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The International Lincoln

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Lincoln LORE

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Upcoming Events

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: INDIANAN AND THE WEST
2016 Annual McMurtry Lecture
Presented by Hon. Frank J. Williams
September 20, 2016, 7 pm
Allen County Public Library
Fort Wayne, Indiana
For more information, visit www.LincolnCollection.org.

THE ANNUAL Lincoln COLLOQUIUM

LINCOLN IN PUBLIC MEMORY
31st Annual Lincoln Colloquium
Presentations by Barry Schwartz, Richard Fox, and James A. Percoco
October 7-8, 2016
Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, Lincoln City, Indiana
For more information, call 812-937-4541.

LINCOLN AND RECONSTRUCTION:
AMERICA'S STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY
14th Annual Lincoln Legacy Lectures
Presentations by Dr. Allen C. Guelzo and Dr. Brooks Simpson
October 20, 2016, 7 pm
University of Illinois-Springfield
Springfield, Illinois
For more information, visit: http://go.uis.edu/LincolnLegacyLecture.
A live webcast will be streamed at:
http://www.uis.edu/technology/uislive.html.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN – HIS LIFE AND LEGACY
21st Annual Lincoln Forum Symposium
Presentations by 13 experts on Lincoln and his times
November 16-18, 2016
Wyndham Gettysburg Hotel
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
For more information,
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For more information about National Lincoln Events,
visit: http://www.LINCOLNBICENTENNIAL.ORG/EVENTS

Lincoln in the News

WASHINGTON POST – *April 5, 2016 – Perry Stein*

"Everyone gets three extra days to file taxes in 2016. Happy Emancipation Day, America" This article was prompted by the fact that on April 16, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln signed the Compensated Emancipation Act, which freed approximately 3,800 slaves living in the District of Columbia. This date is celebrated annually. The fact that it fell on a Saturday in 2016 led to the decision to extend the official tax filing deadline until April 18 this year.

JOURNAL GAZETTE – *Fort Wayne, IN – May 11, 2016*
Michael Gerson of the Washington Post

"Republicans reach a defining moment" Gerson mentions the different methods by which individuals can rise to the presidency. "Inspiring leaders are often those who identify with the weak. They may develop this trait by rising from poverty themselves, like Abraham Lincoln did. Or they may have had their capacity for empathy expanded by suffering, such as Franklin Roosevelt's struggle with polio."

ON THE Cover

SUMIKO TOKUDA AND HER PRIZE-WINNING LINCOLN ESSAY

In 1929, twenty-three-year-old Sumiko Tokuda, a student at Tsuda English College in Tokyo, won first prize in the Lincoln Essay Contest sponsored by the America-Japan Society of Tokyo and the Lincoln Centennial Association of Springfield, Illinois. Her essay, titled "The Life of Abraham Lincoln," was published along with other finalists in a special bulletin of the sponsoring organizations. Her essay caught the attention of E.L. Bangs, a Lincoln collector in Baltimore, who wrote to Miss Tokuda and asked for a copy of her essay. She sent him a photograph of herself in traditional Japanese costume, a copy of the published speech, and a handwritten version of her essay translated into Japanese and written on decorative paper tied with a pink ribbon. In the accompanying letter, Miss Tokuda wrote, "How I wish I could see your interesting collection, and also visit the places which are famous in connection with Lincoln." A year later, in April 1930, Sumiko Tokuda was one of five young women who traveled to the United States as a delegation to thank the United States and the American Red Cross for aid provided to Japan following the 1923 earthquake. The women traveled across the country from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., stopping in Los Angeles, Kansas City, St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston before returning to the west coast via Chicago. We do not know whether Miss Tokuda met Mr. Bangs, but it is likely she saw at least some of "the places which are famous in connection with Lincoln."

Both essays, Tokuda's photograph, and her letter to Bangs are now part of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection.

Letters from Confederate Soldiers,

Three Brothers and a Brother-in-law

Edited by **MADELANE ELSTON**, a Director of Friends of the Lincoln Collection of Indiana, and **SARA GABBARD**

EDITORS' NOTE: *Our purpose in conducting this research was to determine whether or not there was a common link in letters sent home by both Northern and Southern soldiers; not the higher-ranking officers but the lower ranks who had little control over strategy, tactics, and other military matters. We have previously published in Lincoln Lore letters from George Squier, a Union soldier from Ft. Wayne, IN. This article will contain similar items from Confederate soldiers.*

We have found many commonalities: complaints about food, weather, illness, homesickness, fear, and boredom. There are frequent references of a spiritual nature, assuring family members that God will provide protection for the soldier. There are comments about high-ranking officers, sometimes positive and sometimes negative. However, it appears that all exhibit a certain reluctance to write things which might provoke too much anxiety upon their families at home.

Some descriptions of the battlefield are almost poetic in nature, while other comments are brief and non-enlightening. Some soldiers express devotion to the "cause" for which they are fighting, while others might be letters from any soldier in any war.

Taken from the book *The Confederacy Is on Her Way Up the Spout*, this collection of letters from three brothers and one brother-in-law who fought for the South is an excellent representation of the thoughts and feelings of these soldiers. In

his introduction, James McPherson states: "Yeoman farmers from up-country South Carolina and Georgia, they had a meager education that manifested itself in the creative spelling and imaginative grammar of the letters. But they had no problem describing their experiences at the fighting fronts in Virginia, Tennessee, and North and South Carolina in graphic terms." (Ed. Comment: We found the simple language and creative spelling to be particularly appealing. These were not men who believed that experience in war would somehow profit them after the eventual peace, whatever that peace might entail. They did not intend to pursue political careers or become captains of industry. They were writing to loved ones, not to future editors. It is also true that some of the phonetic spelling was used in England by members of the upper classes in the time of Chaucer.)

As can be seen in similar letters from both Union and Confederate soldiers, the reader senses a change in attitude from the confident enthusiasm early in the War to weary desperation as the years passed. (The title of the book is taken from a letter written by Lawrence Barrett on July 18, 1863: "The soldiers has a by word when any body or anything lost saying its gone up the spout...I say the Confederacy is on her way up the spout.")

W. Lawrence Barrett writes the first letter in the series on June 7, 1861, after he had volunteered for a 12 month period with the South Carolina Volunteers: ".... I reached Columbia safe and found all moderately well except some cases of mumps... write to me Soon and Tell mother and all the rest that I am well and doing fine." (The reader is reminded immediately of the fact that so many soldiers in the Civil War were afflicted with "childhood diseases" and the amazing death toll which resulted.)

The first letter from Milton Barrett of the Georgia Volunteers was written from training camp on August 2, 1861. He expresses confidence in both the training and arms provided to troops, although at the end of the letter he recognizes the possibility that he might not live to return home. At this point, he feels that they are well drilled and have sufficient arms. Again, "the health of the brigade is good," except for "Some measles and mumps." It appears that, in the beginning, soldiers had no idea of the future devastation that would occur from measles and mumps. Milton reports on "the glorious victory of Manassis. You must show this letter to mother and tell her not to be uneasy about me but to be proud rather than serow that she has two sons engaged in the cause of their country." Recognizing the possibility of his own death, either in battle or in a prison camp, he states: "... my body will be sent to you to be buried wherever you see proper."

On October 14, 1861, Milton Barrett writes from Richmond that he has been involved with guarding Yankee prisoners and that he does not average four nights of sleep per week. He also begins to comment on losses and offers recognition that military ranks can be refilled, but personal contacts are gone forever: "...but thirty of our brave boys is gone to return no moar. Three from my company who sleep in the silent room were they will wake no moar." Looking on these dead soldiers, he comments that the loss in ranks can be filled with others, but not "in the circle of frends at home and a round fire side that never can be fild."

The first letter from Benjamin, the third Barrett brother, was written on November 18, 1861. He comments on his first experience with a camp preacher: "....he preaches for the South and Prays for the South and don't mention the North any at all." He directs a comment to his brother Milton: "Tell him we are doing fine and well satisfied as you generaly see in any one that is a going to fight for their Country."

On November 22, Benjamin writes another letter from Centerville, VA. He is recovering from a bad cold. He and his companions are "lying in wait for the approach of the enemy." He comments on an inspection of the camp by a high-ranking officer: "I saw general Beauregard yesterday. He was viewing the fortifications. I have seen prettier men than Beauregard in south Carolina all tho he is a smart keen looking man."

A month later, on December 22, he reports from "Camp near Dumpfries on the Potomac in Prince William County." The main work being done is to fortify the area and build cabins "to winter in." At this point in the war, Benjamin reports that food is plentiful, especially beef, flour, and corn "a plenty." There is wheat and what appears to be some sort of machinery to process the food. "Genrl Wigfall has press a good many hogs but hasnt killed yet. What I mean by pressing in service is to go and take what we want and put our own price on hit or government price on hit." And as with generations of soldiers, Benjamin says that "I want to be home mity bad at Crismus." (ed. Note: While Benjamin obviously did not get home for Christmas in 1861, historian Richard McMurry said that the holiday was celebrated in such a way that "the next day headaches were both epidemic and contagious.")

William Collett married Sarah Barrett and joined his three brothers-in-law in fighting for the Confederacy. On January 16, 1862, he comments from a camp near Charleston that the familiar ravages of childhood diseases have hit the camp: "We have a heap of sickness in Camps of Measels and Mumps."

General P.G.T. Beauregard, OC-1938

On April 11, 1862, Milton Barrett reports on the arduous task of marching in the aftermath of spring storms in Virginia to a temporary camp in Ashland. (The rumor was that the troops would eventually be sent to Yorktown.) "We was up and on march by six. The snow had turn in to heavy rain. It continued to rain all day. Ten thousand of us on march..the mud and water nea deep in a heap of places and small stream to wade. At night we camp in the woods. We sleep a little in the mud and water. The rain is still falling."

Benjamin Barrett was injured sometime between June 27 and June 30, 1862. He was shot in the leg. The incident reminds us of the sad shape of adequate medical care in both South and North. Benjamin was taken to Chimborazo. Near Richmond, this was the largest wartime hospital in the Confederacy. Our book reports (page 63) on the state of the hospital: 76,000 soldiers treated during the War; 150 wards; a bakery that produced 10,000 loaves of bread each day; a brewery that contributed 400 daily kegs of beer; a soap factory; five icehouses, agricultural fields; and livestock.

During the war, medical practices would improve somewhat, but the failure to understand proper care and sanitation resulted in death and permanent disability. Benjamin's leg was successfully amputated, but he contracted blood poisoning as a result of the surgery. He died on August 2, 1862. (His widow received $61.36 from the Confederacy, $50 for a bounty payment and 11.36 for service from July 24 to August 1, 1862.)

In his first real contact with people from a Border State, Milton Barrett writes from Frederick, Maryland, on September 9, 1862. He states that he has marched 100 miles since his last letter and has taken part in "two big battles" (Gaines's Mill and Second Manassas). His optimistic writing reports that Confederate troops had "gained victore after victore and has captured sevrel railroads and has cut off them from the western states." Local citizens are reported to be "joining our army as fast as they can. No doubt we will get 50000 in this state."

On January 28, 1863, Milton comments on the battle of Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862: "We have given them the worst whipping that they have ever got. It was a sight to see the battlefield. The dead was a lying thick over a bout one hundred achors of ground and strange to tell but not less strange than true [that] the heaps of the dead to make brest works to sight behind."

"This is a butiful country with rich valeys and lofty mountains. They rase a large amount of hay and grain and the pepel appear true to the southern cose."

However, as 1863 wore on, some anxiety began to appear. On May 29th Lawrence Barrett wrote that "...life is so uncertain and Death is sure." He gives explicit instructions on financial matters should he fail to make it home safely. One thought is true in both South and North: as more and more men leave home to fight, some never to return and some to return with severe wounds, soldiers began to worry that there will be difficulty in finding men still at home who can help with their crops. There are also explicit instructions regarding the sale of such items as wagons and livestock, although Lawrence states that he would "like to keep my mare." And, as stated at the beginning of this article, Lawrence Barrett's comment that the Confederacy was "on her way up the spout" illustrates that point. Obviously, the defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in early July deepened this feeling of concern.

Faith, too, became a major factor in the life of soldiers. Historian Bell Wiley "suggests that the initial reaction in the camps against religion had been only temporary and that in 1863 soldiers were merely returning to the strong religious traditions in which they had been reared." Wiley also believes that Milton Barrett's statement on April 14 ("...a giting tiard of this thing called war") rings true.

General Braxton Bragg, LN-0396

Writing from Chattanooga on September 24, 1863, Milton Barrett is protected "behind a bluff" from Yankee fire. He abruptly ends the letter "... the Yankees is advancing. I must lay down my pen and go to shooting." On the 25th, he compares the military prowess of Generals Lee and Bragg: "Bragg is not the general that Lee is and the western army can't fight like the Virginia army. If general Lee was hear he would have had the Yankees drove out of Tennessee."

A letter from Milton on November 3 gives a rather stark view of the lack of proper food ("mostly just corn meal") and prevalent presence of "Direar" because of bad water. The editors of these letters (p. 111) surmise that the shortage of proper diet was beginning to have negative effects on the troops. The food was "in insufficient quantity and subject to irregular deliveries." We had not considered the fact that..."As most of the diet typically consisted of rice, wheat, maize, and tubers, there was little vitamin A available, which resulted, among other things, in night blindness." A winter freeze seriously affected the men. According to Longstreet: "...the soldiers were even using raw beef hide to protect their feet from the frozen ground."

There are few letters from the Barretts in 1864. On April 1 (near Bristol, Tennessee), Milton comments on a fearful snowstorm which caused even more food deprivation..."barely enuf for one meal per day. Hunger will cose a man to do all most any thing." He even mentions the fact that the men were so cold and hungry that they would "go to the general" and take over the commissary if additional rations were not provided.

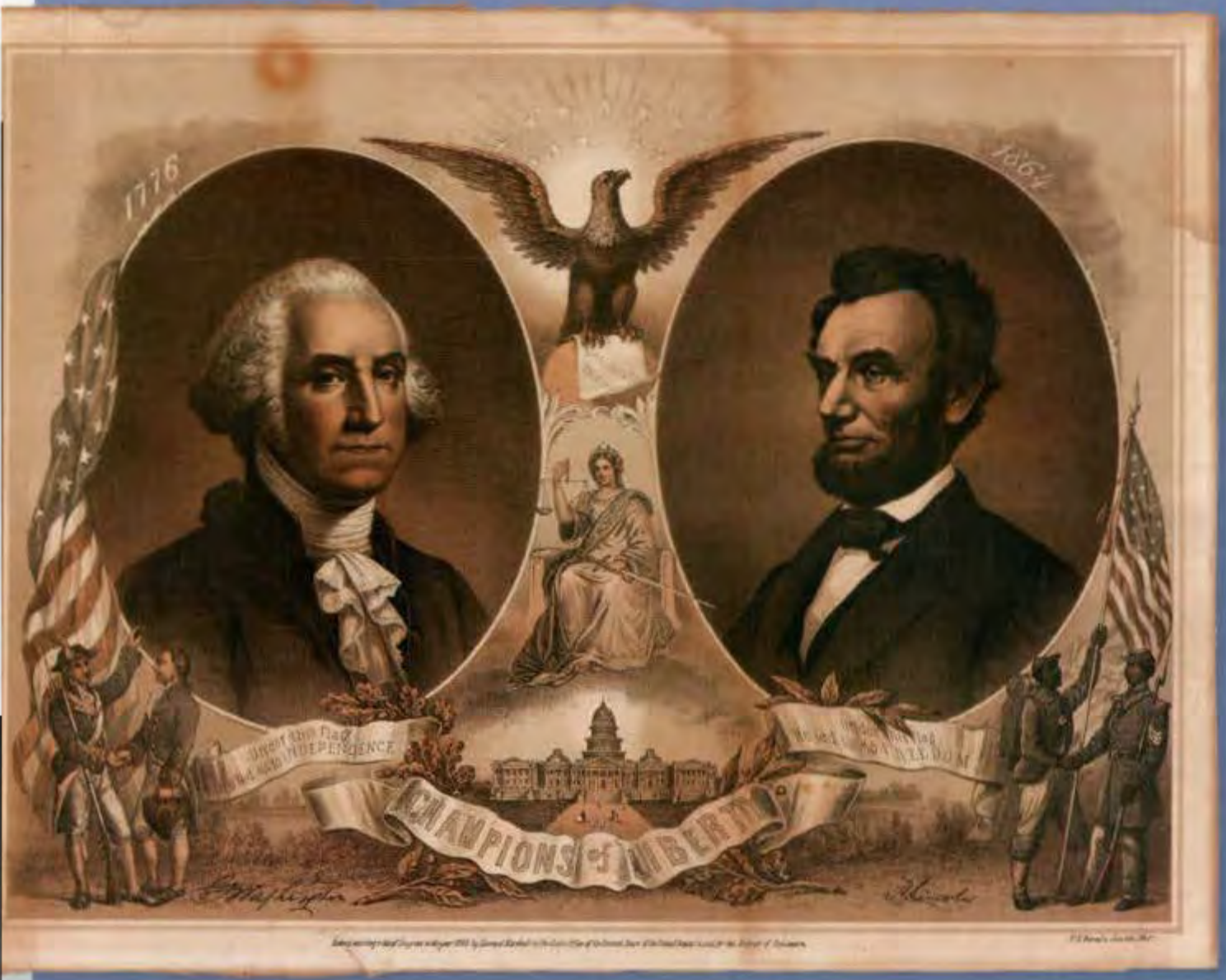
General Robert E. Lee, LIA-0293

Lawrence Barrett died in spring 1864, although there is no official record. He was last paid on March 1. Family records state that he was sent out on picket duty and never heard from again, although there is no official confirmation of this report. No Union records show that he was captured.

Sarah Barrett's husband, William Collett died on June 25, 1864, at Kingston Hospital. Here again, there are no definite records, but the assumption is that he was mortally wounded at Kennesaw Mountain.

Milton Barrett's death was perhaps more tragic. He was captured on August 16, 1864, and eventually sent to Elmira Prison in New York where the death rate for prisoners was the highest among Northern prisons, 24%. Milton died on February 12, 1865, of smallpox and was buried at the prison.

(The Confederacy Is on Her Way Up the Spout: Letters to South Carolina, 1861-1864, Edited by J. Roderick Heller III and Carolynn Ayres Heller, Foreword by James M. McPherson, First cloth edition, 1992, University of Georgia Press; First paperback edition, 1998, University of South Carolina Press)



"Champions of Liberty" by Samuel Marshall, 7120090811426

Lincoln through the Lens of History,

An Interview with Allen C. Guelzo

Interview by **SARA GABBARD**

Allen C. Guelzo is Henry R. Luce III Professor of the Civil War Era at Gettysburg College

SG: Why does the life of Abraham Lincoln continue to enthrall us?

ACG: Four reasons. First, he was the president during our greatest national crisis and successfully steered us through to a resolution that made the nation stronger. Second, he freed the slaves, thus wiping out what he and many others around the world regarded as the single greatest contradiction in our claim to be a 'sweet land of liberty.' (I know that many earnest people dispute the exact meaning of "freed the slaves," but the disputes belong to the footnotes: in the big picture, yes, he freed the slaves). Third, his life encapsulated everything that Americans wanted to believe about the mobility and opportunity of a non-hierarchical society, while (and this is number four) in his death, he rounded it all off with what seemed like a Moses-ending (looking over into the Promised Land but not entering it). Alexander Newton, a black soldier, was "reminded of what had been done for the ancient Hebrews by Moses, when he led them out of the land of their bondage, into the land of their promised liberty. Lincoln was indeed our Moses. He led us forth. He gave us our freedom." Or if not a Moses-ending, Lincoln's death was a Christ-ending (an atoning death for the sins of the American people). "Lincoln died for we, Christ died for we," a freed slave told Laura Towne amidst her work as a teacher among the freedmen in South Carolina, "and me believe him de same mans."

The first two reasons keep Lincoln important, but mostly in historical terms. It's the third reason which keeps Lincoln current, so that I continue to hear from people who not only admire Lincoln, but see him as a role-model. His rise to the presidency was almost a textbook vindication of the notion that the people of a republic are capable of governing themselves, through people who come from their own ranks. Richard Cobden, one of Lincoln's two great allies in Parliament, complained, "We hear it used as an argument against the North, that their President, Mr. Lincoln, was a 'rail-splitter.'" Cobden asked in reply, "But what does that prove with regard to the United States, but that labour is held in honour in that country?" Our earliest presidents – from Washington to J.Q. Adams – had been members of the old colonial elite, so their elections were in many ways an echo of the colonial world we had left behind. Andrew Jackson symbolized something entirely different about the openness of American society; the problem was that his successors were all-too-often demonstrations of what kind of leadership democracies get when they don't have a readily identifiable elite to choose from – van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan. They were all so commonplace that they seemed to confirm Alexis de Tocqueville's fear that democracies tend toward the lowest common denominator. Lincoln dispels that fear with magisterial grace. "Mr. Lincoln was no ordinary man," Matthew Simpson said in his oration at Lincoln's burial, "and I believe the conviction has been growing on the nation's mind...especially in the last years of his administration" that "he was especially singled out to guide our government in these troublous times."

SG: What lessons, if any, have political leaders learned from Lincoln's life? What lessons should they have learned?

ACG: We might never have heard of Lincoln had it not been for slavery. The slavery crisis was the raft on which he floated to the presidency, and at one point, he even compared

George Washington. LFA-0148

himself to loose timber, drifting with the current of a river, into "the very apex of this great event." So, it's difficult to pick out specifics, rooted in the experience of the mid-nineteenth-century, which serve as "lessons." There are two things, however, which do offer some worthwhile guidance to the aspiring politico of our own times. First, do not be afraid to stand by a moral issue; but be able to show how that issue also appeals to the self-interest of the people. Lincoln had a deep and abiding moral revulsion from the enslavement of other human beings; but he also knew that few people were going to embrace that revulsion in sufficient numbers to overcome the other great revulsion standing in emancipation's path, which had to do with race. So, Lincoln converted the restriction on the growth of slavery into a matter of white Northerners' self-interest. He warned factory workers in 1860 that when "slavery comes in,...white free labor that can strike will give way to slave labor that cannot!" And to Northern farmers interested in land in the western territories, he

said that even if one set aside "the moral aspect of this question as to whether there is a right or wrong in enslaving a negro, I am still in favor of our new Territories being in such a condition that white men may find a home – may find some spot where they can better their condition — where they can settle upon new soil and better their condition in life." By construing slavery as a threat to their own aspirations, Lincoln pulled to his side Northerners who otherwise would have allowed popular white supremacist ideas to keep them quiescent. This will not always be a virtue, since demagogues are usually quite artful in enlisting people's self-interest in their campaigns, too. But it is a truth that people of political good-will are often so confident of that good-will that they forget that others need something more than good-will to move them in the right direction.

The other modern lesson is about style. His humor, his self-deprecating humility, his long perspective on politics, and his resilience are qualities which are the necessary components of democratic political leadership. This stands in contrast to monarchical leadership, which is about honor, style, and the acquisition of power, or to bureaucratic leadership, which is about efficiency, competence, and procedure.

Thomas Jefferson, OC-1788

SG: Which of our Founding Fathers does Lincoln most resemble in views regarding the proper role of the Federal Government? On the same subject, which Founder's viewpoint does he reject?

ACG: It's frequently said that American politics, and especially when it concerns the place of federal government in American life, inherits two options from the Founders, Hamilton and Jefferson. Big-government and minimal government. Of course, binary answers like that should always be treated with suspicion, and indeed Jefferson, once he became president, turned into something of a big-government man himself.

Lincoln's own appeal to the Founders is very broad. In the Cooper Institute speech, he collects quite a large number of them — "twenty-three out of our thirty-nine fathers" — as proof that the Founders understood that Congress had the authority to restrict the spread of slavery into the territories. In the Constitution, he believed that the Founders had created as near-perfect an instrument of government as human imagination could devise. "No slight occasion should tempt us to touch it," he warned in 1848, "The men who made it, have done their work, and have passed away. Who shall improve, on what they did?"

Improving on the Founders might be an impossibility, but interpreting the Founders was another matter. Lincoln was a Whig from his earliest moment of political consciousness, and in the most general sense, the Whigs were heirs of Hamilton and Hamilton's advocacy of manufacturing, tariffs and banking. But this is only true in the sense that the Whigs saw government as an enabler of commerce; they hardly imagined a central government having the massive regulative function it does now. And far from promoting large-scale government, Lincoln very carefully circumscribed his notion of the role of government in American life when he said that "The legitimate object of government, is to do for a community of people, whatever they need to have done, but can not do, at all, or can not, so well do, for themselves in their separate, and individual capacities." Those needs "fall into two classes," a negative role "in relation to...all crimes, misdemeanors, and non-performance of contracts." The other is positive, and reveals the Whiggish Lincoln by embracing "all which, in its nature, and without wrong, requires combined action, as public roads and highways, public schools, charities, pauperism, orphanage, estates of the deceased, and the machinery of government itself." And war: "If one people will make war upon another, it is a necessity with that other to unite and cooperate for defense."

But looked at closely, these are still surprisingly minimal boundaries for a national government. In fact, far from this representing some aggressive Hamiltonian strategy, Lincoln extolled the virtues of two of the Founders in particular – and neither of them was Hamilton. (I mean, of course, Lincoln's reverence for Washington, and his somewhat more qualified praise of Jefferson).

As it turned out, the exigencies of a civil war snatched from Lincoln's hands whatever original notion he might have had of executive authority. As "an old line Whig," Lincoln said in 1861, "My political education strongly inclines me

against a very free use of any of these means, by the Executive, to control the legislation of the country. As a rule, I think it better that congress should originate, as well as perfect its measures, without external bias." But if this was his political education, the reality of the war forced him in other directions, even to the point of suspending habeas corpus, authorizing military tribunals, advocating preventive detention, blockading the Southern states, and (most novel of all as an exercise of presidential power) emancipating the slaves. But he considered all of these emergency measures, intended to save the constitution and the Union he had sworn to uphold. They were like "emetics" which addressed a particular illness, and he could not believe that "a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness, as to persist in feeding upon them through the remainder of his healthful life."

If we are looking for examples of Lincoln's philosophy of government in other ways, the best examples will be the legislation he advocated for a Pacific railroad, homesteads, tariffs, and a national banking system. These all had the old Whig thumbprint on them; but they certainly do not amount to what today we would term, "big government." The irony of large-scale government intervention in more and more aspects of life is that it moves in direct proportion to the decline of respect and loyalty to the nation. The National Health Service has made Britons less, not more, appreciative of their government, and the same thing is true of our own endeavors in this direction.

SG: If one subscribes to the concept that there are "historical eras," Abraham Lincoln was born on the cusp between Enlightenment and Romanticism. Is there any evidence in his writing/speaking/ thought that would support the concept that he reflected both "Ages"...or was his mind one that cannot be categorized?

ACG: Lincoln was a man of the Enlightenment, in that, like the Enlightenment, he prized the supremacy of reason, the testimony of nature, and applauded the unrolling of material progress. When he said in 1842, that it would be a "Happy day, when, all appetites controled, all passions subdued, all matters subjected, mind, all conquering mind, shall live and move the monarch of the world. Glorious consummation! Hail fall of Fury! Reign of Reason, all hail!," he was clearly occupying a different philosophical universe than Blake, Coleridge or Wordsworth (who would "rather be a pagan/Suckled on a creed outworn" than have "given our hearts away"). Lincoln's intellectual models were Volney, Pope, Paine, and Shakespeare; among the Romantics, he made exception only for Byron and Burns. He once confessed that he had started reading Scott's *Ivanhoe* (one of the foundational works of the Romantic sensibility) but gave up half-way through. Herndon was constantly dismayed by how Lincoln "lived in his reason and reasoned in his life." Lincoln's "reason ruled despotically all other faculties and qualities of his mind; his conscience and his heart were ruled by it; his great conscience was ruled by one faculty, his reason." Lincoln's lectures on "Discoveries and Inventions" were one long paean to the wonders of progress, and his confidence in the capacity of free

Robert Burns, DC-0464

labor to produce happiness led him to hope that, in an ever-expanding capitalist system, "you can better your condition, and so it may go on and on in one ceaseless round so long as man exists on the face of the earth!" He was – if I can use the term – bourgeois in every instinct, and the bourgeoisie were both the underwriters of the Enlightenment and one of the Enlightenment's chief objects of admiration. The bourgeoisie, said William Robertson in 1766, are "a new order of citizens, to whom commerce presented itself as their proper object, and opened to them a certain path to wealth and dignity." Commerce, in turn, was what made societies happy and prosperous. "Commerce and manufactures gradually introduced order and good government," Adam Smith wrote in *The Wealth of Nations*, "and with them, the liberty and security of individuals, among the inhabitants of the country, who had before lived in a continual state of war with their neighbors, and of servile dependency upon their superiors." Montesquieu, in his The Spirit of the Laws, agreed.

"Commerce" – not kings – "cures destructive prejudices...unites nations" and "produces in men a certain feeling for exact justice."

The Romantics appealed to community, solidarity, race, and nationality. Lincoln had no use for any of them, and even construed the nation as the product of a "proposition." He might as well have been speaking of himself when he eulogized Henry Clay in 1852 as a man who "loved his country partly because it was his own country, but mostly because it was a free country; and he burned with a zeal for its advancement, prosperity and glory, because he saw in such, the advancement, prosperity and glory, of human liberty, human right and human nature." It was not the Romantic appeal to blood and soil which animated Lincoln; it was the rational glories of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. "Perhaps half our people...are men who have come from Europe – German, Irish, French and Scandinavian men," Lincoln said in 1858. "If they look back" to the American Revolution and try "to trace their connection with those days by blood, they find they have none." But when "they look through that old Declaration of Independence they find that those old men say that 'We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal,' and then they feel that that moral sentiment ...evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh of the men who wrote that Declaration, and so they are." I think that 'principle' lies behind his disavowal of the Know-Nothings; ultimately, it also lies behind his willingness to entertain notions of civil equality for the freed slaves.

SG: Did the American public have different expectations for the presidency in the 1860s than today?

ACG: Oh, vastly. We have arrived at a point to-day where we regard the presidency as almost an elective monarchy. And no wonder: modern society feels itself so inter-related, so complex, so insecure, that we look far more than Americans did in 1860 to the federal government – and especially the executive – to act protectively. For Americans a century-and-a-half ago, their closest interaction with the federal government came through the post office, the land office and the customs house. Taxes were paid by most Americans to municipalities and states; and the roles of governors and state legislatures were, for that reason alone, of significantly more importance than they are now. Every state, except for Rhode Island, Delaware and Florida, had a larger militia establishment than the Regular army of the United States.

Nor does Lincoln seem to have been bent on changing this. Lincoln actually met more often with Union governors than did Jefferson Davis with Confederate governors. The fact that Lincoln could get through the Civil War with a White House staff of six, with only five officially-designated government bureaus, and a budget that only topped $1 billion in the last year of the war, does not speak very loudly about a president with vast powers to change things. When he urged the Border State representatives to consider state emancipation of their slaves, they replied that they "did not like to be coerced into Emancipation, either by the Direct action of the Government, or by indirection... Confine yourself to your constitutional authority." And even Lincoln had to remind abolition enthusiasts that he was only the

Salmon Chase, LH-2111

president of the United States. He could (or at least he hoped he could) emancipate slaves in war zones under his authority as commander-in-chief, but not on his civil authority as president. "The original proclamation has no constitutional or legal justification, except as a military measure," he explained to Salmon Chase. If he had tried to free all the slaves everywhere (including the Border States), he would not be covered by "the argument of military necessity, and so, without any argument, except the one that I think the measure politically expedient, and morally right." That would be to "give up all footing upon constitution or law" and land him "in the boundless field of absolutism."

SG: Are we indulging in unfair judgments if we criticize Lincoln for such war-time measures as the suspension of habeas corpus? Or are we correct to be cognizant of possible legal precedents for future presidents?

ACG: Lincoln was in a situation which no one in the constitutional convention in 1787 could have

anticipated: not only the attempted secession of eleven states, but a direct assault on federal property, followed by a complete breakdown of law-and-order in eastern Maryland, and a Congress which was not only between sessions, but which had not actually completed its election cycle (Maryland and Kentucky were not scheduled to elect representatives to Congress until May and June). The only handle Lincoln could grasp for dealing with the situation – apart from doing nothing, for which he would rightly have been impeached once the 37th Congress assembled – was the loophole in the wording of the Constitution's provision for suspending habeas corpus, which failed to specify which branch of government possessed the power of suspending the privilege of the writ. So, yes, unless we think there is something redeeming in lynch-law and mob rule, it is manifestly unfair to criticize Lincoln's handling of habeas corpus. It's even more unfair when we consider that his application of the suspension was done with a comparatively light hand. John Merryman, the most well-known detainee under the original suspension, was only imprisoned for two months before posting bond; two years later, he sued his arresting officer in a Maryland state court for $50,000.

Still, as Rowland Bourne memorably warned, "war is the health of the state." Wider and wider suspensions of the writ gave military officers broader notions of what they could do to dissenters, several of which backfired in political embarrassment for Lincoln. Ultimately, Congress passed its own Habeas Corpus Act, which gave post facto approval to Lincoln's suspensions, but also strongly qualified the executive's authority to act unilaterally in suspending the writ. Lincoln's own selection for Chief Justice, Salmon Chase, put an even stronger stoppage on disregard for the writ in ex parte Milligan in 1866. But war provides excuses and opportunities that are difficult to argue down at the moment. Both Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt were cavalier in their treatment of civil liberties (and much, much more so than Lincoln); and given that we've been, on-and-off, in an almost incessant state of war or near-war with somebody since 1945, we have come to treat as routine infringements of civil liberties that in 1863 would have been thought intolerable. But that is a function of war, not an inheritance from Lincoln.

SG: How were presidential options/ decisions as a result of the firing on Fort Sumter and the bombing of Pearl Harbor similar? different?

ACG: For one thing, we had offered no direct provocation to Japan in 1941; Lincoln could have been said to have offered a mild one to the Confederates by sending what he promised would be a non-military supply mission to Sumter, but in 1941, it was Japanese aggression which was the total factor. There had, of course, been friction between the U.S. and Japan ever since the early 1930s. But friction is not the same thing as provocation. The Japanese had convinced themselves that a strong initial blow against both U.S. and British forces in the Far East would so paralyze them both that Japan would have enough time to complete its conquests of the Pacific and southeast Asia, and dig itself into a defensive position that Americans and British would be reluctant to attack.

The Confederates, by contrast, would have preferred that Sumter surrender peacefully; they had nothing to gain by a military reduction of the garrison when its commandant admitted that he would have to surrender the place anyway due to lack of supplies. But the

Proceedings in the case of John Merryman, 712009840969S

announcement of the approach of a supply fleet would, they knew, extend the clock on Sumter's future, and it was that which they feared. So long as Sumter stayed under the Stars and Stripes, the Confederates would appear steadily more impotent in the eyes of the uncommitted upper South, and perhaps lose the initiative to Unionists in the Confederate States themselves. For them, the announcement of the supply fleet posed a now-or-never moment.

SG: As we have passed the 150th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's death, what advice do you have for those who hope to keep his legacy strong?

ACG: Continue to read and to write about Lincoln; continue to look for new sources of Lincoln material, and support projects that are doing so; and continue to apply as much of Lincoln's wisdom as practical to current situations.

Re-Imagining the Lincoln Assassination:

NOT ALL AMERICANS MOURNED

by HAROLD HOLZER

"The Assassination of President Lincoln" By Currier & Ives, 7120950811758

Harold Holzer is Jonathan F. Fanton Director of Hunter College's Roosevelt House Public Policy Institute

To Northern poet Herman Melville, Abraham Lincoln's martyrdom in 1865 assumed religious, nearly divine, significance. As he wrote: "Good Friday was the day / Of the prodigy and crime, / When they killed him in his pity, / When they killed him in his prime... ." And for weeks after the "crime," Northern image-makers heartily concurred, illustrating these sentiments in order to persuade and profit, producing dozens of engravings, lithographs, and photographs that variously imagined Lincoln's assassination, dying moments, and imagined ascent into the afterworld.

Pictures—particularly the engravings and lithographs that people could purchase to hang on their walls at home, and small photographs they could insert into their family photo albums—bore an almost sacred value for their owners; but to their manufacturers, they were seldom more than items in an inventory... which may sound heartless, but cuts to a useful truth: if a great many of these images survive, a great many were made, and if a great many were made, it was because a great many customers clamored for them, and paid for them, and treasured them.

But not everyone agreed that the once-partisan wartime president had evolved overnight into a demigod. Even as he hid out in a Maryland swamp—feeling, he said, "hunted like a dog"—Lincoln's murderer, John Wilkes Booth, clung to the belief that his oppressed countrymen had "prayed" for Lincoln's "end." Surely he would be vindicated when the newspapers reprinted his letter.

"Many, I know—the vulgar herd—will blame me for what I am about to do, but posterity, I am sure, will justify me," he supposedly boasted on the morning he determined to kill the president. "It was the spirit and ambition of Caesar that Brutus struck at," he boasted. "Caesar must bleed for it.' "

Booth felt certain that the nation's newspapers would vindicate him. To his horror, most described him not as a hero but as a savage who had slain a beloved leader at the peak of his fame. "I am here in despair," he confided to his pocket diary on April 21 or 22. "And why? For doing what Brutus was honored for, what made [William] Tell a hero. And yet I for striking down a greater tyrant than they ever knew am looked upon as a common cutthroat." Booth died clinging to the hope that he would be absolved—and lionized. Booth's braggadocio seems delusional now, but it would have appeared less so at the time.

Right up to Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Lincoln had attracted no shortage of bitter enemies, North and South alike. Just six months earlier, he was a much-pilloried politician running in a typically divisive national election for a second term. His 1864 victory had come after months of pummeling from antiwar Democrats and dissidents within his own party. In the end, more than four of ten Northerners voted against the President's re-election. It took weeks of intense national mourning to soften Lincoln's once-polarizing image. That recognition did not arrive overnight or everywhere.

"They've shot Abe Lincoln," one jubilant Massachusetts Copperhead actually shouted to his horrified Yankee neighbors when he heard the news of April 15th, 1865. "He's dead and I'm glad he's dead." Even on the other extreme, anti-slavery Congressman George W. Julian suggested that since "the universal feeling among radical men here is that his death is a god-send."

Not that manifestations of mourning did not appear as well. City after city adorned public buildings with so much thick black crepe that recognizable architecture all but vanished beneath the bunting and even suddenly overpriced black cloth sold out completely.

In New York City, future labor leader Samuel Gompers "cried and cried that day and for days I was so depressed I could scarcely force myself to work." Frederick Douglass spoke for many in New York when he took to the rostrum Lincoln had used at Cooper Union and called him "the black man's president." When word of Lincoln's death reached a Union army camp in Virginia, a Pennsylvania soldier observed: "A silent gloom fell on us like a pall... . What a hold Old Honest Abe had on the hearts of the soldiers of the army could only be told by the way they showed their mourning for him."

And yet there were those who shed not a tear. When a California soldier named James Walker suddenly declared that Lincoln was a "Yankee son of a bitch" who "ought to have been killed long ago," he was court-martialed and sentenced to death by firing squad. (An appeals court later commuted the sentence.) In all, military officials dishonorably discharged dozens of loose-lipped enlisted men, like the Michigan soldier who dared to blurt out, in Lincoln's home town, "The man who killed Lincoln did a good thing."

In the Upper South, many newspapers did express a kind of self-serving sympathy, with the Richmond Whig characterizing the assassination as the "heaviest blow which has fallen on the people of the south." Not all Southern journals, however, offered condolences. The aptly named Chattanooga Daily Rebel editorialized: "Abe has gone

John Wilkes Booth with handwritten notation "God bless him, may the Smiles of heaven ever rest upon him," OC-0432

to answer before the bar of God for the innocent blood which he has permitted to be shed, and his efforts to enslave a free people." Trumpeting its belief that Lincoln had "sowed the wind and has reaped the whirlwind," the Galveston News sneered: "In the plentitude of his power and arrogance he was struck down, and is so ushered into eternity, with innumerable crimes and sins to answer for."

Then there are the unknowable numbers who were pleased but never said so. More circumspect Confederate loyalists confided their satisfaction only to their securely locked diaries. Though she decried violence in any form, Sarah Morgan of Louisiana scribbled: "[T]he man who was progressing to murder countless human beings, is interrupted in his work by the shot of an assassin." From North Carolina, the most acclaimed Southern diarist of them all, Mary Boykin Chesnut, was succinct: "[T]he death of Lincoln—I call that a warning to tyrants. He will not be the last president put to death in the capital, though he is the first."

But even as such comments were being furtively recorded, Lincoln's remains were being publicly displayed at funerals in Washington, Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, Michigan City, Chicago and, finally, beneath signs reading "HOME IS THE MARTYR," in Springfield.

Scenes of mass grief played out repeatedly. New York—the scene of vicious, racially inspired draft riots two years earlier— hosted the grandest funeral of all. More than 100,000 New Yorkers waited patiently to gaze briefly at Lincoln's remains as they lay in state at City Hall. All told, as many as a million New Yorkers participated in, or witnessed, the event even the long-hostile *New York Herald* called a "triumphant procession greater, grander, more genuine than any living conqueror or hero ever enjoyed."

Even so, local officials demonstrated that some attitudes did not die with Lincoln. To the mortification of the city's progressives, its Democrat-dominated arrangements committee denied an African-American contingent the right to march in the procession honoring the man one of their banners proclaimed as "Our Emancipator."

Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton ordered that the city find room for these mourners, so New York did—but the vindictive city fathers placed them at the back of a four-and-a-half-hour-long line of marchers. By the time the 200 members of the African-American delegations reached the end of the procession near the Hudson River, Lincoln's remains were half way to West Point.

Nowhere did the initial, unpredictable response to Lincoln's death seem more bizarrely insensitive than in the birthplace of secession and civil war: Charleston, South Carolina, where a picture vendor placed on open sale photographs of John Wilkes Booth. Did their appearance signify admiration for the assassin, a resurgence of sympathy for the Lost Cause, or perhaps a manifestation of Southern hatred for the late president?

In fact, the motivation may have arisen from the most sustained emotion that characterized the response to Abraham Lincoln's assassination, and it was entirely non-partisan and non-sectional: burning curiosity.

How else to explain what came to light when, more than a century later, scholars discovered a family photo album long in the possession of the martyred president's descendants? Here, alongside cartes-de-visite of the Lincoln children, Todd cousins, scenic views, the family's dog, and Union political and military heroes, a curator found an inexplicably acquired, carefully preserved, photograph of the man who had murdered the family patriarch: the assassin himself, John Wilkes Booth. Apparently even the Lincolns themselves had manifested an irresistible curiosity about the man who, like their own late and lamented husband and father, had changed history. Pictorial memory is instructive—but it is complicated.

That is why further study of these neglected artifacts is essential. Long hidden from public view, the contents of the Lincoln family album have been preserved for nearly 30 years by what is now the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection at the Allen County Library in Fort Wayne, IN. Available online, they invite careful observation—and additional scholarly analysis.

Lincoln Without Borders:

The Great Emancipator Around the World

By WILLIAM D. PEDERSON

William D. Pederson is Director of the International Lincoln Center at Louisiana State University/Shreveport

When a stone is thrown into the water it starts a procession of ever-widening circles. Lincoln's life expanded in somewhat the same way...until it embraced the whole nation and reached in the Presidency international dimensions which even now can hardly be measured.

Those words written after World War II still resonate today as Lincoln's democratic legacy ripples across centuries and cultures, further strengthened by public awareness of the contributions that spouse Mary Todd Lincoln made, as Ruth Painter Randall described above, to Abraham Lincoln's political success. The imprint of this "self-made" couple grows in both the United States and other nations. Confirmation of the Lincolns' influence throughout the contemporary world is suggested by the living Lincoln legacy existing in both new countries and those hundreds, sometimes thousands, of years older than the United States and having their own national heroes. For example, a snapshot view using a philatelic index suggests that since the 1960s an emerging awareness of the role that Mary Todd played in securing the Lincoln legacy. Her contributions are chronicled nicely in her most recent biography, *Mary Lincoln: Southern Girl, Northern Woman* by Stacy Pratt McDermott, which puts her First Lady role in context.

This article surveys the Lincoln legacy primarily in the 20th and 21st centuries in five major areas around the world: (1) sub-Sahara Africa, (2) the Middle East, (3) Asia/Australia/Oceania, (4) Latin America, and (5) Western Europe. One measure of the way Lincoln has permeated history is that more books have been written about him than any other democratic leader in the world. Similarly, no other political leader can compare to Lincoln in the number of stamps, street names, schools, and statues that memorialize him around the world, including in the five target areas above.

SUB-SAHARA: GHANA, NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

It should come as little surprise that the Great Emancipator had an impact on both Northern and sub-Sahara Africa. There one finds stamps, streets, and schools bearing his name, in addition to writers and political leaders who have been inspired by America's sixteenth president. Lincoln became the most important among the champions of future independence after World War II with the demise of European colonialism. In 2007, Gambia became the first African nation to give official philatelic recognition to Mary Lincoln as First Lady. Before Africa "got right" philately with the legendary American First Couple, Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa illustrate the continent's sub-Sahara traditional Lincoln heritage.

From the 1920s to the 1960s, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania played an important role in cementing Lincoln's legacy with Africa. Benjamin (Zik) N. Azikiwe (1904-1996), born in Northern Nigeria, traveled to Lincoln University to earn his undergraduate degree in political science in 1927 before entering the University of Pennsylvania for his master's degree. Azikiwe, a poetic wordsmith and politician like Lincoln, would become the first president of the Republic of Nigeria in 1963 and serve until 1966, when he was overthrown in a military coup. He went on to found the University of Nigeria.

Kwame Nkrumah (1902-1972) followed in Azikiwe's footsteps at Lincoln University a decade later, earning his undergraduate degree in social sciences in 1939. He then earned a degree in theology from the Lincoln Theological Seminary in 1942 before moving to England. Subsequently, in 1957 he led the former British Gold Coast to independence as the Republic of Ghana, the first independent nation in sub-Sahara Africa, serving as its founding prime minister and then president (1960-1966). Initially, Nkrumah promoted free

FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY - Statue of Abraham Lincoln in the rotunda of the Kentucky State Capitol building on October 30, 2013 in Frankfort, Kentucky

education and non-violence, but he became increasingly ideological and dictatorial in his effort to unify what was still essentially a tribal society artificially carved out by colonialism.

If, as John Keats argued, poets are the real legislators of the world, another writer, South African novelist Alan Paton, anticipated the emergence of Nelson Mandela (1922-2013) in his 1948 classic, Cry, the Beloved Country. "The Great Emancipator," whose spirit emerges from the private Lincoln library in the home of the young civil engineer already murdered when the novel begins, hovers as a figural character over the plot. Before his murder, the white civil engineer had championed the rights of Africans and the concept of equality and forgiveness as embodied in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and his Second Inaugural Address. The victim's father, a well-off landowner-farmer of British ancestry from the interior of South Africa, travels to Johannesburg for the trial, and he learns about Lincoln's impact on his son through his son's private Lincoln library. By the end of the novel, the father's outlook has been broadened, and when he returns to his rural home he begins to help native Africans by promoting education and crop rotation in the nearby village.

Nelson Mandela's familiarity with Cry, The Beloved Country is undocumented, but its acclaim and the fact that he was a reader makes it likely. Mandela was, however, familiar with Lincoln and influenced by him. In their youth both were physically active--Lincoln was an amateur wrestler while Mandela preferred boxing, and his boyhood hero was Joe Louis, the heavyweight world champion from 1937-1949. Both Lincoln and Mandela became lawyers. As a student, Mandela aspired to play Lincoln in an amateur stage production but his fellow student playwright and friend took that role for himself, and Mandela instead played assassin John Wilkes Booth. Mandela often quoted Lincoln before his twenty-seven-year imprisonment, but it was during those years that he read his first Lincoln biography. How Mandela would have dealt with those who treated him harshly had he not been influenced by Lincoln is unknown, but many anticipated that when elected president he would get even with his enemies. However, Mandela had spent his imprisonment years learning the language and viewpoint of the Dutch Afrikaners, and he modeled Lincoln's magnanimity. Mandela's surprising "rail-splitter" leadership style is captured in Invictus, both in John Carlin's book and Clint Eastwood's film version. Although his name is never mentioned in either work, Lincoln's spirit pervades both. In 1996, Mandela pioneered a new form of clemency with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. And although he was enormously popular, Mandela, like Lincoln, made no effort to parlay his leadership style into a personality cult.

THE MIDDLE EAST: ALGERIA, TURKEY, MOROCCO, EGYPT AND IRAN

Foreshadowing his future legacy in the Third World, Lincoln honored Abd al-Qadir (1808-1883), who would come to be regarded as Algeria's independence leader. Al-Qadir had led a resistance movement against the French from 1832 to 1847 after French confiscation of Algeria's limited farmland. Defeated and forced into Syrian exile in the summer of 1860 as Lincoln was the nominee of the Republican Party for the U.S. presidency, al-Qadir nonetheless rescued some 12,000 Christians under attack there. Both the French government and Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln by James Daugherty, published in Arabic in 1958

honored his actions. He received the Grand Cross of the Legion d'honneur from France; Lincoln sent him a gift set of guns. A century later, Algeria won its independence in 1964, and al-Qadir's remains were transferred to the nation's capital, where Lincoln's gift to him is on display in its military museum.

The founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk (1881-1938) further bridged the divide between the Middle East and the West. After a popular German biographer interviewed Ataturk and claimed that he was not democratic since his party slogan was often derisively referred to off the record as "In Spite of the People" in contrast to Lincoln's definition of government of, by, and for the people. Ataturk was fascinated by government and made it clear that he admired both George Washington and Lincoln and that Napoleon was not a democrat. Like Lincoln, Ataturk married a younger, well-educated woman. Recognizing the importance of education, Ataturk brought John Dewey to Turkey to modernize its schools.

Morocco honored Lincoln by naming a street in its capital and a hotel in Casablanca after him. King Hassan II

(1961-1999) was a professed "great admirer of Lincoln." Anwar Sadat (1918-1981) gained his favorable view of Lincoln from the Egyptian military's interest in the American Civil War, as well as because of his personal identification with Lincoln as a fellow humble villager, based on the portrayal of Lincoln in a film he saw. As the first Arab leader to negotiate a treaty with Israel, he may have been influenced in part by Lincoln's example of classical magnanimity.

While there are streets, schools, and stamps, as well as commercial ads, honoring Lincoln in the Middle East, perhaps the most profound impact of his legacy is through one of its greatest, although largely obscure, poets.

Iranian poet Basij Khalkhali (1918-1995), perhaps his nation's greatest 20th century poet, composed the world's only epic poem about the life of Abraham Lincoln, "The Epic of the Woodcutter." The 14,000-line poem was nominated for a Nobel Prize, but was rejected because the Nobel Committee at that time did not consider works in Farsi. The poet wrote two other, shorter epics: "Battle in Paradise," 4,000 lines of verse evoking John Milton's "Paradise Lost," and "Thus Spoke Buddha." The International Lincoln Center has undertaken a translation of the former two epic poems.

ASIA/AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA: CHINA, VIETNAM, INDIA AND BANGLADESH, AUSTRALIA AND PALAU

Lincoln's legacy spread rapidly across Asia during the early 20th century. It began in China with Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925). Exiled in 1895, he discovered the Great Emancipator while in Hawaii and later translated Lincoln's definition of democratic government into Chinese. Founding a political party to overthrow traditional dynastic rule, Sun became president of the new Chinese republic in 1911.

Sun was not the only Asian leader influenced by Lincoln. Zhou Enlai (1898-1976), who became Chairman Mao's number two long-time associate, had much earlier edited a student newspaper with a subtitle that was Lincoln's Gettysburg address definition of democracy. Perhaps that helps to explain why Republican President Richard M. Nixon toasted Zhou during his surprise visit in 1972. In contrast to Zhou, Mao seemingly admired George Washington, the military hero of American independence, more than he admired the democratic leadership of Lincoln. Yet, Mao's mausoleum reminds some of the Lincoln Memorial. It should not have surprised the world to see the Chinese students protesting in Tiananmen Square in April-June 1989 holding banners emblazoned with Lincoln's classic definition of democracy.

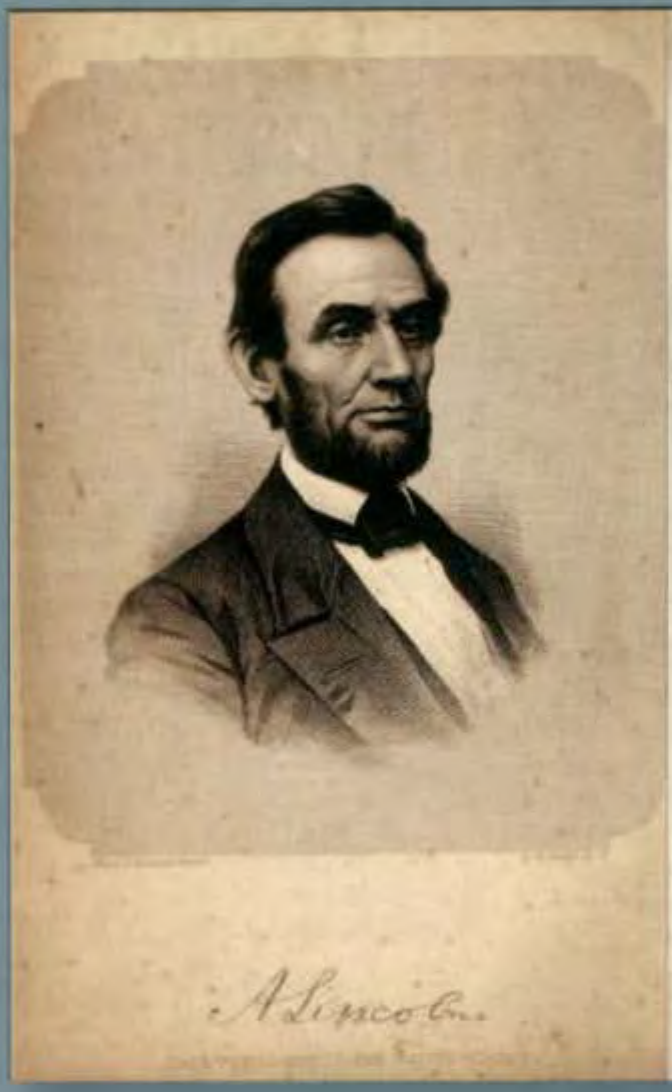
A reminder that nations both large and small are receptive to Lincoln while Americans sometimes seem obtuse to the values of the Great Emancipator can be found in the case of the United States and Vietnam. As many know, Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969) admired the U.S. Declaration of Independence. Unfortunately, his effort to arrange an appointment with Woodrow Wilson during the World War I peace talks proved futile. It's ironic since Wilson had grown up in the American South as a youth without a country. His heroes had been Confederates. "Woody" Wilson did not discover Lincoln until graduate school, and then Lincoln—at least his version of him—became Wilson's champion.

Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969), like Lincoln, was a lifelong learner. He eventually translated Sun's "Three Principles of Government" that were derived from Lincoln's Gettysburg definition of democratic government into Vietnamese. For those who take a long-term view of life, especially an Eastern cyclical view of life, there's a Frank Lloyd Wright touch in Ho's mausoleum in the same way the Reflecting Pool at the Lincoln Memorial had been inspired by the pools at the Taj Mahal. Both elements fit naturally into their environmental settings and are more open, as if the prairie house architect had designed them.

India is Asia's most Lincoln-influenced nation. As the largest democracy in the world and projected to soon be the most populous nation overall, it illustrates the rough-and-tumble aspects of a more open society. The Great Emancipator influenced each member of the leadership trio that helped India gain independence from the British in 1947. The triumvirate consisted of Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948), Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) and B. R. Ambedkar (1893-1956), all lawyer-statesmen like Lincoln.

Gandhi was both a moral leader and an independence champion. While in South Africa, he helped to develop a non-violent approach to ending colonialism that embodied Lincoln's

Abraham Lincoln by Benjamin Thomas, second Chinese edition published in 1963.



A Lincoln

VIDA

DE

ABRAN LINCOLN,

DÉCIMO SESTO PRESIDENTE

DE LOS

ESTADOS UNIDOS.

PRECIDIDA DE UNA INTRODUCCION POR

D. F. SARMIENTO.

"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."—LINCOLN.

NUEVA YORK:
D. APPLETON Y Ca., LIBREROS-EDITORES,
BROADWAY, Nos. 443 y 445.
1866.

Vida de Abran Lincoln, décimo sexto presidente de los Estados Unidos by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the first published biography of Lincoln in Spanish, published in New York in 1866, 7120690340272X

"with malice toward none; with charity for all" philosophy. In fact, in a series of biographical sketches written in 1905 while in South Africa, Gandhi credited Abraham Lincoln as the only American who had a major influence on him. He predicted that the Great Emancipator's legacy would continue into the future.

In contrast to Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru became the first political leader of independent India. He served as India's first prime minister until his death in 1964. Nehru's emphasis on education, industrial development and non-alignment in foreign affairs suggest Lincolnesque influence. Moreover, his office, preserved in New Delhi, reflects his admiration for Lincoln, especially its emphasis on reason in public policy. A replica of Lincoln's hands was displayed on Nehru's desk as a visual reminder of the need for strong leadership. And, should a tourist standing behind the ropes that restrict entry very far into Nehru's office be agile enough to manage a look backward into the office, one can also catch a glimpse of the Lincoln portrait hanging there.

The third member of the leadership trio whose name is least known to the American public is B. R. Ambedkar, who held a doctorate. In fact, just as Frederick Douglass (1817-1895) was the most literate ex-slave ever in American history, Ambedkar was the most highly educated Untouchable in India, educated in schools in India, the United States, and England. He became the "father" of India's constitution. The Great Emancipator, a Republican president, was his personal hero, so it seems appropriate that when Ambedkar founded his own party as a result of his growing opposition to Gandhi and the Congress party, he named it the Republican Party.

Lincoln today still permeates Indian popular culture: a street, schools, and hospitals are named for him, postage stamps bear his image, and even a popular tiger in a zoo was named for him. When America's pro-Lincoln and first bi-racial president was elected in 2008, Indians celebrated, and after his re-election, Obama became the first American president invited to attend India's annual Republic Day.

While Henry Kissinger was arranging President Nixon's historic visit to China, the Secretary of State dismissed eastern Pakistan's efforts to achieve independence. Kissinger referred to the proposed Bangladesh as a "bread basket case" in reference to the fact that its more than 100 million people lived in a small, low-lying area subject to devastating annual floods. Undeterred, the Bangladeshis cited the Declaration of Independence, issued a new stamp bearing the image of Mount Rushmore, and ultimately survived if not thrived. Bangladesh boasts the only university named for Lincoln as well as one of the two Lincoln fellowship groups in Asia.

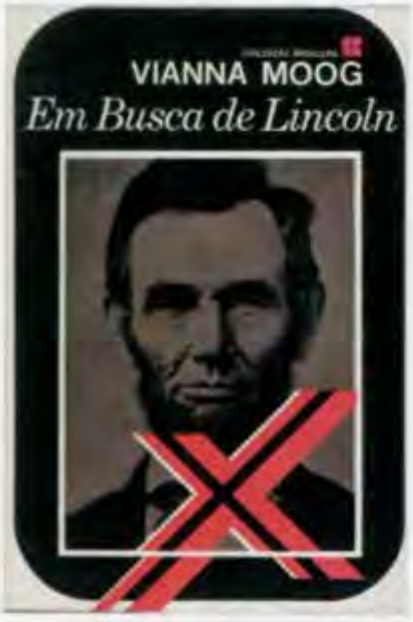
In Asia, Mary Todd Lincoln's legacy is much more modest. It is found in Australia and Micronesia in the western Pacific. Australia has a Lincoln motel as well as the world's only adjacent Mary Todd and Abraham Lincoln streets in the world. Becoming independent in 1994, the island Republic of Palau became the first nation in that area of the world to issue a souvenir postal sheet featuring Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln to commemorate his bicentennial birth year. It issued three additional souvenir Lincoln sheets in 2010 and 2011, the latter showing his cabinet while crediting the artist Francis Bicknell Carpenter's depiction of the Emancipation Proclamation.

LATIN AMERICA: MEXICO, CUBA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, VENEZUELA AND ARGENTINA

No area of the world has been more continually receptive to Lincoln's legacy than Latin America. From Mexico to Argentina, virtually every large or small nation has a living Lincoln legacy. Mexicans remember Lincoln as an opponent of the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) in which Mexico lost half its territory. As president, he appointed a former U.S. Senator who also had opposed the war as his minister to Mexico. Benito Juarez, often referred to as "the Lincoln of Mexico," was its first and only Amerindian president. Previously he had become a lawyer and lived in exile in New Orleans for six months (October 1853-March 1854). Lincoln's moral support for Juarez contrasted sharply with Jefferson Davis' effort to align the Confederacy with Napoleon III's intervention in Mexico (1862-1867).

Mexico's border towns virtually beckon Americans to cross the border using visual Lincoln incentives. For example, a 13-foot statue of Lincoln atop a 10-foot tall pedestal was erected in 1966 in a tiny park across from the Abraham Lincoln Holiday Inn on Lincoln Avenue in Juarez City. Linking Laredo, Texas, to Nuevo Laredo, its sister city across the border, is the Juarez-Lincoln International Bridge, which leads to another Lincoln Avenue. And, since 1950, individuals crossing the border from San Diego, California, to Tijuana are greeted by another towering Lincoln statue on the Avenue of Heroes. A fountain is located behind the approximately 30-foot high statue and large spotlights illuminate it at night.

There are a number of schools and streets throughout Mexico named for



Em Busca de Lincoln (In Search of Lincoln) by Vianna Moog, published in Portuguese in 1968, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Lincoln. In addition, murals displaying his image are not uncommon.

Although Mexico is replete with Lincoln memorials of various types, on a per capita basis Cuba may have an even more extensive Lincoln legacy. The island is a classic example of a site where both conservatives and liberals identify with the Great Emancipator and appropriate him to support their leanings. During an era when planters in the southern United States coveted land further south to extend their plantation system, Jose Marti (1853-1895) emerged as Cuba's independence leader. Marti's interest in Lincoln traced to his early secondary school years when he was taught by a poet-teacher who admired Lincoln. Marti became a poet/journalist who viewed Lincoln, "the woodcutter with soulful eyes," as a fellow published poet. Marti mentions Lincoln more than one hundred times in his writings. Throughout the years of his final exile in New York City, Marti hung a portrait of Lincoln in his office. Marti died fighting for Cuba's independence following a landing on the coast of what today is named Oriente province, the easternmost Cuban province, which later produced both Fulgencio Batista and Fidel Castro.

Batista (1901-1973) emerged from a 1934 coup to become the army chief of staff until 1940, when he became president, serving until 1944, and subsequently controlled Cuban governments. He retired to Florida as a wealthy individual but soon grew bored and staged another coup in 1952 that installed him as Cuba's dictator. He was ousted after the Eisenhower administration cut off arms shipments to his forces because he failed to stop his secret police from murdering young protestors. Yet, by Latin American standards, Batista's dictatorship was mild. Although he rose from a poor and mixed heritage background, Batista was an avid reader and was thirteen when he read his first biography of Lincoln. His presidential office décor included a prominently displayed bust of the Great Emancipator. Batista's identification with Lincoln was genuine, and during his reign Cuba issued its first postage stamps bearing Lincoln's image.

Lincoln's image and name were commonplace on the island. The Lincoln Hotel in downtown Havana was the second tallest building in the capital when it opened in 1926. Cuban students cast a bust of Lincoln that was put on display in the old Havana historic district in 1928. Both the hotel and bust can still be seen there today.

Batista was overthrown by another legendary Cuban dictator, Fidel Castro. Castro's background was unlike Batista's, but he was illegitimate. Unusually tall, Castro became a boxer with a law degree. On January 1, 1959, Castro's faction marched into Havana. Batista fled, but Lincoln remained and flourished. Castro frequently quoted Lincoln—and coincidentally once bought a Lincoln convertible—and kept a bust of Lincoln in his presidential office. During his tenure, Castro issued more postage stamps paying tribute to Lincoln and several schools bearing the Great Emancipator's name opened.

Before Castro's attempts to overthrow Batista, he had spent the summer of 1947 trying to topple one of Latin America's worst dictators, Rafael Trujillo (1891-1951), the entrenched ruler of the Dominican Republic. In 1930 the United States had helped Trujillo come to power. Unlike Batista, Trujillo tried to deny his mixed-blood heritage. And unlike Batista, he wanted nothing to do with the Great Emancipator. It was only after Trujillo's assassination on May 30, 1961, that regard for Lincoln emerged in the Dominican Republic.

Immediately after the dictator's assassination, the first Lincoln street in the capital was named. Many businesses that line Abraham Lincoln Avenue are also named for the Great Emancipator. The renaming of the street was symbolic of the transition of the Dominican Republic from dictatorship to democracy. Juan Bosch, who became president in December 1962 in the first free election held in the Dominican Republic since 1930, had participated with Castro in the earlier failed coup against Trujillo. Ironically, while Bosch considered Lincoln one of the best presidents in United States history, the CIA viewed him as a Castro clone, and his tenure as president lasted just seven months.

Today, one can contemplate the Lincoln influence in Latin American political history while dining on "Pizza Lincoln Road de Res" or "Nacho Lincoln Road de Pollo" at the "Lincoln Road" restaurant that opened in 1994 on Lincoln Avenue. If such spicy menu offerings don't entice one to stop there to eat, it's a two-hour drive

to visit a private Abraham Lincoln School (K-12), which opened in 1917, and if time doesn't permit such an excursion, one can purchase a Cuban postage stamp featuring Lincoln's image that was issued as a tribute during the centennial year of his death.

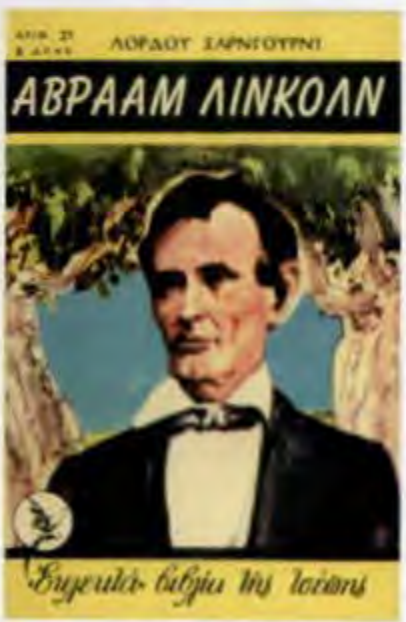
Traveling further south to South America, one of the most evocative stories involves Venezuela and music on a Lincoln theme that was prescient in the overthrow of a 1950s dictator. Aaron Copland (1900-1990) had composed "A Lincoln Portrait" in 1942 as part of the World War II campaign to equate the importance of defeating Hitler's fascism with Lincoln's ending of slavery. Copland's egalitarian music was also reflected in the composer's personal openness and lack of pretense.

He had been invited to conduct the Venezuela symphony's performance of his stirring composition in an outdoor stadium in Caracas while a well-known actress narrated Lincoln's words. At the last minute, however, the dictator arrived and took a prominent seat among the audience of 6,000. When the actress reached the final lines pronouncing democracy as government of, by, and for the people that shall not perish, the audience stood en masse and shouted the words in unison with her. The dictator immediately fled the stadium and shortly thereafter was deposed. Copland's stirring work resonated throughout the audience, perhaps sparking the ensuing coup.

Elsewhere in South America, Argentina may be the most Lincoln-like nation in the world and it also is the site of the largest city outside the United States named for him. It is a modest, mid-sized city located in Buenos Aires province about an hour's drive from the capital. For Lincoln enthusiasts it is a real-life, if modest, Abraham Lincoln theme park in Spanish. Its origins echo the tribute Gandhi paid to Lincoln while in South Africa. After Lincoln's assassination, the Argentine legislature pledged to name its next new city in the west as a memorial to the Great Emancipator. This occurred during the administration (1868-1874) of Argentina's fourth president, Domingo F. Sarmiento (1811-1888), whose personal political hero was, fittingly, Abraham Lincoln. Sarmiento, like Jose Marti, was one of Latin America's greatest writers, and in a sense he became Argentina's education president as he implemented a national public education system. He wrote the first biography of Lincoln in Spanish. Despite relational difficulties that have occurred between Argentina and the United States, no effort has ever been made to alter the name of the city that honors America's greatest president.

EUROPE:
IRELAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY

It is well known that most of the Old World aristocrats had little regard for the commoner president Lincoln, while British workers voiced support for him during the American Civil War



Abraham Lincoln by Lord Charnwood, published in Greek in 1959.

and French peasants contributed precious coins for a medallion that was presented to his widow Mary Todd Lincoln. While the peasants revered Lincoln, the medal had to be cast in Switzerland because Napoleon III opposed the project. In gratitude, she wrote to express deep appreciation to the French people for their tribute to her assassinated husband whose democratic legacy survived him. After Napoleon III fell, Parisians showed that, like the peasants who donated money for the medallion, they too admired the democratic leader by creating a Lincoln street which is the location today of a Lincoln cinema.

Across the English Channel, Ireland is home to perhaps the least known aspect of Lincoln's legacy in Western Europe. While he served in Congress, Lincoln made a contribution to famine relief and, a decade later, the Irish named a street in downtown Dublin in his honor—the first Lincoln street in Europe.

The first Irish Prime Minister, Eamon de Valera (1882-1975), was born in New York but reared in Ireland. He was spared from execution following the 1916 Easter Rising because of his dual citizenship. After Ireland finally became independent, he quoted Lincoln and kept a bust and painting of the Great Emancipator displayed in his office. Lincoln had died slightly more than a half-century earlier on an Easter weekend, as the Irish's first independent leader was emerging.

The democratic icon Lincoln is the antithesis of Adolf Hitler, and subsequent leaders like West German Chancellor Willy Brandt (1913-1992) admired Lincoln. Like other world leaders who looked to the Great Emancipator's legacy for inspiration, Brandt kept a bust of Lincoln in his office. On a visit to Warsaw in 1970, the German leader made an unforgettable physical

gesture of moral contrition for Nazi Germany's treatment of the Polish people in World War II. His Lincoln-like behavior contributed to Brandt's selection for the Nobel Peace Prize the following year. A young Brandt protégé from Costa Rica who also admired America's sixteenth president, Oscar Arias, would receive the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize for adhering to Lincoln's high standard of "malice toward none" toward his neighbors in Central America. Brandt and Arias would soon be joined by Mandela, who provided this kind of "rail-splitter" leadership in South Africa.

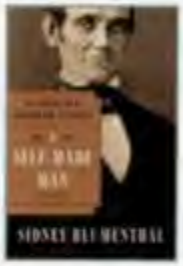
CONCLUSIONS

Lincoln's touchstone leadership that began generating ripples in the mid-19th century continues to spread today around the globe with no sign of abatement. It seems an ultimate irony that someone who never traveled abroad could continue to have such an enduring impact. Yet democratic ideals that are not contained within geographic boundaries are kindled in individual's souls. Worldwide, nations honor Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln as champions of democratic principles that inspire them with tributes as simple as images on postage stamps and the naming of schools where education perpetuates these ideals, as well as individual expressions through music, poetry, novels, and paintings.

Lincoln created a new leadership style that worked within the great democratic experiment—government of the people, by the people, for the people. It may be America's greatest gift to the world.

Reading with Lincoln

SUMMER 2016



A Self-made Man: The Political Life of Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1849

SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

SIMON & SCHUSTER, 2016

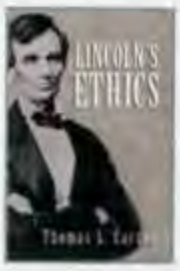
This book is the first in a planned multi-volume series that will follow the well-known story of Lincoln's rise to greatness, from the young man struggling to read borrowed books to the White House. The book will examine Lincoln's eclectic reading habits and the origins of his anti-slavery position. It will also focus on his successful career as an attorney and how this practice contributed to the development of his understanding of the Constitution.

Lincoln's Final Hours: Conspiracy, Terror, and the Assassination of America's Greatest President

KATHRYN CANAVAN

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF KENTUCKY, 2015

The assassination of our 16th President continues to both fascinate and horrify Americans. The author tells the familiar story with new information gained from thorough research, including a fascinating Epilogue which follows both familiar (e.g. Mary Todd Lincoln) and relatively unknown (e.g. the Petersen family in whose house Lincoln died) characters as their stories unfolded after the assassination.



Lincoln's Ethics

THOMAS L. CARSON

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2015

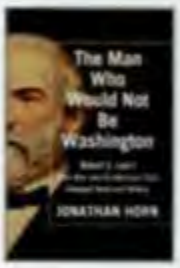
The author tackles such issues as: the manner in which Lincoln's views about slavery changed through the years; the concept of the Civil War as a Just War; the charge that he was a racist; a commentary about his religious life (or lack therof); and what his family life tells us about his moral character.

Decapitating the Union: Jefferson Davis, Judah Benjamin and the Plot to Assassinate Lincoln

JOHN C. FAZIO

MCFARLAND & COMPANY, INC., 2015

The author seeks to convince his readers that those involved in Booth's assassination of Abraham Lincoln go well beyond those who were captured and punished. He seeks to show that high-ranking Confederate officials and their Secret Service Bureau were involved, as a last desperate plot to save the Confederacy.



The Man Who Would Not Be Washington: Robert E. Lee's Civil War and His Decision that Changed American History

JONATHAN HORN

SCRIBNER, 2015

One of the great "what ifs" of U. S. History surrounds Lee's decision to decline to participate in the Union cause and his subsequent decision to fight for the Confederacy. This man, who was so closely viewed as an inheritor of the traditions of George Washington, chose to fight against the very Union which many believe would not have been successful without Washington's leading role. It is almost impossible to imagine Lee's personal journey, both in making this critical decision and the long years of war which resulted.

Lincoln's Political Thought

GEORGE KATEB

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2015

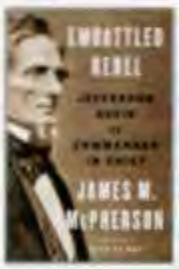
The author uses Lincoln's speeches and letters to show his commitment to such topics as: the concept of "Political Religion;" Race and Equality; the Constitution; "Military Necessity" in the Civil War; and his use of statements which imply some sort of Divine or Providential intervention.

Troubled Refuge: Struggling for Freedom in the Civil War

CHANDRA MANNING

ALFRED A. KNOPF, AUGUST 2016

The author examines a subject which frequently claims only a cursory glance in Civil War volumes: the contraband camps which were often an initial destination for escaping slaves. The reader might almost be reminded of stories of current refugee camps which are frequently in the news. Camps, then and now, varied widely in services and facilities. The book stresses the level at which escaping slaves played a large role in determining their own future.

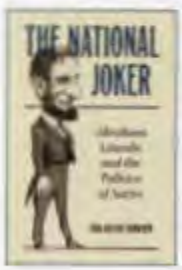


Embattled Rebel: Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief

JAMES M. MCPHERSON

PENGUIN, 2014

Pulitzer Prize winner McPherson undertakes the task of providing a balanced view of the Confederate leader, who is frequently branded as inept, at best, and a traitor, at worst. The close relationship between Davis and Robert E. Lee is examined at length. The reader is urged to consider the fact that Davis was a leader who clearly articulated his "cause," even though, then and now, there are constant reminders that he led the losing side.



The National Joker: Abraham Lincoln and the Politics of Satire

TODD NATHAN THOMPSON

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2015

Stories of the humor of Abraham Lincoln are a staple in any study of our 16th President. The author uses an impressive array of cartoons, both flattering and unflattering, of the era in order to illustrate the manner in which Lincoln's contemporaries viewed him. He also delves into Lincoln's successful use of satire to further his political career.

Lincoln LORE

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