



Lincoln Lore

Number 1903
Summer 2013

An Interview with David Reynolds

SG: Let's start with your new book, *Mightier than the Sword: Uncle Tom's Cabin and the Battle for America*. What was the background of author Harriet Beecher Stowe? Did her life change after the book was published?

DR: Harriet Beecher was born in 1811 in Litchfield, Connecticut. Her father, the Rev. Lyman Beecher, was one of the New England's most famous ministers and the head of the so-called Benevolent Empire, a nationwide system of reform groups aimed at curing the nation of ills such as intemperance and gambling. Among Lyman Beecher's thirteen children were: Henry Ward Beecher, the famous minister who continued the reform tradition; Catharine Beecher, a leader in education reform; Isabella Beecher Hooker, the pioneering suffragist; and, most famous of all, Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of some thirty novels, including *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Much of the inspiration for this antislavery novel lay in her experiences in Cincinnati, Ohio, where the Beecher family moved when she was in her twenties. Ohio was a border state where fugitive slaves were constantly coming over from Kentucky to seek freedom in the north. She was married to the theology professor Calvin Stowe, who shared her sympathy for fugitive slaves. Together, they became involved in the Underground Railroad, and once they helped send a fugitive slave woman to Canada with the help of friendly Northerners who became characters in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Her husband Calvin,



Harriet Beecher Stowe
LN-1263

who had a meager professor's salary that at one point sank to about \$200 a year, encouraged Harriet to write magazine stories and articles that brought in extra money that helped support their growing family.

Harriet and Calvin had six children; a seventh child, Harry, died at eighteen months from cholera, a devastating experience that led Harriet to reflect on the suffering endured by enslaved mothers, who frequently lost their children to death or to slave traders. After *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published in 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe became an instant celebrity. The novel was an international best-seller, and she was invited to



Fugitive Slave Law LC-DIG-ppmsca-34495
Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (left) holds a slave and prepares to shoot a slavecatcher mounted on the back of Daniel Webster, who supports the fugitive slave law.

Table of Contents

David Reynolds, page 1

Frank Williams, page 8

Joseph Fornieri, page 12

Story of a Statue, page 18

Coming Attractions, page 20

Lincoln Lore

is the bulletin of
THE ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC
LIBRARY and THE FRIENDS
OF THE LINCOLN COLLECTION
OF INDIANA

CONTRIBUTORS:

David S. Reynolds
Frank J. Williams
Joseph R. Fornieri
Sara Gabbard

ACPL:

Jo Burkhardt
Cheryl Ferverda
Jane Gastineau
Adriana Maynard
Philip Sharpley
Curt Witcher

Friends of the

Lincoln Collection:

Sara Gabbard, Editor
Post Office Address
Box 11083

Fort Wayne, Indiana 46855
sgabbard@acpl.info



Lincoln Lore®
ISSN 0162-8615



David S. Reynolds is the Distinguished Professor of English and American Studies at the City University of New York Graduate Center. He is the author of *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography*, *Waking Giant: America in the Age of Jackson*, and *John Brown, Abolitionist*.



Frank J. Williams is the retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island. He is the author and/or editor of several books, including *Judging Lincoln* and, most recently, *The Mary Lincoln Enigma* (with Michael Burkheimer).



Joseph R. Fornieri is a professor at Rochester Institute of Technology. His books include: *Abraham Lincoln's Political Faith*; *The Language of Liberty*; and *Lincoln's America, 1809 – 1865*.

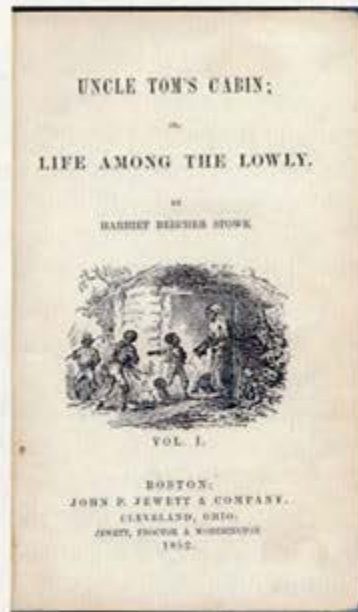
Members of Friends of the Lincoln Collection of Indiana receive a discount for books published by Southern Illinois University Press. To order: Contact Chicago Distribution Center at 1-800-621-2736 (phone); 1-800-621-8476 (fax); or order online at www.siupress.com. Use promotional code FLC25 to receive a 25% discount on your order.

tour the British Isles, where she was greeted everywhere by adoring crowds. But, according to the custom of the day, by which women were not supposed to talk in public, she sat silently, smiling and waving at the crowds, and her husband or brother got up and spoke for her. She earned some \$30,000 in royalties from the novel, but she could have earned much more except for the copyright situation, which permitted extensive piracy and royalty-free reprinting. A humble woman, Stowe never became vain about her success; she sincerely hoped that the book would change attitudes toward enslaved blacks, which indeed it did for many readers.

SG: You state that the book, published in 1852, was written to oppose the Compromise of 1850. Please explain this statement.

DR: The Compromise of 1850 was a political deal between the North and the South forged by Congress in order to relieve intensifying tensions over slavery. Among its provisions was the Fugitive Slave Act, which imposed heavy penalties on Northerners who assisted runaway slaves who headed north in an effort to make it to Canada and freedom. Like many Northerners, Stowe was infuriated by this proslavery bill because it mandated that Northerners help to enforce slavery, which Stowe considered an evil institution. She had long been writing fiction for magazines, and she put her tested literary skills toward writing a powerful novel that made the horrors of slavery come alive for readers through its two main plots: the Northern one, which traces the travails and the eventual triumph of the fugitive slaves George and Eliza Harris and their young child; and the Southern one, the tragic story of the kindly Uncle Tom, who is sold

away from his Kentucky family and ends up being whipped to death by a cruel Louisiana slave owner, Simon Legree.



Uncle Tom's Cabin title page 1852, LFFC

SG: How many copies of the book were printed between the first publication and 1860? Would that number be considered to be a "19th Century Bestseller?"

DR: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is one of the best-selling novels in American history. It had been very popular when it appeared in serial installments in a Washington, D.C. magazine in 1851-52, and it created a sensation when the Boston publisher John P. Jewett published it as a book on March 18, 1852. It "has excited more attention than any book since the invention of printing," remarked the minister Theodore Parker. Within a year, over two million copies had been sold internationally—310,000 in America and the remainder abroad. By 1860, six million copies had been sold worldwide, and the book had been translated into sixteen languages, a number that reached forty-two by the late nineteenth century. The book continued to enjoy strong sales. On May 24,

1903, the *New York Times* announced, "Next to the Bible, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' is the book most read in our country to-day."

SG: Do we know how many copies have been printed as of today? In how many languages?

DR: It's impossible to say how many copies of the book have been printed, because before the advent of the international copyright in 1891, the novel was pirated in many places around the world. Suffice it to say that millions of copies have been printed and sold, and no other American novel approaches *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in its international influence. The novel has been translated into more than eighty languages, and there have been numerous editions in certain languages: some 57 in French, 48 in German, 34 in Spanish, 25 in Italian, 7 in Chinese, 7 in Polish, 5 in Hindi, 4 in Afrikaans, 2 in Armenian, and so on. Also, sales figures do not measure the novel's influence. In a day before the mass media and the internet, there were few sources of entertainment, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was often read aloud to the whole family. It was estimated that ten people read the novel or heard the book read for every purchaser of the book.

SG: Were there immediate responses, both positive and negative, to the book, or did it take some time for the full impact of the story to be generally known?

DR: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* led many Northerners, for the first time, to feel the horrors of slavery on their nerve endings. Numerous antislavery reformers jumped on the Uncle Tom juggernaut. Previously, the antislavery movement had been divided between small, conflicting groups.



William Lloyd Garrison
LN-0585

Uncle Tom's Cabin was a force for unity among these fragmented groups. The radical abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison cried as he read the novel, which, he wrote, would be "eminently serviceable" to the antislavery battle. Equally receptive to the novel were antislavery groups hostile to Garrison, such as evangelical Christians, freesoil politicians, and others. Stowe was overjoyed by the embrace of her novel by different antislavery factions. She said, "The fact that the wildest and extremest abolitionists have united with the coldest conservatives to welcome and advance my book is a thing that I have never ceased to wonder at."

Stowe's novel helped create a more positive view of blacks in society. Most whites of that time saw black people as subhuman or comically irresponsible. Harriet Beecher Stowe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* challenged such attitudes by showing that they were fully human, capable of love, grief, joy, religious devotion, family loyalty, humor, and so on. The impact of Stowe's novel was amplified by a powerful cultural phenomenon known as "Tomitudes"—representations of the novel in all popular mediums: puzzles, card games, dolls, chinaware, and so on. In much of this merchandise, blacks were not presented as caricatures

or stereotypes. And a number of the Uncle Tom games, like the novel, invited players to sympathize with blacks, such as a popular card game whose goal was the reunion of slave families.

The novel had a role in the political reshuffling that lay behind the rise of the antislavery Republican Party. Stowe's novel was often mentioned in political speeches, like one on the House floor by the Ohio congressman Joshua Giddings, who declared, "A lady with her pen has done more for the cause of freedom, during the last year, than any savant, statesman, or politician of our land. The inimitable work, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, is now carrying truth to the minds of millions, who, up to this time, have been deaf cries of the down-trodden."

The one region that firmly resisted the Uncle Tom epidemic was the American South, where it was thought that America would become a hellish chaos if the antislavery principles behind Stowe's novel were put into effect in America. Most Southern states banned the sale of the novel, and some criminalized it. One man was sentenced to jail for ten years just for having a copy of the novel in his home. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* not only provoked outrage in the South, but it also generated a huge new body of proslavery literature there. Almost thirty proslavery novels were written as direct replies to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. These so-called "Anti-Tom" novels presented slavery as a wonderful institution that gave shelter, food, and religious instruction to people brought from Africa.

SG: [Who were Thomas Dixon Jr and Francis Hopkinson Smith...and how do they play into the story of later opposition to the novel?](#)

DR: Smith and Dixon were racist Southerners who in the early 20th century launched a public campaign against *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which they viewed as a hateful book that portrayed blacks far too positively. Smith, a well-known artist, engineer, novelist, and lecturer, branded *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as "the most vicious book that ever appeared," "an appalling, awful, and criminal mistake." He declared, "The book precipitated the Civil War and made the North believe nothing but the worst about the South....It was an outrage to raise the North against the South." To support his belief that Stowe's book had "done more harm to the world than any other book ever written," he claimed that it "was, in a measure, responsible for the insatiable brutality of the reconstruction period," which was a "monstrous disgrace" because it reversed the power of the races.

Such attacks on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were intensified by Thomas Dixon, Jr., a Southern author, preacher, and reformer. In 1901, Dixon attended a performance of an *Uncle Tom's Cabin* play and was outraged by what he saw as Stowe's gross misrepresentation of Southern life.

After his painful experience of watching the play, he vowed to show the world how nightmarish America had become as a result of the racial reversal she had allegedly brought about and how dire the future of America was should the ascendancy of Africans American continue. Disgusted by Stowe, Dixon decided to provide a historical sequel to Stowe's narrative from a Southern perspective. He wrote novels in which he revised her characters and projected them into the post-Civil War period. His books, which became best-sellers, presented blacks as lustful, ignorant animals who merited punitive

lynching at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan. Dixon integrated such virulent racism into his novel *The Leopard's Spots* (1902), which was followed by two others that spread the pro-Southern gospel, *The Clansman* (1903) and *The Traitor* (1909). Dixon's fiction, in turn, inspired D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), the masterful but abhorrent silent film that influenced the racial attitudes of Americans during the segregationist era known as Jim Crow.

SG: One of your chapters is titled "Tom Everywhere." Please tell our readers of your conclusions about the enduring legacy of Stowe's book.

DR: The stage version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became the most popular and longest-running play in American history. The first *Uncle Tom* play appeared in 1852, shortly after the publication of the novel, and versions of the play have appeared right up to modern times (In 2011, I saw a rendering of the original George Aiken *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at the Metropolitan Theater in New York). The period of peak popularity for the play was

between 1880 and 1900, when hundreds of acting companies, known as Tommers, fanned out across the United States, Canada, and many foreign countries (as far away as Australia, Russia, and Siam), putting on Tom shows in every city, town, and hamlet. Then during the silent film era, there were no less than nine films based on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—a record number for any single literary work. Walt Disney based a cartoon on the novel, whose characters also appeared in Bugs Bunny, Felix the Cat, and Mighty Mouse cartoons, as well as in Judy Garland and Shirley Temple films. Uncle Tom-based ads and products appeared in great numbers until the middle of the twentieth century.

The effect of mass dissemination of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was mixed. On the one hand, the plays and films gave black performers the rare opportunity to show off their talents to large audiences. In 1878, Sam Lucas became the first African American to assume a lead role in a mainstream American play when he took the stage as Uncle Tom; then in 1914, Lucas, much older

then, became the first black actor to take the lead role in a Hollywood film when he was cast as Tom in the William Robert Daly movie "Uncle Tom's Cabin." And so, to some degree, the dramatizations of the novel were a means of empowerment for African Americans. But they were also, unfortunately, a vehicle for racial stereotyping. The term Uncle Tom as we use it today—to mean someone who is a spineless sell-out, a betrayer of his race—comes from false, demeaning portrayals of Tom in many stage versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Actually, in the novel, Tom is a symbol of strong, principled nonresistance; a muscular father of three, about forty, he is whipped to death by Simon Legree precisely because he is so stubborn in his refusal to betray two black women who are in hiding. But in many versions of the play, Tom becomes a passive, submissive figure who catered to the tastes of Jim Crow America. It is the latter, false image that permeated popular culture.



Walt Whitman
LN-1371



Cover of Whitman's Personal Copy
of *Leaves of Grass*
American Bookmen



Walt Whitman
OC-1051

SG: If I might wander a bit, I have always felt that your book *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* is the best book I have ever read which so clearly puts a historical figure into the context of his/her time. Did you make a clear decision to cover both topics as you began to write, or did the story simply unfold?

DR: I set out to write a book that placed Whitman fully in historical context. As I worked on the book, I realized that Whitman's life converged in so many ways with American life that I should write what I call a "cultural biography"—that is, a narrative of his life that revealed the many ways in which it intersected with America as a whole. Whitman referred to himself as "the age transfigured." I found this to be quite literally true. He was into everything—city life, science, religion, journalism, printing, book-making, philosophy, theater, music, art, painting, photography, museum culture, the Civil War, Lincoln, Reconstruction, and so on. And he left vivid written records of his impression of all these topics and more. One cannot understand him or his poetry fully without knowing about his rich, varied contexts.

SG: Probably not a fair question, but please give us your opinion: Did Whitman have a major influence on American cultural history or was he more or less swept along with the tide of 19th Century events and individuals...or some of both?

DR: In his poetry, Whitman set out, in messianic fashion, to save a society that was on the verge of unraveling due to the slavery crisis. In the 1855 poetry volume *Leaves of Grass*, he deployed his all-encompassing, democratic "I,"

who brought everyone—Northerners, Southerners, people of all ethnicities and religions—under a single poetic roof. But this utopian, poetic appeal for unity fell on deaf ears. Only a few discerning readers, such as Emerson and Thoreau, saw how wondrous and all-embracing Whitman's poems were. And so, for the rest of his life Whitman struggled to find an audience. By the time he gained a large readership, in the 1880s, he had suffered a series of strokes that had left him partially paralyzed. By then, he was widely venerated as the so-called Good Gray Poet. He was internationally famous, and ever since then he has been an American figurehead. It's hard to say how much influence he has had on the masses, but certainly his literary influence—in terms of relaxing poetic form, fathering free verse, and allowing for the candid treatment of sex and urban themes in poetry—has been great, and doubtless he has contributed to some degree to a liberation of cultural attitudes with his sexual candor and his openness to so many different levels of experience. Few people can read him and not come away feeling inspired and more tolerant.

SG: I once read that someone had reported seeing a copy of *Leaves of Grass* in the Lincoln/Herndon law office. Is there any evidence that Lincoln read Whitman?

DR: Henry B. Rankin, who studied in the Springfield, Illinois office of Lincoln and Herndon, recalled an incident in 1857 when Lincoln allegedly picked up a copy of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, began reading it to himself, and became so entranced by it that after half an hour he started it again, this time reading it aloud to his colleagues.

It makes a nice story, as does another one about Lincoln one day gazing out of a White House window, spotting Whitman on the street and declaring, "Well, *he* looks like a *man!*" There's no way of testing the truth of these anecdotes, which are probably apocryphal. But Whitman felt a deep kinship with Lincoln. Whitman spent several years in Washington as a volunteer nurse in the war hospitals, and he saw Lincoln on the street between twenty and thirty times. He saw the president riding on a gray horse, or in a carriage surrounded by a military escort, or going out with his wife to the country for a pleasure jaunt. "We have got so that we exchange bows, and very cordial ones," Whitman wrote of Lincoln, who once gave him a long, direct stare that the poet thought was friendly but inexpressibly sad.

SG: In *Waking Giant: America in the Age of Jackson* you mention Abraham Lincoln a few times. In your opinion, was Lincoln influenced in any way by Andrew Jackson?



Andrew Jackson, LFFC

DR: Lincoln differed from Jackson, of course, in his view of slavery. Jackson was a southern slaveholder, and Lincoln was deeply opposed to slavery. Also, Jackson was a Democrat, and Lincoln was a Whig, and so they differed on questions like banking, internal improvements, and other issues. But in some ways Jackson was an early sketch of Lincoln. Like Lincoln, he was born in a log cabin and rose to the presidency. Also like Lincoln, he had a firm-handed presidential style displayed in a strong effort to preserve the Union: in Jackson's case, by preventing the secession of South Carolina during the so-called nullification crisis of 1832; and in Lincoln's by waging war against the South to restore the Union, in what became the bloodiest war in U. S. history.

SG: Another unfair question: In the grand history of the United States, how should Andrew Jackson be viewed?

DR: In my view, he should be viewed positively, but with some reservations. There were blots on his record—notably his maltreatment of Native Americans. But his forcible removal of the

eastern Indians to Indian Territory in the West was actually just a firm implementation of a plan that had been around since the time of Jefferson. Questions also swirl around his war on the U. S. Bank. Was his destruction of the Biddle Bank wise? Or, did it cause the Panic of 1837, which led to five years of depression? Arguments can be made on either side. But Jackson brought to the presidency a down-to-earth, magnetic populism that changed the notion of American leadership. He was everyman writ large, which is why he was beloved by the people (one of his opponents conceded that he was so popular he could have been president for life, had the American system allowed it). He was also a strong defender of the Union. An ex-military leader, he was tough and determined. He once said he never felt the emotion of fear in his life. Once in Washington a would-be assassin came within eight feet of him and fired two pistols at him. Jackson didn't back away or duck; he ran toward the man with his cane raised, trying to strike him (luckily for Jackson, no bullets came out of the pistols because the morning fog had

dampened the gun's powder). People loved this toughness in Jackson, which is why he was called Old Hickory, referring to a strong type of wood.

SG: I understand that your next book will contain a unique look at Abraham Lincoln. Please comment on your plans.

DG: There are thousands of books written on Lincoln, but mine will be the first one that brings together three types of Lincoln-related writings: a broad sampling of his own works; a range of comments on him from his own era; and modern views of him. I expect the book will be a one-stop solution for many people who want to get a rounded picture of Lincoln; they'll be able to read many of his own works as well as comments on him, positive and negative, in his own lifetime and modern discussions of him by notables such as Eric Foner, Allen Guelzo, Harold Holzer, Gabor Boritt, James Oakes, Sean Wilentz, and many others. The book will also contain an excerpt from Tony Kushner's screenplay for Stephen Spielberg's movie *Lincoln*.



Trail of Tears

The Granger Collection
 artist: Robert Lindneux (1942)
 Displayed on PBS website.

An Interview with Frank Williams regarding the "Vallandigham Case" and Lincoln's "Corning letter"

SG: Clement Vallandigham's story continues to interest historians. Why?

FW: "Valiant Val," as his supporters called him, was a character, and not always welcome either. This Democratic former Congressman was a thorn in President Lincoln's side from the beginning of the Civil War by disagreeing with the waging of war. He also attacked the administration's policies on civil liberties and conscription – the first draft in American history. So, I think historians and the people are fascinated by his dissenting from the war effort. With a hope of winning the governorship of Ohio in 1863, he made volatile speeches against the administration, especially government failures in prosecuting the war as well as the draft – urging men (1) not to report for military service or (2) to desert from the armed forces because the war department had authorized the arrest of civilians interfering with the draft. In March 1863, Congress

passed an act authorizing the President to suspend the precious writ of *habeas corpus* throughout the North, affirming what Lincoln had been doing all along – authorizing the arrest and detention of persons presumed to be guilty of "disloyal practices" without the chance to be heard or challenge the detention before a judge.

In April 1863, General Ambrose Burnside, now commanding the Department of Ohio, promulgated General Order No. 38 declaring that anyone who interfered with the draft or declared sympathies with the Confederacy would be arrested by the military.

On May 1, 1863, in Mount Vernon, Ohio, Vallandigham railed against the war in a speech where he indicated the war was being fought for emancipation of the slaves and that conscription violated the civil rights of the people. Burnside had him arrested. There was a quick

trial before a military commission and a conviction. Vallandigham was sentenced to prison at Fort Warren in Boston's harbor for the duration of the war.

Vallandigham's arrest, conviction and sentence caused a firestorm in the North. Peace Democrats used this as a cudgel against Lincoln and his administration. Newspapers in opposition to the administration were uniform in their denunciation.

I think the major issue here is one of free speech. But, while one can argue the First Amendment today, this was not the prevailing view during the Civil War. In fact, free speech jurisprudence did not really evolve until after World War I and the abuses of the Woodrow Wilson administration with the Espionage Act of 1917 that made it a crime to "willfully cause or attempt to cause . . . disloyalty" or "willfully obstruct" the military draft. This led to the arrest of Eugene Debs, who was convicted and imprisoned, with the



Hon. Clement Laird Vallandigham of Ohio LC-BH82-4408 A



Ambrose E. Burnside OC-0472



Woodrow Wilson and wife riding in backseat of a carriage to second inauguration, March 5, 1917 LOC, Lot 12281

Supreme Court sustaining the conviction (*Debs v. United States*). Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, a thrice wounded Civil War veteran, wrote for a unanimous court that a jury could find that Debs' speech obstructed recruiting. In light of this decision, Lincoln's constitutional argument in defense of Vallandigham's conviction fifty years earlier appears reasonable. The Court's protection of political speech was not fully developed until the 20th Century.

SG: In *Battle Cry of Freedom* (p. 596), James McPherson suggests that Vallandigham "courted arrest in order to advance his languishing candidacy for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in Ohio." Please comment.

FW: I think this is correct. Although he had an eye for the governorship, he did believe passionately in his opinions. As it turned out, Lincoln commuted his sentence to banishment to the Confederate lines where Vallandigham ran the blockade and made it to Windsor, Ontario, from whence he campaigned. After receiving the nomination for governor of Ohio, he lost to John Brough by a large margin (60 to 40%).

SG: Please discuss Lincoln's response to the arrest of Vallandigham.

FW: President Lincoln and his Cabinet learned of Vallandigham's arrest and conviction after the military tribunal had acted. The President and his Cabinet would have preferred that General Burnside not act against Vallandigham for fear of making him a martyr (which is exactly what happened), but he indicated to Burnside that he supported his action. Notwithstanding, Lincoln began to look more closely to

matters of civil liberties and military law in wartime. He recognized that the Vallandigham case would prove useful to his Democratic opponents. So, when General Burnside shut down the *Chicago Times* (which he believed to be flagrantly promoting anti-Union sentiments), Lincoln immediately had Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton reverse Burnside's order.

SG: What was the public's response to the arrest? In Ohio? Throughout the Union? In the Confederacy?

FW: In Ohio, criticism was rampant with, for example, supporters of Vallandigham rioting and burning down the Republican newspaper in Dayton, Ohio. Indignation meetings were held throughout the North.

The case served as a rallying point for Lincoln's critics – especially the Peace Democrats who did not support the war and wanted an armistice with the Confederacy. As discussed below, the President responded to a letter to New York War Democrat Erastus Corning who, while supporting the war, argued against any curtailment of civil liberties, including inhibiting speech, suspension of *habeas corpus*, and the draft.

The Confederacy tried to use Clement Vallandigham and his arrest as a means of wreaking havoc in the Northwest. Jacob Thompson, an agent of the Confederacy, joined members of the Order of the Sons of Liberty (Northern citizens who were "Copperheads"* who plotted against the federal government's war effort) urged armed uprisings to coincide with Vallandigham's return from exile. The plot collapsed because of the disorganization of the Sons of Liberty.

Vallandigham's case emboldened the Peace Democrats who early on viewed Abraham Lincoln as a tyrant for raising troops without Congressional approval, declaring martial law in Maryland, suspending *habeas corpus*, establishing an income tax, and issuing paper money. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation drove the Copperheads over the top with many Northerners now joining the Peace Democrats. The Emancipation Proclamation, raising of U. S. Colored Troops, Congressional passage of a conscription act, failures on the battle field, and the arbitrary arrest of Vallandigham all occurred in early 1863 and contributed to a war weariness settling in the North—only to be dispelled somewhat by the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. (*Copperheads, named after the highly poisonous snake, was a derisive term used by Republicans against conservative Democrats who opposed the war.)

SG: What was the final "punishment" of Vallandigham? Was it constitutional? Is there a legal difference between appropriate punishment during time of war as opposed to peace?

FW: The Ohio federal district judge, himself a Democrat, upheld Vallandigham's conviction. In February 1864, the U. S. Supreme Court in *ex parte Vallandigham* ruled that it could not "review . . . the proceedings of a military commission." After the war the Supreme Court would review the jurisdiction and actions of a military commission. In *ex parte Milligan*, involving Indiana citizen Lambdin B. Milligan, convicted of treasonous acts by a military commission, the Court held that while the civilian courts were operating and the defendant was not in the military

nor was Indiana in a war zone, military commissions could not try a civilian.

Abraham Lincoln always opined that he, as president, could do things in wartime that could not be done in peacetime based on "military necessity" and his definition of the president's war powers, which are not enumerated in the Constitution.

Vallandigham returned to Ohio illegally in 1864. While Governor John Brough wanted him arrested, Burnside's successor, General Samuel P. Heintzelman, was more cautious and awaited word from Washington. Lincoln, on advice from his Cabinet, would take no official notice of Vallandigham's return. Lincoln believed that Vallandigham was so extreme that his efforts at the Democratic nominating convention could only help the President's party, now called the National Union Party. This is exactly what occurred as Vallandigham helped draft the "peace plank" of the 1864 Democratic platform which would conflict with the party's nominee for president, former Major General George B. McClellan, a War Democrat.

SG: How serious were the various threats to the Union from Confederate sympathizers in the North?

FW: For a while it was touch and go as Abraham Lincoln never had the full support of the Northern people. In fact, despite Union victories at Atlanta, the Shenandoah Valley and Mobile Bay and with a disastrous "peace plank" for the Democratic Party in the 1864 election, there were still almost two million votes against the incumbent – Abraham Lincoln (2,200,00 for Lincoln and 1,800,00 for McClellan).

The success of the Copperheads and Peace Democrats was on the ascendency until mid-1863 with their continuous attacks against Lincoln for what they perceived to be his arbitrary measures, including suspension of *habeas corpus* and emancipation. The Vallandigham case aided them immeasurably, although Lincoln's commutation to banishment prevented Valiant Val from becoming a martyr in prison. Their success, however, infuriated the soldiers who viewed the Copperheads as not appreciative of their sacrifices in the field. Despite soldiers' support, Lincoln saw his support from civilians drop considerably in the first half of 1863, primarily from military defeats and the draft. Support recovered with the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Despite support for Lincoln, peaking with the appointment of General Ulysses S. Grant in March 1864, it plummeted as the North became war-weary with the spring overland campaign and horrific casualties. The Copperheads were at their zenith when the Democrats held their nominating convention in August 1864. Lincoln, himself, along with many Republicans, feared he would lose the election.

But the Copperheads made bad judgments. They chose a Peace Democrat to be the vice presidential candidate and made

the most notorious Copperhead in the country, Clement Vallandigham, in charge of the party platform. The platform deemed the war a "failure" and called for the immediate end to hostilities. And this, with former head of the Army of the Potomac, George B. McClellan, a War Democrat, as head of the ticket for the presidency! McClellan would repudiate the "peace plank."

Also, wartime economic prosperity and Lincoln's deft handling of the complicated race issue took the wind from the Democratic sails with opposition to Lincoln's civil liberties policies the only thing left on the Democratic boat.

SG: Is there evidence of any reactions by Vallandigham to Lincoln's assassination?

FW: Vallandigham, surprisingly, believed Lincoln's murder, was "the worse public calamity which could have befallen the country." He even became a supporter of Lincoln's approach to Reconstruction as being "liberal and conciliatory." An opponent of President Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction policies after Lincoln's death, Vallandigham finally acquiesced with the Emancipation Proclamation and 13th Amendment and urged, in 1871, acceptance of the outcome of the Civil War.



Lincoln and McClellan at Antietam LN-1503

SG: Who was Erastus Corning?

FW: Erastus Corning was a manufacturer and railroad executive (New York Central Railroad) who resided in Albany, New York. In 1860, his Albany Iron Works employed about 750 men. When the Civil War broke out, his company bid on government contracts, and he was elected, for a second time, to Congress, serving during the first two years of the war. While a Democrat, he supported the war. Yet, he and others in the Albany area were displeased with President Lincoln's assault, Corning believed, on civil liberties.

After Vallandigham's arbitrary arrest without *habeas corpus*, conviction before a military commission and sentencing, an indignant Democratic citizenry, on May 16, 1863, held a mass meeting in Albany, with Erastus Corning as chairman, to protest administration policy. The protest was forwarded to President Lincoln who drafted a reply on June 12, 1863.

SG: Please discuss Lincoln's famous letter to Corning.



Erastus Corning
LC-BH82-5232 B

FW: President Lincoln decided to answer the protests of the Albany Democrats, but he expected and received wide distribution of his defense of his actions relating to civil liberties.

While avowing to adhere to the ". . . guaranteed rights of individuals" and, therefore "slow to adopt the strong measures which by degrees I have been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the constitution and as indispensable to the public safety." The nature of the rebellion

prevented him from awaiting an overt act of disloyalty. In fact, the time will come when "I shall be blamed for having made too few arrests rather than too many." The Confederates ". . . under cover of 'Liberty of speech' 'Liberty of the press' and *Habeas corpus*' . . . keep on foot a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers, and aiders and abettors of their cause in a thousand ways . . ." Defending the idea of constructive treason and using his own reputation for empathy and clemency, he wrote, "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wiley agitator who induces him to desert? . . . I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator, and save the boy, is not only constitutional but, withal, a great mercy."

Lincoln's biographers, his secretaries John G. Nicolay and John Hay, noted that "few of the President's state papers . . . produced a stronger impression on the public mind than this."

His Corning letter was a bold defense of the suspension of *habeas corpus* in the face of vitriolic Democratic criticism.



Union Defends Herself Against Copperheads

Copperhead cartoon
Harper's Weekly
Feb 28, 1863
LFFC

An Interview with Joseph Fornieri Regarding Political Philosophy and the Beliefs of Abraham Lincoln

SG: The title of one of your books is *Abraham Lincoln's Political Faith*. What do you mean by "political faith?"

JF: Lincoln's political faith refers to his combination of religion and politics to provide an ultimate moral justification for American self-government within the context of the separation of church and state. The political faith is based on the political creed of the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln viewed the Declaration as an American Decalogue—an American Ten Commandments or covenant—that enshrined the first principles of self-government. He famously referred to the principle of equality as "the central idea" of the nation and the principles of Jefferson as the definitions and axioms of a free society. The timeless truths of the Declaration provided a rule and measure to judge policies and directives that morally obligated the country. It served as a moral compass that pointed the country in the right direction. Lincoln realized that even if principles could not be realized fully, leaders should nonetheless seek to approximate them as much as possible under the circumstances.

Lincoln shows that the Bible and religion may play an important role in the moral instruction of public life within the context of a separation of church and state. During the Civil War both sides invoked the Bible to justify their policies. Lincoln, who was an avid reader of the Bible, critiqued proslavery interpretations of the Good Book and showed how its

teaching was more compatible with equality. The teachings of the Bible confirmed and reinforced the self-evident truths of the Declaration and the principles of self-government. For example, according to Lincoln, the Golden Rule ("do unto others") and the rule of charity ("love your neighbor as yourself") enjoined the country to treat all human beings equally. As an ultimate moral justification, Lincoln's political faith drew upon and integrated the moral and political teachings of three traditions of American Order. I refer to these three traditions as the three R's of Lincoln's political faith: 1) reason (Euclidean logic), 2) revelation (the teachings of Christianity and the Bible) and 3) republicanism (the Founders' tradition of self-government and ordered liberty as interpreted by Whigs like Daniel Webster). Finally, Lincoln's political faith was notable in both appealing to religion for moral authority while avoiding self-righteousness. He ironically referred to Americans as "an almost chosen" people. In the *Second Inaugural*, upon the eve of the North's triumph, he proclaimed that God's will is ultimately unfathomable. Both sides were culpable, perhaps to different degrees, for the national sin of slavery. Neither side could claim moral purity before God.

SG: Which Lincoln speech best articulates this political faith?

JF: While a strong candidate would be the *Lyceum Address* of 1838 where Lincoln calls for a "political religion" based on reverence for the laws and the Constitution,

I think his political faith is most vividly expressed in the *Peoria Address* of October 16, 1854. Lincoln wrote this speech in response to the recently enacted Kansas Nebraska Act of 1854 that sought to resolve the slavery question on the basis of popular sovereignty—the right of territorial settlers to decide the question for themselves. At Peoria, the Declaration comes to the fore as the moral centerpiece of Lincoln's critique of slavery. He rejects the relativism of popular sovereignty that denies the inherent evil of slavery as inconsistent with the "ancient faith" of equality in the Declaration. Most recently, Lewis Lehrman has written an insightful and rewarding book on the topic, *Lincoln at Peoria*.



Peoria Speech, LFFC
From a painting by Charles Overall

Lincoln's use of biblical language is multifaceted in his speeches and writings. Sometimes he cites the Bible in expressing his own anguished effort to know and do God's will, as when he describes himself as a "humble instrument" of God in his touching correspondence with Mrs. Eliza Gurney, a Quaker. Other times, he used the Bible for didactic purposes to illustrate a political teaching, as when he used the house divided metaphor from Matthew's Gospel to insist that there must be a moral consensus about the inherent evil of slavery. Still other times, he appealed to the teachings of the Bible as a timeless, moral standard to judge the politics of his time, as when he invoked Genesis 3: 19, "in the sweat of thy face, thou shalt earn bread" to show that labor is the predicament of all human beings, not just slaves.

SG: Your book *The Language of Liberty* is now in a "Revised and Extended Bicentennial Edition." What did you change...and why?

JF: I revised the book in order to include the most recent scholarship. I also included a few more speeches such as Lincoln's Lectures on Discovery and Inventions. I have received quite a few responses over the years telling me that this book has been a very useful one volume with clear notes for each speech and concise chapter summaries of major events that provide background to understanding Lincoln's political leadership during each period of his life.

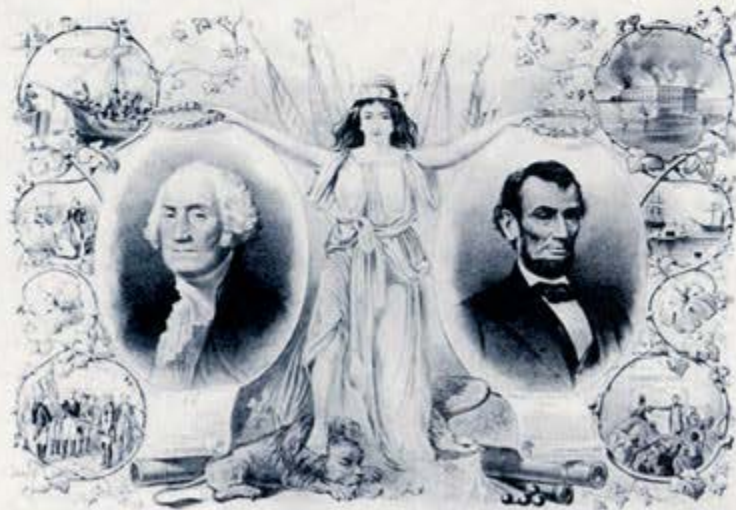
SG: It seems as if the Lyceum Address shifts between Enlightenment ideals (with its look to "cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason" for solutions) and the Romantic Era ("lispng babe"

prattling on his mother's lap). Please comment on this Address and what it says about Lincoln's political philosophy at that point in his life. Did his views change as he grew older?

JF Like many other scholars, I view the *Lyceum Address* as Lincoln's first great speech. As noted above, in this speech he calls for a "political religion" based on reverence for the laws against the threat of mob violence. The 1837 lynching of the abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy was in the background. We forget today that abolitionists were a detested minority in most sections of the country at the time. As a young Whig committed to the rule of law, Lincoln was disturbed by this event. He feared that vigilante justice and "mobocratic spirit" of the Jacksonian era would undermine constitutional government, ultimately leading to a demagogue who would exploit sectional differences. The speech also contains a subtle critique of the Founders who relied too much upon the passion of revenge against

Great Britain in their effort to gain independence. Lincoln feared that with the British gone, we would turn this unreasoning passion against ourselves. While I think there are common themes found in this speech that recur throughout Lincoln's career, I do not view it as a philosophical or psychological blueprint that provides the key to unlock his future political thought. The speech was part of Lincoln's effort to develop his rhetoric. He presented it before an oratorical society. His use of rhetoric in his later career is much less ornate. Some scholars believe that Lincoln had projected himself into the role of the towering and ambitious genius he warns about in the Speech. Lincoln's references to a Caesarian destroyer of liberty who will quench his ambition at the expense of freeing the slaves or enslaving freemen are certainly intriguing. While I do not think that this was a self-fulfilling prophecy, I think it is quite plausible that Lincoln might have been plumbing the dark side of his own ambitions. We know that he loved Macbeth, which certainly provided a cautionary tale of unbounded ambition.

*Columbia's noblest Sons,
LFFC*



Columbia's noblest Sons

SG: I know that you are a student of Tocqueville. Is there any evidence that Lincoln was influenced by his writing?

JF: I must admit that I share Harvey Mansfield's opinion that Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* is at once the greatest book ever written on democracy and America. Tocqueville and Lincoln are among the greatest teachers of democracy. Although Tocqueville lived during Lincoln's time, I do not think the latter read any of his work. Nonetheless, I find interesting parallels and differences between them on the nature and character of democracy. I am particularly interested in the role that religion plays in American public life for both Tocqueville and Lincoln. Tocqueville, like Lincoln, sought to ennoble and elevate democracy. It is quite puzzling that Tocqueville fails to mention the Declaration of Independence in his great work, *Democracy in America*, which, for Lincoln, was the moral centerpiece of the Union. Some scholars think that because Tocqueville was concerned with the excesses of democracy in France, he did not want to highlight the Declaration as an egalitarian manifesto.

SG: The subtitle of your book *Lincoln's American Dream is Clashing Political Perspectives*. Please explain this subtitle and the manner in which you chose contributors to elucidate these clashing perspectives.

JF: I have always believed that the truth is best attained through the dialectical clash of ideas. Engaging other perspectives deepens our own. I always have been impressed with Aquinas's scholastic method in the *Summa* in presenting opposing viewpoints and then responding to them in formulating his own

position. In this book, I include some of Lincoln's harshest and most profound critics, such as Wilmore Kendall and Thomas De Lorenzo. I also include a critique of my own work on Lincoln's political faith by Bruce Frohnen.

SG: I have always been fascinated by President Lincoln's Messages to Congress. Please comment on all in general or some specifically.

JF: I am particularly fascinated and moved by Lincoln's Annual Message to Congress on December 1, 1862. It is interesting to note that the president did not appear in person to deliver these messages; they were read to Congress. Nonetheless, they provided an effective opportunity for the president to advance his political agenda and shape public opinion. The December 1st message is delivered a month before the final Emancipation Proclamation goes into effect on January 1, 1863. Lincoln asked the country to ratify the final step towards freedom in stirring rhetoric that speaks to the wider historical significance and moral meaning of the struggle. He notes that the fate of the free and slave are interconnected: "Fellow-citizens, 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. 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." During World War II, Aaron Copeland has the narrator recite these words in his *Lincoln Portrait* to remind the country of what we were fighting for.

SG: Did Lincoln ever comment on the fact that many of the Founding Fathers owned slaves?

JF: Indeed, Lincoln often mentioned the fact that Jefferson had slaves but nonetheless thought that slavery was wrong in principle and sought to restrict its spread. At Peoria in 1854, he noted that, "the author of the Declaration of Independence, and otherwise a chief actor in the revolution; then a delegate in Congress; afterwards twice President; who was, is, and perhaps will continue to be, the most distinguished politician of our history; a Virginian by birth and continued residence, and withal, a slave-holder; conceived the idea of taking that occasion, to prevent slavery ever going into the north-western territory. He prevailed on the Virginia Legislature to adopt his views, and to cede the territory, making the prohibition of slavery therein, a condition of the deed." The appeal to Jefferson, a slaveholding Democrat, was a very effective rhetorical strategy against slavery extension. Lincoln was showing that the Democrats of his time had betrayed Jefferson's legacy and that members of the new Republican Party were the rightful heirs of 1776.

SG: What is Lincoln's relationship to the Founders?

JF: This is a controversial issue. Some claim that Lincoln, for better or worse, re-founded the nation through a more radical egalitarian notion of equality that paved the way for the modern welfare state. I reject the re-founding thesis, but I also think it is fair to say that Lincoln was not simply conservative in preserving the status quo antebellum. I view Lincoln as defending, affirming and extending the Founding principles. If Lincoln was revolutionary, in the sense that his policies led to the freeing of four million people and destroyed slavery, it was because the principles themselves logically pointed to this culmination. Lincoln recognized the universal implications of the principles of equality and liberty. Without being irreverent, his relationship to the Founders may be seen as analogous to the relationship between the New and Old Testament. Jesus came to fulfill, not to abolish the prophets and the law, extending principles and teachings that were implicit to Judaism. In a similar manner, Lincoln extended universal principles that were implicit to the Founding.

SG: "Four score and seven years ago" from the Gettysburg Address in 1863 refers back to 1776 and the Declaration of Independence instead of 1787 and the Constitutional Convention. Would a political scientist believe that the Declaration actually "brought forth on this continent a new nation?"

JF: In dating the birth of Union in 1776, Lincoln assigns priority to the Declaration as the formal cause—the very essence of the country. The principles of the Declaration animated the

Constitution and provided a legitimate teaching of government that guided the Constitution, despite concessions to slavery. Lincoln believed that the Constitution should be read through the moral lens of the Declaration as much as possible. Given the moral priority of the Declaration, slavery was therefore an anomaly and an exception to the rule of freedom, ultimately condemned in principle. Lincoln conveyed the relationship between these two documents with a biblical metaphor of the Apple of Gold and Picture of Silver from Proverbs. The Constitution was the picture of silver that framed the Declaration, the apple of gold. The Constitution was designed to protect and enhance the first principles of liberty and equality affirmed by the Declaration. The inseparability of liberty and Union, the motto of Lincoln and the Republican Party, required ordered liberty under the rule of law, that is, fidelity to both the picture of silver and the apple of gold.

SG: What interested you about Lincoln? Why did you begin writing on his life and beliefs?

JF: I earned my degree in Political Science, and more specifically in political philosophy. I have always been interested in the big questions and big ideas raised by great thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas. I have been particularly interested in questions about religion and politics and the relationship between law and morality. (I initially considered going to law school.) Lincoln also wrestled with similar questions during the Civil War and provided a great example of striking a balance between the claims of each without reducing one to the other. For example, Lincoln was righteous without being self-righteous. Contrary to the moral relativism of popular sovereignty, he emphasized that slavery was inherently a moral question that could not be evaded. At the same time, however, he recognized that politics was limited. He did not expect moral perfection on earth. This accounts for his concessions to the existing institution of slavery before the war. The end of American slavery depended upon enacting laws that had broad public support and constitutional backing.



ADDRESS of ABRAHAM LINCOLN at the Dedication of Gettysburg Cemetery, the 19th of November, 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, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of the war. We have com-

to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that their nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our 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.

LFFC, Gettysburg Address

SG: What is different about your approach to Lincoln as a political philosopher?

JF: I am greatly indebted to the brilliant, groundbreaking and transformative work of political philosopher Harry V. Jaffa on Lincoln. By relying on the epic thinkers and books of western civilization as my guide, I also seek to show the important contribution of normative political philosophy to an understanding of our sixteenth president. The contribution of political philosophy can be summarized in terms of its textual method, its Socratic approach, and its normative evaluation of politics. The method or *modus operandi* of the political philosopher involves a close textual analysis of primary sources.

This approach is used in an effort to understand authors as they understand themselves, rather than interpreting them through the ideological lens of race, class, or gender. While I rely primarily upon Lincoln's speeches and writings in support of my interpretation, my thinking on the subject has also benefited and built upon the outstanding contributions of many fine Lincoln scholars in the various fields of history, literature, and political science. I recognize and engage this secondary literature where it both corroborates and challenges my interpretation.

In addition to the original sources and secondary literature, my *modus operandi* as a political philosopher further consults the great books and thinkers in western political thought for the enduring wisdom about politics and human nature. Throughout I make reference to great thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Kant, and Nietzsche. In so doing, I have attempted to explain in a concise and accessible manner

how their teachings relate to Lincoln. In particular, my thinking on the subject has been enriched by the timeless teachings of Aristotle (4th Century BC) and St. Thomas Aquinas (13th Century AD). I hope to show that these great thinkers offer valuable insights about Lincoln's statesmanship, even though they lived centuries before him. If human nature does not change, as Lincoln believed, then it behooves us to investigate the wisdom of those great minds throughout history who understood it so clearly and profoundly. Whereas the primary method of the historian is to present a faithful chronology of the past, the political philosopher pursues inquiry in terms of the Socratic question about *the nature* of a thing and a corresponding openness to the possibility of truth. In Socratic terms, *the nature* of a thing refers to its defining class, character, or essence of something that distinguishes it from another.

SG: I know that you have a new book which will be published by Southern Illinois University Press. Please give us the title and the basic concepts which you will address.

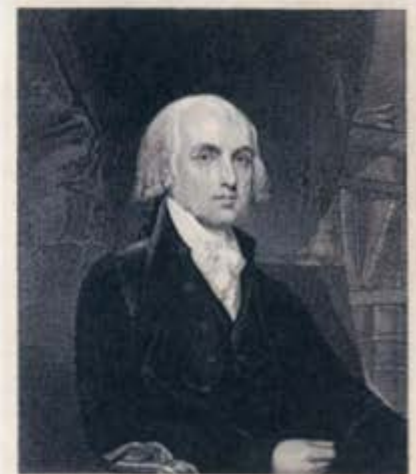
JF: The new book is called *Abraham Lincoln, Philosopher-Statesman*. It views Lincoln as a man of both ideas and action. Guided by a noble vision of the good, the sixteenth president's speeches and writings offer profound insight and enduring wisdom about human nature, equality, self-government, and politics. Though rare, this combination of theory and practice in politics is not unprecedented in Western history. One can point to the examples of Cicero, Thomas More, Edmund Burke, and, in America, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, authors of the *Federalist Papers*. Indeed, the

connection between philosophy and statesmanship was explicitly made by Lincoln himself in his *Seventh and Last Debate with Douglas at Alton October 15, 1858*:

"But where is the philosophy or statesmanship which assumes that you can quiet that disturbing element in our society [slavery] which has disturbed us for more than half a century...based on the assumption that we are to quit talking about it, and that the public mind is all at once to cease being agitated by it?"



Alexander Hamilton
LC-DIG-ppmsca-17523



James Madison
James Madison, LFFC

In her award winning book *Team of Rivals*, Doris Kearns Goodwin ascribes Lincoln's greatness to his "political genius," displayed through his "success in dealing with the strong egos of the men in his cabinet." Lincoln's example, according to Kearns Goodwin, suggests "that in the hands of a truly great politician the qualities we generally associate with decency and morality—kindness, sensitivity, compassion, honesty, and empathy—can also be impressive political resources (*Team of Rivals*, xvii)." Kearns Goodwin is to be praised for her stirring portrait of a "truly great politician." Insofar as she goes, she ably describes the "extraordinary array" of those qualities mentioned above.

Yet her portrait is incomplete. While it provides particular examples of Lincoln's political genius, it does not provide (nor intends to provide) a conceptual framework to identify and evaluate statesmanship as a distinct kind of political leadership. This requires a philosophical account of the *nature* or the essence of statesmanship, the apex of political greatness, which may serve as a standard to identify and evaluate particular political leaders. It is only in light of such a standard that we can clearly distinguish a "truly great" statesman from the mediocrity or defectiveness of a mere politician. Lincoln the statesman was to politics what Michelangelo was to art and Einstein to physics—a rare genius and master of his craft. My new work provides a framework for identifying and evaluating statesmen.

To be sure, Lincoln's "political genius" consisted in something more than the possession of extraordinary interpersonal skills

and managerial abilities. Granted that "kindness, sensitivity, compassion, honesty, and empathy" are "impressive political resources," but to what end? In themselves, these qualities do not define statesmanship as such, nor do they distinguish it from other types of leadership that may share these qualities—for example, a CEO or a social reformer who may not hold public office.

What *kind* of a political leader was Lincoln then? Was he a *pragmatist* who acted on the basis of expediency and results without much regard for principle? Was he a *realist* moved primarily by considerations of power and the survival of the state? Was he an *idealist* who placed individual conscience above all else, leaving the political consequences to God? Was he a Nietzschean *superman*, a creative genius moved by the "will to power," who re-founded America? These definitions do not seem to do justice to Lincoln's true greatness.

It is my contention that Lincoln embodied in practice the timeless teachings of Aristotle and Aquinas on the enduring nature of statesmanship and political greatness. To answer the question above, what *kind* of a statesman was Lincoln? Neither a pragmatic politician nor a Machiavellian realist, nor a utopian idealist, Lincoln was a *philosopher-statesman* who combined both theoretical and practical wisdom in both speech and deed. His words provide enduring lessons about human nature, politics, and democracy. His deeds saved the Union, ended slavery, vindicated republican government, and perpetuated an interracial democracy for the world. In sum, the ultimate source of Lincoln's

greatness was a greatness of soul or magnanimity that involved humility, justice, and patriotic sacrifice to the common good.

SG: I understand that you have an exciting new project at RIT, and I think that our readers would enjoy hearing about it.

JF: With the generous support of Board member Kraig Kayser, President and CEO of Seneca Foods, we are in the process of creating an Institute for the Study of Statesmanship at RIT that will complement our new degree program in political science. The Institute will be student-centered. It will include a yearly speaker series, unique course offerings, and scholarly activities. This has been one of my dreams, and I look forward to building something to make a difference in the lives of students. We hope to hold our first colloquium next Spring.

The Story of a Statue

In 1905 a group of men from Fort Wayne, Indiana, wrote to Robert Todd Lincoln to ask if they could use his father's image in a new life insurance company which they had founded. Robert Lincoln sent his favorite photograph, the same image which appears on the \$5 bill.

Arthur Hall, a founder of Lincoln National Life, had a lifelong interest in Abraham Lincoln and had assembled a personal collection of memorabilia. Louis Warren was hired in 1928 to establish a museum which would commemorate the life and legacy of our sixteenth president. The first issue of *Lincoln Lore* was published on April 15, 1929.

Company executives then commissioned sculptor Paul Manship to create a statue that would stand at the entrance to corporate headquarters. The Hoosier Youth statue was dedicated in 1932, and it remains a Fort Wayne landmark today.



Hoosier Youth, Fort Wayne, Indiana
LFFC



LFFC, Scale drawing of Lincoln's head for Hoosier Youth Statue. Drawn on sculptor Paul Manship's personal letterhead. The handwriting is Manship's.



LFFC, Sculptor Paul Manship working on the initial model for Hoosier Youth



The 2013 R. Gerald McMurtry Lecture

James M. McPherson will speak
at the Allen County Public Library
Fort Wayne, Indiana

September 10, 2013, at 7:00 pm

Sponsored by Lutheran Health Network

*Invitations to this free event
will be mailed to members of
Friends of the Lincoln Collection of Indiana*

T H E A N N U A L

Lincoln

C O L L O Q U I U M

Rethinking Herndon
Has His Role in Lincoln Studies Changed?

SEPTEMBER 28, 2013

For more information, please contact:
Lincoln Studies Center at Knox College
2 East South Street • Galesburg, IL 61401-4999 • 309-341-7158
lincolnstudies@knox.edu • www.knox.edu/lincolnstudies

SPEAKERS
Michael Burlingame
Richard Carwardine
Thomas Schwartz
Douglas L. Wilson

***2013 Corporate Members and Sponsors of
Friends of the Lincoln Collection of Indiana***

New Sponsors:

- Barrett & McNagny, LLP
(Rolland Lecture)
- Lutheran Health Network
(McMurtry Lecture)
- Ian and Mimi Rolland Foundation
(Book to be published in 2015,
*1865: America Makes War and
Peace in Lincoln's Final Year.*)

New Corporate Members:

- Burt Blee Dixon Sutton & Bloom
- Deister Machine
- Dulin Ward & DeWald
- Gabbard Environmental Services
- Hardy & Hardy, LLC
- Indiana Tech
- Indiana Tech Law School
- Sweetwater Sound