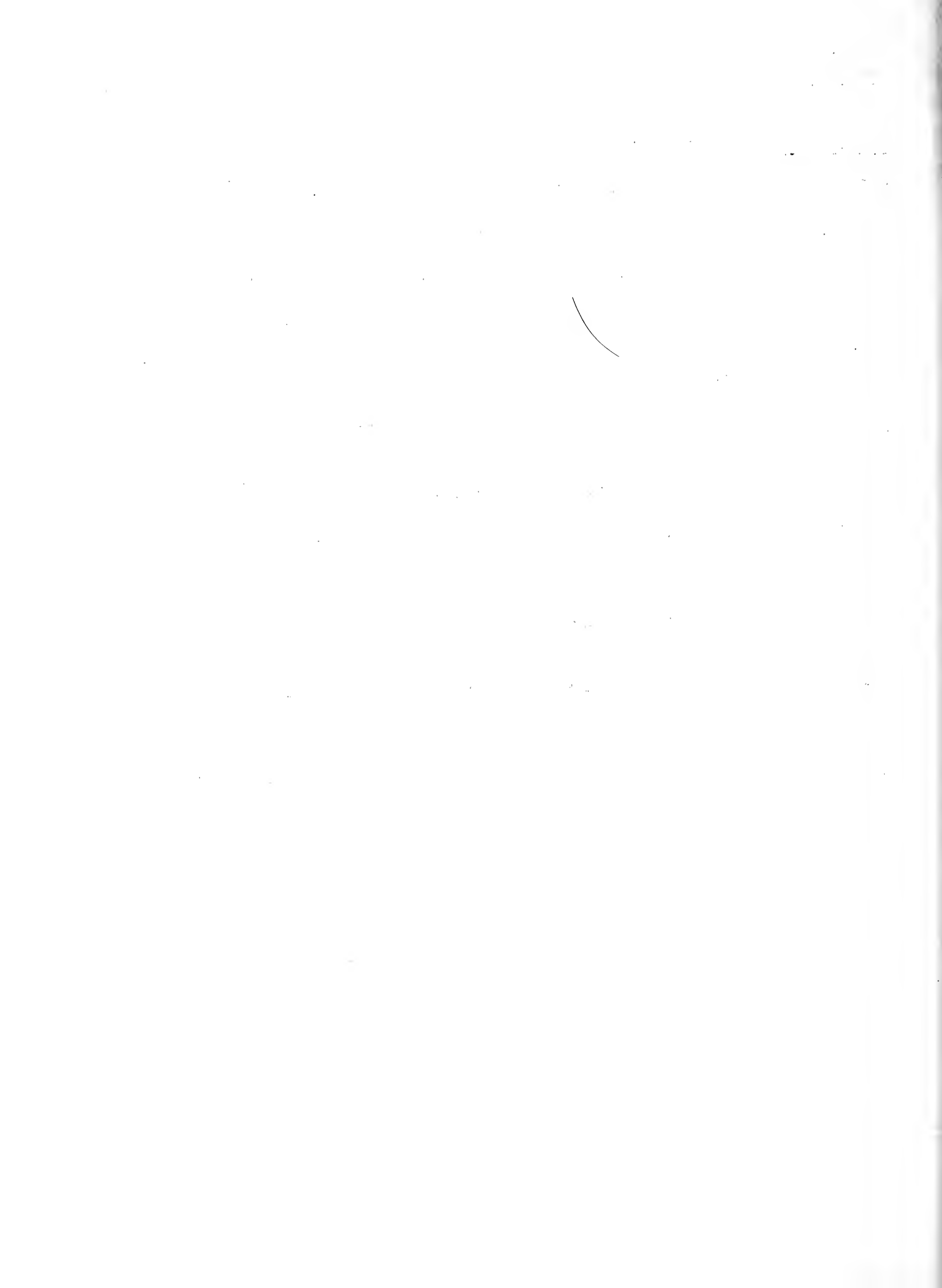


Reference Notes (continued)

- (40) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 8, p. 405)
- (41) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 3, p. 550)
- (42) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 2, p. 273)
- (43) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 2, p. 461)
- (44) William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik: Herndon's Life of Lincoln; 1930 (p. 301)
- (45) William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik: Herndon's Life of Lincoln; 1930. (p. 425)
- (46) The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 4, p. 439)
- (47) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 3, p. 315)
- (48) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 5, p. 403-404)
- (49) James Grant Wilson: "Recollections of Lincoln," Putnam's Magazine, 1909
- (50) The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. (Vol. 3, p.459)

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958







# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

Abraham Lincoln Anniversary  
(1809-1865)

## LINCOLN BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is estimated that more than 5,000 books and pamphlets about Lincoln have been published in the United States since 1837. The following list contains only some of the more important works published since 1900.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| AGAR, Herbert                                   | Abraham Lincoln (1952)                                       |
| ANGLE, Paul M. (ed.)                            | The Lincoln Reader (1947)                                    |
| ANGLE, Paul M. and<br>MIERS, Earl Schenck (ed.) | Poetry and Prose by Abraham Lincoln (1956)                   |
| BALLARD, Colin R.                               | The Military Genius of Lincoln (1952)                        |
| BARINGER, William E.                            | Lincoln's Rise to Power (1937)                               |
| " "   | A House Dividing: Lincoln as President<br>Elect (1945)       |
| BARTON, William E.                              | The Life of Abraham Lincoln (1925)                           |
| BASLER, Roy P.                                  | The Lincoln Legend (1935)                                    |
| " " (ed.)                                       | Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and<br>Writings (1946)         |
| " " (ed.)                                       | The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln<br>(9 vols., 1953-55) |
| BEVERIDGE, Albert J.                            | Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858 (1928)                            |
| BISHOP, James A. (Jim)                          | The Day Lincoln Was Shot (1955)                              |
| BRYAN, George S.                                | The Great American Myth (1940)                               |
| CANBY, Courtlandt (ed.)                         | Lincoln and the Civil War (1958)                             |

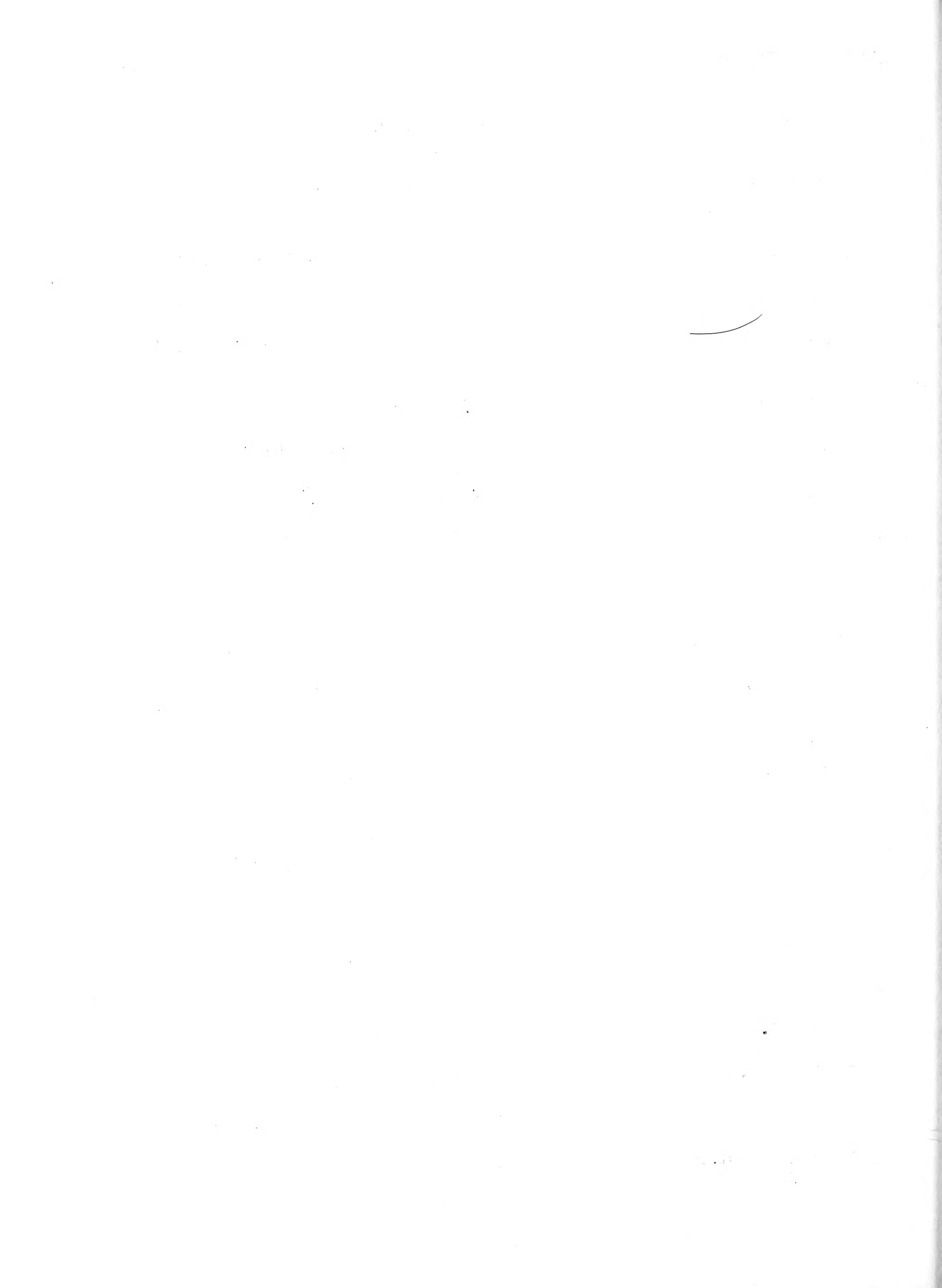


- CARRUTHERS, Olive and  
MCMURTRY, R. Gerald  
Lincoln's other Mary (1946)
- CATTON, Bruce  
Mr. Lincoln's Army (1951)
- " "  
A Stillness at Appomattox (1953)
- CHARNWOOD, Lord  
(Godfrey Rathbone Benson)  
Abraham Lincoln (1917)
- COMMAGER, Henry Steele  
The Blue and the Gray (1950)
- CRAMER, John Henry  
Lincoln Under Enemy Fire (1948)
- CURRENT, Richard N.  
The Lincoln Nobody Knows (1958)
- DAUGHERTY, James Henry  
Abraham Lincoln (1943)
- DODGE, Daniel Kilham  
Abraham Lincoln, Master of Words (1924)
- DONALD, David (ed.)  
Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: The Civil  
War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase (1954)
- " "  
Divided We Fought (1952)
- " "  
Lincoln Reconsidered (1956)
- DRINKWATER, John  
Abraham Lincoln (a play) 1927
- GRAY, Wood  
The Hidden Civil War (1942)
- HARNSBERGER, Caroline Thomas (ed.)  
The Lincoln Treasury (1950)
- HARPER, Robert S.  
Lincoln and the Press (1951)
- HENDRICK, Burton J.  
Lincoln's War Cabinet (1946)
- HERNDON, William H. and  
WEIK, Jesse W.  
Herndon's Life of Lincoln; the History  
and Personal Recollections of Abraham  
Lincoln (1949)
- HERTZ, Emanuel  
The Hidden Lincoln: from the Letters  
and Papers of William H. Herndon (1938)
- HESSELTINE, William B.  
Lincoln and the War Governors (1948)
- HOFSTADTER, Richard  
The American Political Tradition and  
the Men Who Made it (1948)

—

11

- HOLDEN, Raymond Peckham  
Abraham Lincoln: the Politician and the Man (1929)
- JORDAN, Donaldson and  
PRATT, Edwin J.  
Europe and the Civil War (1931)
- KIMMEL, Stanley Preston  
Mr. Lincoln's Washington (1957)
- LAIR, John  
Songs Lincoln Loved (1954)
- LANG, J. Jack  
The Wit and Worldly Wisdom of Abraham Lincoln (1941)
- LEECH, Margaret  
Reveille in Washington (1941)
- LEWIS, Lloyd  
Myths After Lincoln (1929)
- LINDSTROM, Ralph G.  
Lincoln Finds God (1958)
- LORANT, Stefan  
Lincoln, a Picture Story of his Life (1952)
- LUDWIG, Emil  
Abraham Lincoln (1949)
- MCCLURE, Alexander K.  
Lincoln as a Politician (1916)
- MEARNS, David C.  
The Lincoln Papers: The Story of the Collection with Selections to July 4, 1861 (2 vols., 1948)
- MIERS, Earl Schenck  
The Great Rebellion (1958)
- “ “ “  
Gettysburg (1948)
- MITGANG, Herbert  
Lincoln as They Saw Him (1956)
- MONAGHAN, Jay  
Diplomat in Carpet Slippers (1945)
- NEVINS, Allan  
The Emergence of Lincoln (1950)
- NICOLAY, Helen  
Personal Traits of Abraham Lincoln (1912)
- PRATT, Harry E.  
Concerning Mr. Lincoln (1944)
- RANDALL, James G.  
Mr. Lincoln (1957)
- “ “  
Lincoln, the President (1954-55)
- RANDALL, Ruth Painter  
Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage (1953)



- |   |   |
|---|---|
| RANDALL, Ruth Painter                         | Lincoln's Sons (1955)   |
| REDWAY, Maurine W. and<br>BRACKEN, Dorothy K. | Marks of Lincoln on Our Land (1957)                           |
| RIDDLE, Donald W.                             | Lincoln Runs for Congress (1948)                              |
| SANDBURG, Carl                                | Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years<br>(2 vols. 1926)          |
| "    "  | Abraham Lincoln: The War Years<br>(4 vols., 1939)             |
| SMITH, T.V.                                   | Abraham Lincoln and the Spiritual<br>Life (1951)              |
| STAMPP, Kenneth M.                            | And the War Came (1950)                                       |
| STERN, Philip Van Doren                       | An End to Valor: The Last Days of the<br>Civil War (1958)     |
| TARBELL, Ida M.                               | The Life of Abraham Lincoln (1900)                            |
| "    "  | In the Footsteps of the Lincolns<br>(1924)                    |
| THOMAS, Benjamin P.                           | Portrait for Posterity: Lincoln and<br>His Biographers (1947) |
| "    "  | Abraham Lincoln (1952)  |
| WHEARE, Kenneth Clinton                       | Abraham Lincoln and the United States<br>(1949)               |
| WILLIAMS, Kenneth P.                          | Lincoln Finds a General (1949)                                |
| WILLIAMS, T. Harry                            | Lincoln and the Radicals (1941)                               |
| "    "  | Lincoln and his Generals (1952)                               |
| WILSON, Rufus Rockwell (ed.)                  | Lincoln Among His Friends (1942)                              |
| "    "    "    (ed.)                          | Intimate Memories of Lincoln (1945)                           |
| WOLDMAN, Albert A.                            | Lawyer Lincoln (1936)   |
| ZORNOW, William Frank                         | Lincoln and the Party Divided (1954)                          |

\* \* \* \* \*







# USIS FEATURE

DISTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
FOR USE BY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, OR RADIO STATIONS WITH OR WITHOUT CREDIT TO USIS.

USIA-IPS

## Abraham Lincoln Anniversary (1809-1865)

### CHRONOLOGY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

- February 12, 1809 Abraham Lincoln born to Thomas and Nancy Hanks  
Lincoln, in a log cabin near Hodgenville,  
Kentucky.
- Fall of 1816 The Lincoln family moves to an unsettled wilderness  
near Pigeon Creek, Indiana.
- Fall of 1818 Lincoln's mother dies.
- December, 1819 Lincoln's father marries Sarah Bush Johnston, a  
widow with three children.
- 1828 Lincoln takes a flatboat trip to New Orleans.  
His sister Sarah dies.
- March, 1830 The Lincoln family leaves Indiana and settles near  
Decatur in Illinois.
- 1831 Lincoln makes a second flatboat trip to New Orleans.  
He sees Negroes in chains and on the selling  
block.

1. Introduction

2. Methodology

3. Results and Discussion

4. Conclusion

5. References

6. Appendix

7. Acknowledgments

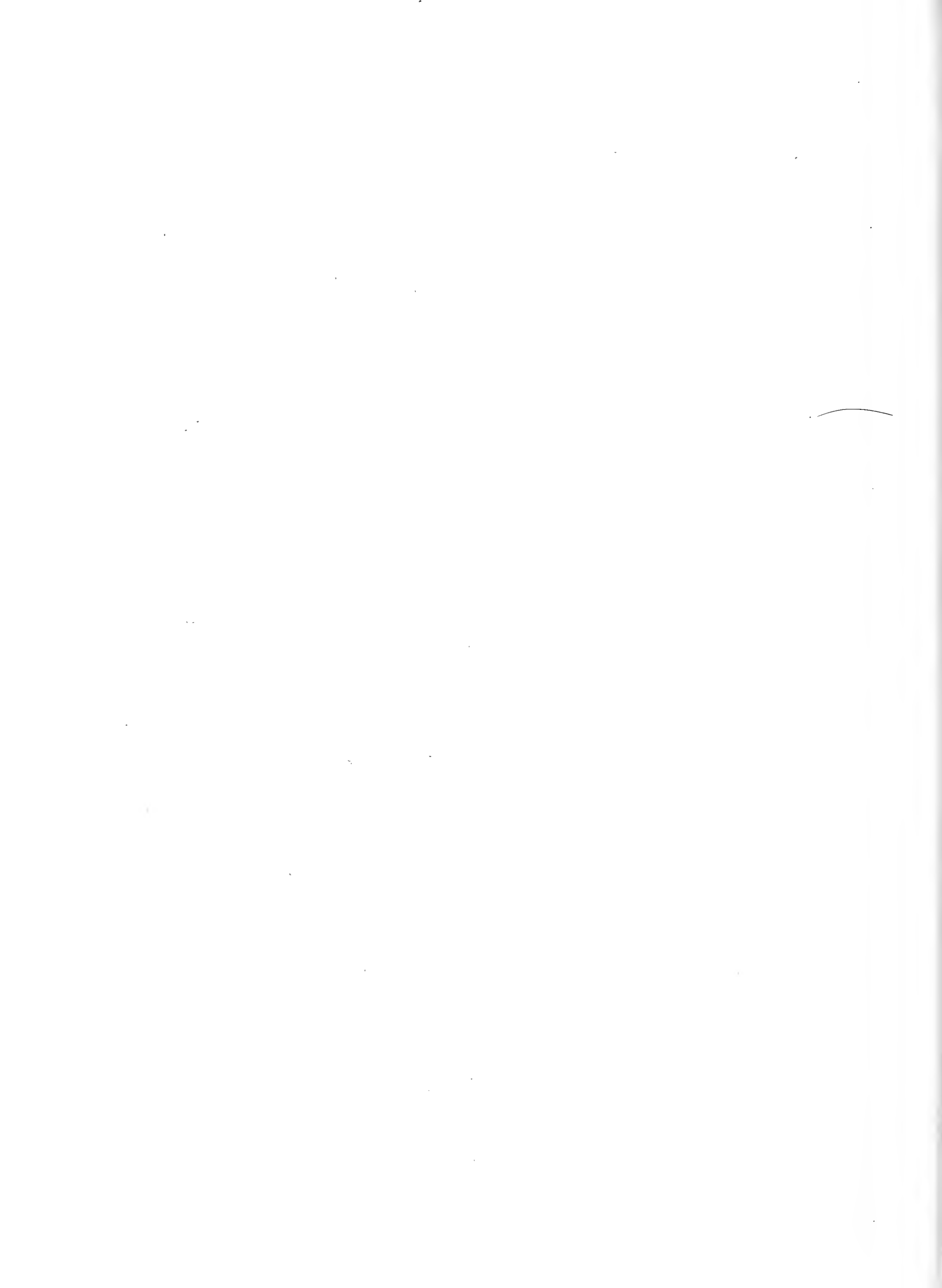
- Fall of 1831 Lincoln settles in New Salem, Illinois. He works as clerk in the store of Denton Offutt.
- 1832 Makes his first political speech in which he announces himself a candidate for the Illinois State Legislature.
- April - July, 1832 Joins the Army and serves three months as Captain in the Black Hawk (Indian) War.
- 1832 Studies law. At the election in the fall, he was defeated.
- May, 1833 Appointed postmaster of New Salem and serves until 1836.
- 1834 Makes his first survey as a deputy surveyor of Sangamon County. Continues his surveying until the end of 1836.
- August, 1834 Elected to the Illinois State Legislature.
- February, 1835 Returns to New Salem.
- August, 1836 Re-elected to the Illinois State Legislature.
- September, 1836 Licensed to practice law.
- 1837 Admitted to the bar in Illinois.



- 1837 (continued) Moves to Springfield to practice law in partnership with John T. Stuart.
- 1838 Elected to the Illinois State Legislature for the third time.
- 1840 Elected to the Illinois State Legislature for the fourth time.
- 1841 Becomes a law partner of Stephen T. Logan.
- 1842 Declines renomination to the Illinois State Legislature.
- November 4, 1842 Marries Mary Todd of Lexington, Kentucky.
- August 1, 1843 Birth of first child, Robert Todd Lincoln.
- 1844 Becomes a law partner of William H. Herndon.
- March 10, 1846 Birth of second son, Edward Baker Lincoln.
- August, 1846 Elected to U.S. House of Representatives.
- October, 1847 Moves to Washington, D.C., to begin term in the House of Representatives.
- March, 1849 Gives up politics. Returns to Springfield and private law practice. Admitted to practice in the U.S. Supreme Court.



- February, 1850 Edward Baker Lincoln, second son, dies.
- December, 1850 Birth of third son, William Wallace Lincoln.
- January, 1851 Lincoln's father, Thomas, dies.
- 1851-1853 Continues law practice.
- April, 1853 Birth of fourth son, Thomas ("Tad") Lincoln.
- 1854 Re-enters politics.
- 1855 Candidate for the U.S. Senate, but defeated.
- June, 1856 Delegate to the first convention of the Republican Party, at Philadelphia.
- 1858 Engages in seven debates with Senator Stephen A. Douglas in various towns of Illinois, but is defeated in his candidacy for the Senate.
- May 18, 1860 Nominated for President of the United States by the Republican National Convention in Chicago.
- November 6, 1860 Elected President of the United States.
- February 11, 1861 Leaves Springfield for Washington. Farewell address at Springfield.
- February 23, 1861 Arrival in Washington.
- March 4, 1861 Inaugurated as President.





- April 15, 1861 Issues proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers to serve in the militia, following the fall of Fort Sumter, at the outbreak of the war between the states.
- February 20, 1862 Death of third son, William Wallace Lincoln.
- September 22, 1862 Lincoln issues the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.
- January 1, 1863 Issues the final Emancipation Proclamation.
- November 19, 1863 Delivers a great address at the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.
- March, 1864 Appoints Ulysses S. Grant commander-in-chief of the northern armies.
- November 8, 1864 Re-elected President in an easy victory over the Democratic candidate.
- February 1, 1865 Approves the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery.
- March 4, 1865 Delivers his Second Inaugural Address, "with malice toward none; with charity for all."
- April 9, 1865 End of war between the states. General Robert E. Lee, commander of the Southern armies, surrenders to General Grant.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy auditing of the accounts.

In the second section, the author details the various methods used to collect and analyze data. This includes both primary and secondary research techniques. The primary research involves direct observation and interviews, while secondary research involves reviewing existing literature and reports.

The third section focuses on the statistical analysis of the collected data. It describes the use of various statistical tests to determine the significance of the findings. The results indicate a strong positive correlation between the variables being studied, which supports the initial hypothesis.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the key findings and their implications. It suggests that the results have important implications for the field of study and provides recommendations for further research. The author also acknowledges the limitations of the study and expresses gratitude to those who assisted in the research process.

- April 14, 1865            Lincoln is shot at Ford's Theatre in Washington  
by the actor John Wilkes Booth.
- April 15, 1865            Dies at the age of 56, and the country goes into  
mourning.
- April 21 - May 3         The funeral train bears the remains of Lincoln on  
the journey to Springfield.
- May 4, 1865             Lincoln is buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield.
- July, 1871                Death of Lincoln's fourth son, Thomas ("Tad")  
Lincoln.
- July, 1882                Mary Todd Lincoln dies in Springfield at the age  
of 64. She is buried in the Lincoln Tomb with  
her husband and three of their four sons.
- July 26, 1926            Lincoln's first son, Robert Todd Lincoln, dies in  
Manchester, Vermont, at the age of almost 83,  
and is buried in Arlington (Virginia) National  
Cemetery.

\* \* \* \* \*

October, 1958

18 11

2 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11

18 11













