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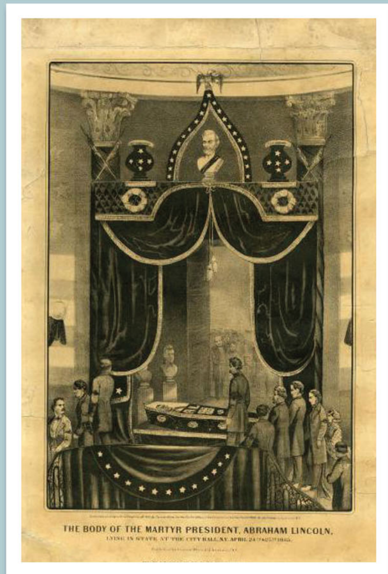

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Table of Contents

Lincoln and The League
Allen Guelzo....*page 3*

We Mourn Our Martyed Father
Kayla Gustafson....*page 10*

Where and How Lincoln Composed His Main Works
D. Leigh Henson....*page 14*

Lincoln and Eisenhower: A Comparison
Richard Striner....*page 20*

Tribute to Burrus Carnahan

IN MEMORY OF BURRUS CARNAHAN

May 2, 1944 - September 9, 2022

Scholar

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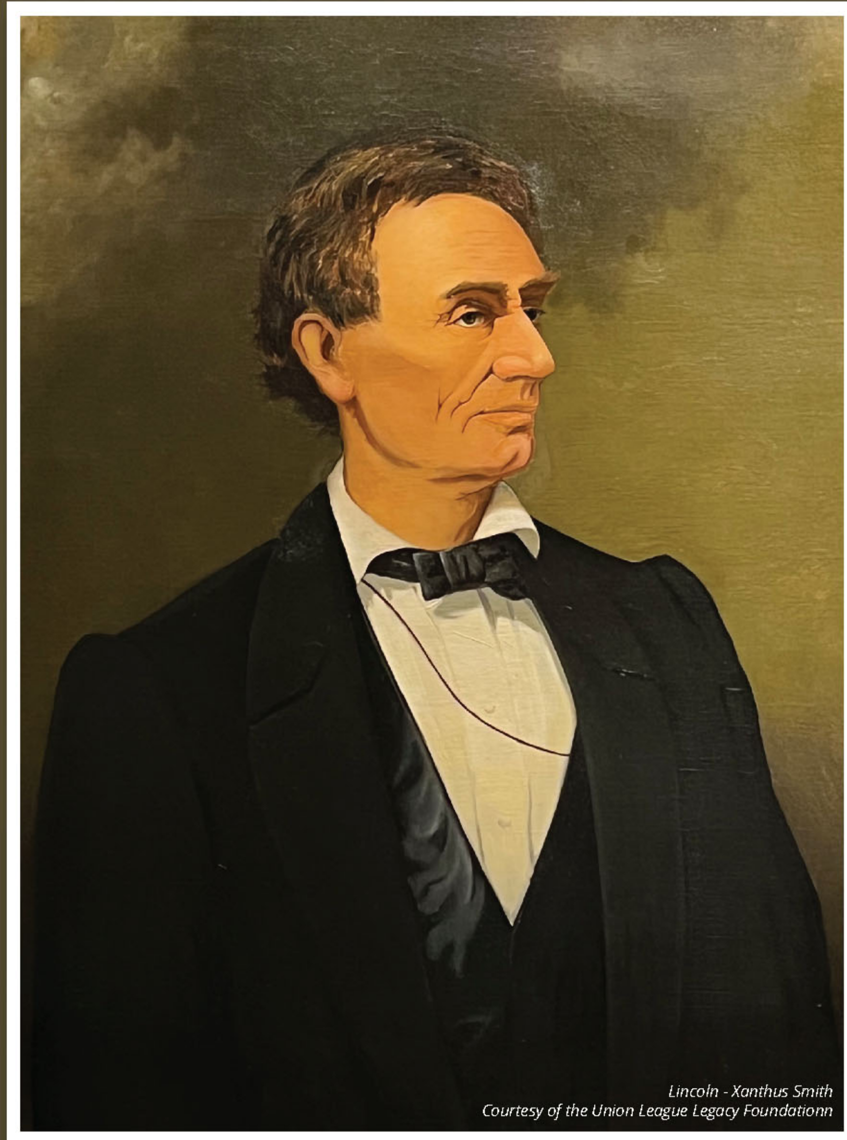
On The Cover: *The Body of the Martyr President, Abraham Lincoln, Lying in State at the City Hall, N.Y. April 24th & 25th, 1865 (71.2009.081.1832)*


Lincoln - Xanthus Smith
Courtesy of the Union League Legacy Foundationn

LINCOLN & THE LEAGUE

Allen Guelzo

The Union League of Philadelphia has occupied the grand corner of Broad and Sansom Streets in Philadelphia since 1865, and, though it remains today one of the most vibrant social and professional organizations in the city, it takes great pride in putting its Civil War-era origins on display from the moment a visitor walks through the door.

The League was the brainchild of the well-heeled Philadelphia poet and playwright George Henry Boker. Although Philadelphia was a Northern city, it had substantial commercial ties to the South, and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 placed a severe strain on its loyalties. The Democratic state convention adopted as part of its platform in 1862 its opposition to a war which "seeks to turn the slaves of the Southern States loose to overrun the North and enter into competition with the white laboring masses, thus degrading and insulting their manhood by placing them on an equality with Negroes in their occupation…."[1] While Boker's enthusiasm for Lincoln never wavered, the decay of the Union's military fortunes and the rising tide of disaffection in Philadelphia over emancipation depressed and dispirited him.

On November 10, 1862, shortly after the disastrous midterm Congressional elections, Boker met Judge John Innes Clark Hare on Seventh Street, and poured out his woes "into a conversation that was little more than a comparison of sorrows." What particularly galled Judge Hare was that while "we, the inhabitants of a loyal city were cast down before the ill fortunes of our country, men who were almost in league with the Southern traitors were walking with heads high among our people." Hare proposed, as at least one remedy, a new organization of Republicans and pro-war Unionist Democrats, and Boker was sufficiently taken with the idea that he enlisted the aid of Morton McMichael, the editor of the Philadelphia North American, and Philadelphia jurist Benjamin Gerhard, as founders and organizers.

After a series of small preparatory meetings for the creation of a "Union Club," beginning at Gerhard's home at 226 South Fourth Street, an assembly of over fifty Unionists -- Republicans and Democrats alike, including Horace Binney, Jr., and pro-Union Democrat Daniel Dougherty -- met at the home of John F. Meigs on December 27, 1862, and adopted articles of association for a 'Union League of Philadelphia.' Its only condition of membership was "unqualified loyalty to the government of the United States, and unwavering support of its efforts for the suppression of the Rebellion," and its primary task was to be "to discountenance and rebuke by moral and social influences all disloyalty to the Federal government…." As a headquarters, the new League would rent space in a former private mansion at 1118 Chestnut Street (where Lincoln himself would pay a call during his 1864 visit to Philadelphia) then at 1216 Chestnut; in 1865, it would move into a spacious Second Empire-style building on Broad Street.[2]

In the decades after the Civil War, the Union League remained a center for Republican and conservative politics in Philadelphia. But it also remembered its origins by accumulating an impressive collection of art related to Lincoln and the Civil War, and has continued to commission works celebrating its founding (most recently, a portrait of Frederick Douglass). Among its most famous objects are the two great paintings of Xanthus Russell Smith, which grace the League's main hallway, *The Monitor and the Merrimack* (1869) and *The Kearsarge and Alabama* (1875). But Abraham Lincoln has always owned the core of the League's memory: each year, it commemorates Lincoln's birthday with a parade along Chestnut Street to Independence Hall for a wreath-laying at the site where Lincoln raised the flag on February 22, 1861, and bestows its Lincoln Award on prominent Americans.

Its greatest Lincolnian gems are the more than thirty pieces of Lincoln-related art on display (or in archival safe-keeping) in the League House. And the single most beloved example of Lincolnian art is the famed 1863 Lincoln life portrait by Edward Dalton Marchant, which hangs in a place of honor in the League House's great ballroom, Lincoln Hall. Marchant was Philadelphia-based and a student of Gilbert Stuart who specialized

Main Hallway of the Union League
Courtesy of the Union League Legacy Foundation

in portrait painting, from the jurist Horace Binney to the economist Henry Carey. Marchant would join the League in 1865, so it was not difficult for "a large body" of Lincoln's "personal and political friends" to turn to Marchant for a formal portrait that would be displayed in Independence Hall.[3]

Marchant began work on the portrait in the White House in February, 1863, and worked "for several months" there, accompanied by his son Henry, a captain on leave from the 23rd Pennsylvania. (Henry Marchant would be killed in action at Cold Harbor a year later.) Marchant enjoyed "daily communication with the remarkable man whose features I sought to portray," although Marchant found capturing Lincoln's deep and varied moods a challenge. "He was seldom twice alike," Marchant wrote to a fellow artist, and he found Lincoln "the most difficult subject" he'd ever painted.[4]

The result, however, is a glowing triumph. Marchant painted Lincoln at three-quarters, his right hand at his side holding a quill pen, his left arm and hand resting on a table with a copy of a document, beside an open inkwell. Behind Lincoln are the pillars of the state and the foot of a Columbia-like figure (Marchant called it 'the Goddess of Liberty') with a broken chain hanging down. The unspoken message is about emancipation, and Marchant intended the document beneath Lincoln's left hand to represent the Proclamation. (Lincoln had issued the final Emancipation Proclamation only two months before Marchant started work, and Marchant described it as "the great, crowning, act of our distinguished President.") Lincoln's eyes are somber, reflective, cast slightly downwards and focused at a point beyond the right margin of the canvas, as if contemplating the enormity of the Proclamation's consequences. But the most striking detail is the formal white tie—the only occasion in either portraits or photographs where Lincoln is seen wearing one. Marchant noticed that Lincoln only rarely wore a white "cravat." But Marchant decided that Lincoln's usual black tie looked too much "like a gash" that "seemed to sever the head from the body," and the white tie is rendered in exquisite detail.[5]

Marchant employed another Philadelphian, the engraver John Sartain, to create a mezzotint print for popular sale. Sartain added some slight details to the print version (the word LIBERTY, which appears faintly in the painting on the Goddess of Liberty's pillar is more pronounced in the print), but Marchant was delighted with the public demand, and in 1865 arranged for Louis Haugg (also of Philadelphia) to produce an inexpensive lithograph which sold "fully up to a thousand a day."[6]

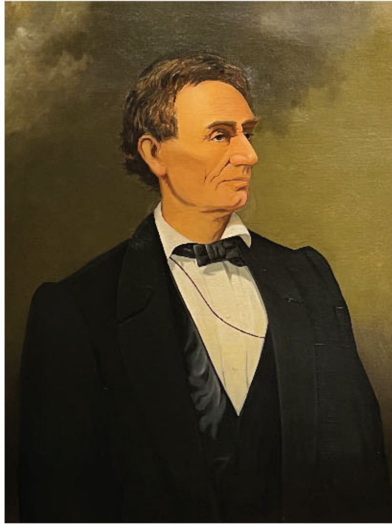
Abraham Lincoln - Edward Dalton Marchant
Courtesy of the Union League Legacy Foundation

Even more imposing is a seven-and-a-half-foot statue of Lincoln which forms the centerpiece of the Lincoln Memorial Room. It was the creation in 1916 of the Swiss-born sculptor Jacob Otto Schweizer, who had emigrated to the United States in 1894. The League had undergone a major physical expansion, growing to occupy an entire city block between Broad Street and Fifteenth Street, and a substantial room, the Banquet Room, on the second floor was dedicated to Lincoln and the League's Civil War veterans. The west wall of the room featured rich paneling that bore medallions of eight Union commanders—Gregg, Hancock, Sheridan, Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Meade and Farragut -- and bronze plaques with the names of the League's 531 veterans, with the words of the Gettysburg Address carved in gold leaf across the top. But the centerpiece of the wall was Schweizer's Lincoln, raised on a two-step marble dias, enfolded in a concave marble niche.

If Marchant's Lincoln was the Emancipator, appearing thoughtful and serious, Schweizer's statue was the Commander-in-Chief, drawn up to his full height, his right hand resting on a flag-draped rostrum, the left clenched in a defiant fist, as if in the act of proclaiming that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." Lincoln stands upon a square pedestal, with an allegorical frieze on each side depicting Government, Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, and the League's motto *Amor patriae ducit* (Love of Country Leads) inscribed in the niche. The guest of honor for the dedication of the Banquet Room was to have been Corporal James Tanner, who achieved a moment of unplanned glory on April 14, 1865, as the stenographer whom Secretary of War Edwin Stanton conscripted to record in shorthand the testimony of witnesses to Lincoln's assassination, even as Lincoln lay dying. Tanner was unable to attend, but he made the occasion memorable by presenting to the League his manuscript shorthand notes from that bloody evening.[7] The League also owns a maquette of the Schweizer statue, and 14-inch-high copies of the statue are bestowed as the symbol of the League's Lincoln Award.

One other Lincoln portrait graces the League's walls in the Banquet Room where portraits of almost every Whig and Republican president (and one unlikely Democrat: Andrew Jackson) are hung. It is, however, an unlikely portrait, coming from the brush of Xanthus Smith, especially since Smith never seems to have had any personal acquaintance with Lincoln. The 36"x29" portrait is, in fact, a rendering on canvas

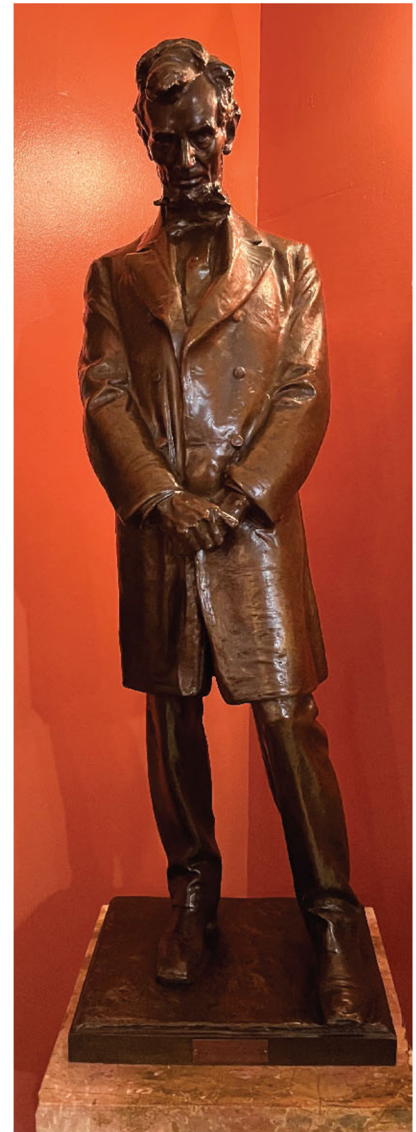
of one of the series of dramatic photographs of Lincoln taken by the Chicago photographer Alexander Hesler in 1860. Like the Hesler photographs, Smith shows the still-beardless Lincoln in profile, but now against a background of stormclouds.



Lincoln - Xanthus Smith
Courtesy of the Union League Legacy Foundation

Smith's reputation rests largely on his fifteen paintings of Civil War naval scenes; portraiture was not his strong suit. The son of a painter of theater scenery (and sometimes landscapes), Smith had his first commission—a modest landscape of a neighbor's property – in 1854, at the age of fifteen. He joined the U.S. Navy at the outbreak of the Civil War, serving as a captain's clerk on blockade duty of the Confederacy's South Atlantic coast. He kept on painting, though, and attracted the attention (and patronage) of the blockade squadron's commander, Admiral Samuel F. Du Pont, and in the post-war years began painting scenes of Civil War naval battles, including seven versions of the fight between the *Alabama and Kearsarge, Final Assault on Fort Fisher* (1872), *Sinking of the Cumberland* (1872), and *Rebel Ram "Tennessee" Attacking U.S. Ships Richmond and Lackawanna* (1873). These earned him such great popularity that when the U.S. government undertook the massive project of publishing *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* in 1895, eight of Smith's sketches were used as illustrations for the series. In his later years, Smith advertised himself as the "oldest living and practicing artist with Civil War experiences, and turned to painting scenes of Civil War land battles, painting *Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg* (1913) and *John Burns at Gettysburg* (1915).[8]

In addition to the Schweizer statue, the League also owns eight busts of Abraham Lincoln, and a small-scale standing statue of Lincoln created by Daniel Chester French (who also sculpted the sitting Lincoln which is the centerpiece of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington). The statue was the offspring of the Abraham Lincoln Centennial Memorial Association, which had been formed in 1908 by the Nebraska state legislature to create a "state and memorial" to Lincoln and was funded by state appropriations and popular fund-raising. French originally created an eight-foot outdoor bronze statue of Lincoln for the Association, to be sited on the grounds of the Nebraska state capitol, showing Lincoln at Gettysburg. It is a contemplative Lincoln, with his head inclined downwards and his hands clasped in front of him, as if Lincoln was "bearing the burdens and perplexities and problems of the Great War." A granite wall behind the statue carries the words of the Gettysburg Address. At the dedication ceremonies on September 2, 1912, the featured speaker was William Jennings Bryan, the "Silver-Tongued Orator of the West" and three-time presidential candidate. Like many sculptors, French hoped to make money from selling smaller, domestic versions of the statue. One full-sized plaster copy went to the Art Institute of Chicago, another to San Francisco, while bronze statuettes were offered for sale for $1000. The association which had commissioned the Nebraska statue objected to marketing the statuettes, and in the end, only twelve of the statuettes were made (one of them being acquired by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney for the museum of American art she was creating in New York City).[9]

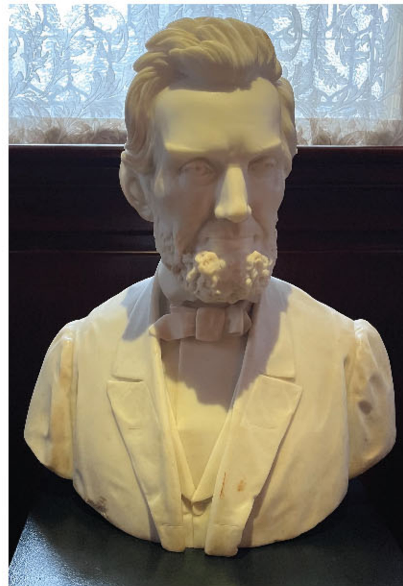


Lincoln - Daniel Chester French
Courtesy of the Union League Legacy Foundation

Of the League's Lincoln busts, the most striking is a 17-inch-high figure, cast in bronze in 1880 by Leonard Wells Volk (1828-1895). Born in New York but working as a sculptor in Chicago, Volk first met Lincoln during the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858, where he gained a promise from Lincoln to give the Rome-educated sculptor a sitting. In the spring of 1860, reading in the Chicago papers that Lincoln was in the city on legal business, Volk collected on the promise. The sitting was a novelty for Lincoln. "Mr. Volk,

I have never sat before to sculptor or painter—only for daguerreotypes and photographs. What shall I do?" Volk made a plaster cast of Lincoln's face, which Lincoln had a "pretty hard" time working off, and then had Lincoln sit while he made preliminary shapings of his head. Volk had in mind creating a 'Hermes bust'—"to represent his breast and brawny shoulders as nature presented them"—and in May, Volk finished a "cabinet-size" version to present to Lincoln in Springfield. But by that time, Lincoln had been nominated for the presidency, and Volk embarked on a series of versions of the bust, some in classical drapery, some just from the neck-up (the League's copy is one of the latter). Volk also took an additional plaster cast of Lincoln's right hand in expectation of creating a full-size statue. The statue did not materialize until 1876, for the Illinois state capitol, but the busts became one of the most popular three-dimensional images of Lincoln.[10]

Another bust, this time in marble, was created by Pio Fedi (1815-1892) in 1865, drawing upon photographs and prints. Fedi, who worked in Florence, specialized in highly stylized renderings of figures from Italian history, and his full-scale statue of General Manfredo Fanti (one of the principal military leaders in the wars for Italian independence and unification) still dominates the Piazza San Marco in Florence. Fedi's bust of Lincoln is, unhappily, much more bland than the dramatic Fanti statue: it is a fully-bearded Lincoln, in coat, vest and bow-tie, and gives Lincoln a slightly fierce, almost irritated expression. At the other extreme from Fedi is the more recent marble bust created by Raymond Granville Barger (1906-2001). Barger's bust is reminiscent of the 40-inch bust made by Gutzon Borglum in 1908, which seems to show Lincoln's head emerging from the Alabama marble Borglum used as his material. Barger's 31-inch bust also features Lincoln's head, half formed from the sculptor's marble, and like Borglum's bust, imparts to Lincoln a certain dreaminess. Curiously, Barger originally cast his bust in bronze in 1937 to commemorate Lincoln's correspondence with the tiny Republic of San Marino in 1861, when Lincoln thanked the "Regent Captains" of San Marino for their support of the Union. Like the American republic, San Marino had "demonstrated the truth, so full of encouragement to the friends of Humanity, that Government founded on Republican principles is capable of being so administered as to be secure and enduring."[11] The marble version was presented to the League in 1991, with the 85-year-old artist in attendance.



Lincoln - Pio Fedi
Courtesy of the Union League Legacy Foundation

The most unusual bust in the collection was created by Agnes Yarnall (1904-1989), a Philadelphia-based sculptor who created a series of forty-two bronze busts of Civil War figures to illustrate a book of her poetry in 1980, *An Attempted Evocation of the Civil War: Sculpture and Poetry.*[12] The 21-inch-high head of Lincoln in this series is rough-cast and beardless, from mid-chest upward, with an enigmatic and distant expression. Probably the least unusual, or at least the most expressionless, of the League's Lincoln busts, *Abraham Lincoln*, was cast in bronze in 1993 by Zenos Frudakis (1951-), who specializes in monumental sculptures of celebrities, from Winston Churchill to Don McLean. (A far more idiosyncratic and sharply-detailed Lincoln bust by Frudakis, *Old Abe*, at the Cornell University Library, shows an inquisitive Lincoln, head cocked at a slight angle, eyebrows slightly arched, as if puzzled by something.)[13] One final bust is a copy of the head of the famous Augustus Saint-Gaudens *Standing Lincoln* in Chicago's Lincoln Park, awarded to Russell F. Weigley in 1991 as part of the annual presentation of the Lincoln Prize in 2001.

Some of the busts are actually smaller-scale reductions of larger statues. Max Bachman (1862-1921) created two seven-foot Lincoln statues (one beardless and the other bearded, but in the same pose) modelled roughly upon the Saint-Gaudens *Standing Lincoln*. Bachman was born in Germany, educated in Berlin, and emigrated to the United States in 1885. While his most dramatic works were the allegorical figures that adorned the New York World building, his Lincoln statues were hailed as "the finest likeness of Lincoln ever produced in sculpture." As well they might be, since they are really nothing more than the Saint-Gaudens and with a slightly re-modeled head (beardless and otherwise). The League's bust version is a sharply-rendered portrayal of the beardless Lincoln, twenty-seven inches high and showing Lincoln from mid-chest upwards. A bearded version of the bust, presiding over the Urbana (Illinois) Public Library, has been described by Orville Vernon Burton as "searching the distant future and hoping for a land of equal rights and equal opportunity as proposed in his beloved Declaration of Independence" with "a strength of character, a powerful, almost austere, authority."[14]

In the same way, George Edwin Bissell (1839-1920), a Union veteran, created a full-length statue of Lincoln on commission in 1893 from Wallace Bruce of Edinburgh

for his city's Old Calton Burial Ground. It commemorates the "Scottish-American Soldiers" of the Civil War, and shows Lincoln standing in a reflective pose, his left arm drawn behind him and his right extended downwards, with his right hand holding a document intended to be the Emancipation Proclamation. A copy of the statue was commissioned by Iowa Governor William Larrabee in 1902 for his hometown of Clermont, and (like French and Bachman) Bissell marketed statuette and bust versions.[15] Another statuette, possibly the creation of the French sculptor Auguste-Joseph Peiffer (1832-1886), shows Lincoln standing beside a short obelisk, his left hand resting on two books and a scroll with the words *Abol Slavery*. Peiffer was mostly known for his bronze sculptures on classical themes—Diana the Huntress, The Wise Virgin, A Classical Couple – rather than historical figures, and no other copy of a Peiffer Lincoln seems to exist. (The League's copy was purchased in the Faubourg St. Honore in Paris; otherwise nothing is known about its provenance.)

Finally, there are in the League's collections six medallions featuring Lincoln at half-face, the most impressive being one of a series made in 1865 by Franklin Simmons (1839-1913) in copper and bronze of thirty-one of the most prominent Union generals. (Lincoln, along with William Henry Seward, John Usher, Gideon Welles, James Speed, and Salmon Chase, are the only civilian leaders in the series.) The medallions were "modeled in clay from life sittings" by Simmons, and originally exhibited in the fall of 1865 at a fund-raising fair for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home (alongside Xanthus Smith's Lincoln portrait and Thomas Sully's Washington). The medallion series, cast by the William Miller Foundry of Rhode Island, was purchased by the League; in 1869, the League purchased another Miller medallion, *Triumviri Americani*, depicting the heads of Washington, Lincoln, and Ulysses Grant superimposed in series on each other.[16] Another medallion, in bronze, by outdoor sculptor Jonathan Scott Hartley (1845-1912), depicts a beardless Lincoln, surrounded by a laurel wreath.[17] There are also painted-plaster copies of the life masks made of Lincoln by Leonard Wells Volk in 1860 and by Clark Mills (1815-1883), who executed the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson across from the White House, and who made his mask of Lincoln in February, 1865.[18]

Abraham Lincoln has been one of the most popular subjects for American artists, and many institutions display Lincoln portraits as prime exhibits from their collections—the Walter Travers portrait at The Brook and Emmanuel Leutze's *Abraham Lincoln* (1865) at the Union League Club, both in New York City. Outdoor statues of Lincoln range from Gutzon Borglum's great face on Mt. Rushmore to Otto Schweizer's 1913 Lincoln statue

Schweizer Lincoln Memorial Room
Courtesy of the Union League Legacy Foundation

for the Pennsylvania Monument on the Gettysburg battlefield. One Lincoln statue, by George Grey Barnard, even triggered an international incident in 1919, when Robert Todd Lincoln objected to its installation across from Parliament Square. (The statue was eventually relocated to Manchester, and given the close support Lincoln received from Manchester during the Civil War, there was actually something appropriate in the re-location.)[19] But the Union League of Philadelphia's Lincoln collection is unique for its variety and range, and especially for the great Marchant portrait.

Dr. Allen C. Guelzo is the Director of the Initiative on Politics and Statesmanship in the James Madison Program at Princeton University. **He would like to acknowledge the help of James Mundy and Keeley Tulio of the Union League for their help in this article.**

Editor's note: All citations for this article will be included in the online version of Lincoln Lore at *www.FriendsOfTheLincolnCollection.org*

Union League, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (LC HS503-1047)

Presidential Box at Ford's Theatre Draped in Mourning (OC-1447)

Abraham and William Wallace Lincoln caskets in receiving vault (OC-1462)

WE MOURN OUR FALLEN FATHER:

Abraham Lincoln's Easter Sermon and the Beginning of his Martyrdom

Kayla Gustafson

During his life, Abraham Lincoln bore a myriad of nicknames: the Railsplitter, Honest Abe, Father Abraham, and the Liberator, just to name a few. But, after his death, he became a martyr for the nation, that martyrdom being proclaimed in sermons on Easter Sunday in 1865.

The timing of the assassination made Easter Sunday 1865 highly important to citizens from all walks of life. Easter 1865 was supposed to be a joyous occasion, a mix of rejoicing the risen Christ and the end of the Civil War, but, instead, it was a day of mourning and great loss. Abraham Lincoln was shot on Good Friday and died on Holy Saturday. As the news of his assassination spread throughout the country, parish women removed the daffodils and brightly-colored tulips from their parishes, leaving the white Easter lilies. They brought in black fabric and draped it along the altar, windows, and pulpit. They added paintings and photos of the fallen President and draped those, too, in mourning. This day would be remembered in history as "Black Easter." Rev. James Smith Bush of Grace Church in Orange, NJ, explained, "We do not give up our Easter flowers to-day, but wreath them even around the garments of our mourning."

Church leaders from all faiths, faced with the shock of the news and the grief of the nation, changed their sermons overnight making them into funeral sermons. Abraham Lincoln guided the nation through one of its darkest times, from being the Commander-in-Chief throughout the Civil War to being the "Great Emancipator." He paid the ultimate price for the American people. Some religious leaders would say that Lincoln died for the sins of the republic.

The image of Lincoln painted by religious leaders in these sermons can still be seen today. The characterizations can be categorized into four tropes: the Great Emancipator, a man who is larger than life, the common self-made man, and the Champion of Democracy.

Rev. Charles H. Hall of The Church of the Epiphany in Washington, D.C., wrote his sermon, "A Mournful Easter: A Discourse," in haste the Saturday night before delivering it. Rev. Hall was chosen to be one of four ministers to lead services at the White House funeral the following Wednesday. The following excerpt is a touching sentiment:

> *"We gather now around an open grave, permitted to be opened on this Easter Day by the awful and wicked tragedy of this last Good Friday, to temper our pious gratulations as believers with the sorrow which has befallen us as citizens. The grave and gate of death open before us as a people, and we mourn the sanguinary crimes which have made our Good Friday so marked an event in the history of the world... We are an afflicted nation, horrified by the darkest crimes which can befall a people."*

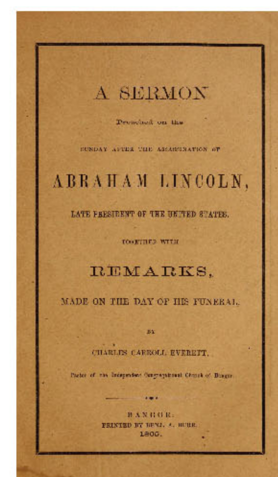
Hall closed his discourse with the appeal:

> *"May God give comfort to the afflicted families, whose losses will make Good Friday memorable in our national records. May He give repentance to the wretched criminals who have stained their hands, wantonly and stupidly in innocent blood, before they are called upon to meet the just punishment for their atrocities. May He give us grace to understand the seriousness and solemnity of our duties to the government over us; and as He only can, bring good out of this evil."*

In many sermons Lincoln took on a larger-than-life form—that of a messiah, a man deemed the bringer of liberation. This notion hearkens back to Lincoln's visit to Richmond. Admiral David D. Porter, who landed with Lincoln in Richmond on April 4, 1865, recalled,

> *"There was a small house on this landing, and behind it were some twelve negroes digging with spades. The leader of them was an old man sixty years of age. He raised himself to an upright position as we landed, and put his hands up to his eyes. Then he dropped his spade and sprang forward. 'Bress de Lord,' he said. 'Dere is de great Messiah! I knowed him as soon as I seed him. He's bin in my hear fo' long yeahs, an' he's cum at las' to free his chillun from deir bondage! Glory, Hallelujah!' And he fell upon his knees before the President and kissed his feet. The others followed his example, and in a minute, Mr. Lincoln was surrounded by these people, who had treasured up the recollection of him caught from a photograph, and had looked up to him for four years as the one who was to lead them out of captivity. "*

In his sermon, Rev. Charles Carroll Everett of the Independent Congregational Church of Bangor, ME, reminisced on the President's visit to Richmond: "We remember now, what we read with a smile before, how the poor freed negroes of Richmond greeted him by the name of "Jesus," him their savior and their deliverer. To them he did represent, so far as any outward form could do it, the power of Christ, to break the chain and set the captive free."


A SERMON

SUNDAY AFTER THE ASSASSINATION OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

REMARKS,

MADE ON THE DAY OF HIS FUNERAL.

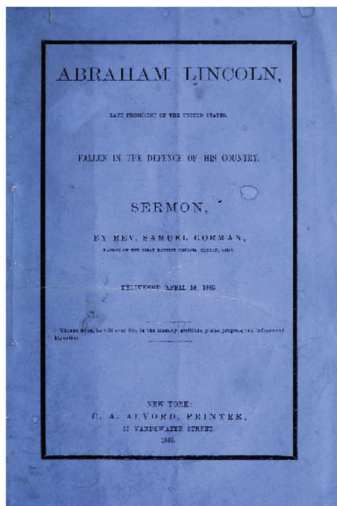
BY

CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT.

BANGOR:

Easter Sunday Sermon of Rev. Charles Carroll Everett (71200908401529)

In their last-minute writing, many religious leaders searched for possible parallels between biblical figures and Lincoln; the characterization was one that religious leaders understood well and could lean on in their sermons. Rev. Alexander S. Twombly of the State St. Pres. Church in Albany, NY, said in comparison that, much like Moses, Lincoln didn't live to see the "promised land." Lincoln led the nation through one of the darkest chapters of American history, watching countless men die for the sake of a free nation. Lincoln, much like Moses, died just as he came to see the free land. He also parallels Moses in his goal of freeing enslaved men and women. Rev. John Falkner Blake of Christ Church in Bridgeport, CT, also saw similarities between Abraham Lincoln and the biblical figure Moses. Blake stated: "I know the depth of your love for our murdered President, and therefore I ask you to weep with me to-day while we consider his late relations to us as a people. As I ponder over them, they seem to me to bear a striking analogy to those which Moses sustained to the children of Israel." The Reverend continued: "…We had all become slaves, and as God sent Moses to deliver the children of Israel from slavery, so, I believe, he sent Abraham Lincoln to deliver us."


ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

FALLEN IN THE DEFENCE OF HIS COUNTRY.

SERMON,

BY REV. SAMUEL GORMAN,

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[illegible] VANDEWATER STREET.
[illegible]

Easter Sermon of Rev. Samuel Gorman (71200908403885)

Rev. Samuel Gorman of the First Baptist Church in Canton, OH, had a similar statement: "He will be remembered by his friends, as the Benefactor of our Republic and of our race. And how precious will be his memory to the millions whom he has helped to free! He will be to them as Moses has ever been to the Jews. This generation will tell of his greatness and goodness to the next, and so on, down to the end of time."

Rev. Charles S. Robinson of the First Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, NY, made special note in his sermon to remember the "poor freedmen": "I think more than all, of the poor freedmen, when they hear of the President's death. How they will wonder and will wail! They called him "Father," as if it were part of his name. Oh, they believed in Abraham Lincoln! They expected him, as the Israelites did Moses."

Other leaders found refuge in the parallels between Jesus Christ and Lincoln. One such leader was Rev. Cephas Bennett Crane of The South Baptist Church in Hartford, CT. He exclaimed:

> *"Yes, it was meet that the martyrdom should occur on Good Friday. It is no blasphemy against the Son of God and the Savior of men that we declare the fitness of the slaying of the Second Father of our Republic on the anniversary of the day on which he was slain. Jesus Christ died for the world; Abraham Lincoln died for his country. The consecration of Jesus to humanity began in the antiquity of eternity, and found its culmination when he cried with white, yet triumphant, lips, on the cross, "it is finished." The consecration of Abraham Lincoln to the American people had its phenomenal and most manifest beginning in the summer of 1858 when he entered upon that memorable Senatorial Campaign…"*

Religious sermons were written with one of two distinct, yet contradicting, images of Lincoln. He was either a man who represented frontiersmen, the working class, and common and average Americans, or he was superhuman, larger than life, and closer to biblical figures and royalty. Lincoln, a man who rose above his station, liberated slaves, took a broken nation and pieced it back together, did in fact come from impecunious beginnings.

Honest Abe of the West (71.2009.082.0811)

During the 1860 election, Lincoln was nicknamed the Railsplitter at the Republican Convention, solidifying his image of being a common man. He gave the average citizen a voice in the political chasm of 1860. Lincoln's opponents were more well-known and elite politicians. By the 1864 election, Lincoln was called Father Abraham, the father of the nation, the man who freed the slaves. There began his shift from a common to an extraordinary man. Clergymen cemented these characterizations in the sermons they preached the day after Lincoln's death.

Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler of the Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, NY, preached, on the following Wednesday, of Lincoln being an ambitious common man, one of humble beginnings who made himself into an honest and noble statesman—a feat so inherently American. Cuyler gave a short biography of Lincoln's life, focusing on the careers that he pursued:

> *"Born in Hardin County, Kentucky, of farmer parentage, on the 12th of February, 1809; his boyhood spent in clearing forests with the woodman's axe; one year only*

spent in the rudimentary studies of a district school; at the age of nineteen toiling as a hired hand on a Mississippi flat-boat; then a clerk in a country store of Illinois; next a student of law from a few books borrowed in the evening, to be returned in the morning; in 1834 a member of the State Legislature; in 1846 in the National congress... and from that lofty eminence, in the very moment of victory, translated through martyrdom to a seat in history beside our first Washington himself."

On the other hand, Rev. John H. Drumm of St. James Church in Bristol, PA, focused on Lincoln as an extraordinary man, stating that "he was more than a great man: he was our PRINCE... by our own free and deliberate choice!" Giving Lincoln the title of "prince" painted him as American royalty. The position of a royal is one a common person could never imagine inheriting, but Drumm stated that Lincoln ascended to royalty much like the first US president, George Washington.

Washington and Lincoln (Apotheosis) (LN-1120)

After his death, Lincoln's image started to take the form of an American myth. His character became tied to those of the founding fathers, the leaders of this land who fought for liberty against all odds. Many clergymen took the stance that Lincoln's character is rivaled only by that of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Rev. Everett portrayed the verbal picture of Lincoln's soul entering heaven, stating "Already the pure, the incorruptible humble souls of all times, have welcomed him; already has Washington greeted him as brother; and Christ welcomed him..." Rev. Drumm preached something similar to Everett, saying, "[Lincoln is] so noble, so spotless is it, that I hesitate not to say that, next to George Washington, his will be the purest and noblest record in the annals of this land." Rev. M.P. Gaddis of Sixth Street M.P. Church in Cincinnati, OH, chose for his sermon the subtitle *Washington the Father, Lincoln the Savior of Our Country.*

As the nation mourned the fallen president, religious leaders tried to calm the crowds of people who attended religious services on that Easter. Easter is a high holy day where believers make it a point to observe their faith. On Easter of 1865, the crowds grew to twice their normal size with people rushing to services in hopes of finding peace. Lincoln was the first president to be assassinated, shocking the nation. Never before had the nation been faced with such a horrendous crime. How would they overcome this grief? Many turned to their faith, attending church on Easter, hoping this could help them find the peace that they needed.

After hearing these sermons, congregants found a great deal of respect for the fallen president. The man who worked unceasingly to bring the broken country back together, to free the enslaved, and to bring the country peace would never get to experience the new-found freedom he helped create. This solidified his legacy as an American martyr.

Kayla Gustafson is a Senior Lincoln Librarian at the Allen County Public Library in Fort Wayne, IN. The sermons cited are curated in the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection at the library.

Lincoln-Herndon Law Office (ZPC-252)

WHERE AND HOW LINCOLN COMPOSED HIS MAIN WORKS

D. Leigh Henson

Lincoln's numerous compositions encompass a remarkable range of purposes and genre, constituting a major field of study for academics in such diverse fields as history, political science, rhetoric, literature, and language. Recently, John Channing Briggs, Douglas L. Wilson, and Fred Kaplan have added to our knowledge of Abraham Lincoln's skillful composition, especially his writing process and techniques of style.[1] Scholars note that Lincoln was particularly careful in revising for the publication he often sought for his pre-presidential political speeches. Other aspects of Lincoln the writer invite consideration. This essay identifies places where Lincoln worked at writing and discusses a key facet of his composing process—his use of exploratory "fragments" and "notes."

Eyewitnesses provide insight into where and how Lincoln as a politician and president wrote, but there are not many who put their observations in writing, with only four cited in this study: William H. Herndon, his third law partner and political advisor; Henry B. Rankin, who claimed he studied law in the Lincoln-Herndon law office; Noah Brooks, Lincoln's White House confidant designated as his secretary for his second presidential term; and Francis B. Carpenter, the artist who painted the famous *First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln*. John G. Nicolay and John M. Hay's ten-volume Lincoln biography includes critical commentary on Lincoln's political rhetoric and presidential eloquence, especially his use of language. These biographers noted that Lincoln's compositional powers grew, but they do not provide insight into that process, nor do they describe Lincoln as he was writing.

Lincoln's career as a lawyer required writing standard documents and private letters, while his political career involved composing private and public letters, editorials, campaign announcements, handbills, stump speeches for his own campaigns and for presidential campaigns (Whigs in 1836 and 1840, Republicans in 1856), debate speeches, addresses in the Illinois legislature and Congress, legislative resolutions, and remarks. His interest in politics also led him to write and deliver eulogies for President Zachary Taylor and Congressman Henry Clay. Even Lincoln's lectures had implicit political purposes. His political compositions were vital to his rise to the presidency, and passages in some of them foreshadowed the statesmanship and literary distinction of his inaugural addresses, Gettysburg Address, and last speech.

Lincoln began writing in childhood, and he developed the habit of writing whenever and wherever he wanted to capture his ideas. Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, who could read but not write, probably began to teach him to read before the family moved from Kentucky to Indiana when he was seven. Receiving scant formal education in Indiana, Lincoln there demonstrated his life-long commitment to self-education. According to his stepmother, Sarah Bush Johnston Lincoln, the boy Lincoln copied passages of particular interest from his reading, read them aloud, and kept them in a scrapbook, but the only surviving pages of Lincoln's hand from the 1820s are from his "cyphering book," which includes his first attempt at verse. When he lacked paper, he wrote on "boards." Eventually the young Lincoln in Indiana even composed essays on such subjects as cruelty to animals and temperance.[2]

Some of Lincoln's Indiana compositions were satirical. The only surviving example is "The Chronicles of Reuben," a story saved through oral history. Lincoln apparently created this story as revenge against a family that failed to invite the Lincolns to a double wedding. Lincoln's sarcasm refers to the wedding night in which the grooms, brothers in the offending family, inadvertently go to bed with the wrong brides. Additionally, during his time in New Salem (1832–1837), Lincoln wrote legal materials for acquaintances in their places of business and homes, and perhaps in the stores where he clerked.

Locations of Lincoln's Three Law Offices (71.2009.081.1711)

In his law offices Lincoln worked on political speeches and probably other compositions besides legal documents and related correspondence. During an 1867 interview in the Lincoln-Herndon law office, Herndon told a newspaper reporter, "On this very table . . . on this very corner [of it] Lincoln wrote 'A House Divided Against Itself'" [1858 House Divided speech].[3] Lincoln's Springfield law offices were in four locations. The first was in Hoffman's Row one block north of the Capitol on Fifth Street during his partnership with John T. Stuart (1837–1841). The second was on the opposite side of the street in partnership with Stephen T. Logan (1841–1843) before they moved to the third floor of the Tinsley Building on Adams Street on the south side of the Capitol square (1843–1844). Lincoln and Herndon also had their office on the third floor of the Tinsley Building (1844–1857).[4] Lincoln probably worked on his 1854 Peoria address there and surely in the Capitol's law library as he did research there for that speech. Lincoln probably worked on his 1857 *Dred Scott* speech in his Tinsley Building office and/or in the second-floor office at the back of a building on the west side of the Capitol square, where Lincoln and Herndon moved in 1857.[5]

Herndon observed Lincoln as a researcher and writer/speaker longer than anyone else. Herndon noted that Lincoln's concern for public welfare and opinion in accomplishing public policy was evident early in his political career. Reflecting on Lincoln's 1836 announcement to run for reelection to the Illinois legislature, Herndon wrote, "He classed universal suffrage, temperance, and slavery" as matters that "'must first find lodgement with the most enlightened souls who stamp them with their approval. In God's own time they will be organized into law and thus woven into the fabric of our institutions.'"[6] Lincoln's main political compositions apply direct or indirect moral argumentation.

Lincoln-Herndon Law Office (ZPC-252)

Herndon's account of Lincoln's House Divided speech focused on his composing process:

> He had been all along led to expect it [1858 nomination as the Illinois Republican candidate for the US Senate], and with that in view had been earnestly and quietly at work preparing a speech in acknowledgment of the honor about to be conferred on him. This speech he wrote on stray envelopes and scraps of paper, as ideas suggested themselves, putting them into that miscellaneous and convenient receptacle, his hat. As the convention drew near he copied the whole on connected sheets, carefully revising every line and sentence, and fastened them together, for reference during the delivery of the speech, and for publication. The former precaution, however, was unnecessary, for he had studied and read over what he had written so long and carefully that he was able to deliver it without the least hesitation or difficulty.[7]

The composing process described here surely reflects Lincoln's characteristic preparation of important political speeches and other writings in the critical two years leading to his run for the presidency.

Herndon also reported that Lincoln solicited the opinions of "a dozen or so of his friends" on the House Divided speech before it was given, with some of them predicting that speech would alienate Democrats who had newly joined the Republican cause. Herndon wrote that Lincoln rejected that criticism with the assertion that the time is exactly right for such a speech and that he is willing to risk going down with its truths—its "advocacy of what is just and right."

Herndon noted that Lincoln was a self-confident writer: "He often asked as to the use of a word or the turn of a sentence, but if I volunteered to recommend or even suggest a change of language which involved a change of sentiment [meaning] I found him the most inflexible man I have ever seen." Herndon allegedly told Lincoln that giving the House Divided speech would make him president, and critics have faulted that claim as gratuitous. Herndon says that when Lincoln returned to Springfield during the 1858 Senate race he "consulted with friends."

Herndon's assistance to Lincoln during that campaign indicates the importance of research in the candidate's composing process during his political rise:

> He kept me busy hunting up old speeches and gathering facts and statistics at the State Library [in the Capitol]. I made liberal clippings bearing in any way on the questions of the hour from every newspaper I happened to see, and kept him supplied with them, and on one or two occasions, to answer to letters and telegrams. I sent books forward to him. He had a little leather bound book, fastened in front with a clasp, in which he and I both kept inserting newspaper slips and newspaper comments until the canvass opened.[8]

Herndon's Lincoln biography includes critical commentary on Lincoln and Dan Stone's 1837 protest in the Illinois Legislature against slavery, the 1848 speech in Congress on internal improvements, the 1854 Peoria speech, Lincoln's 1858 debate speeches in general, his 1859 Ohio and Kansas speeches, and the 1860 Cooper Union address, but those commentaries offer no further insight into Lincoln's composing/revising process.

Lincoln worked on speeches in the second Lincoln-Herndon law office, on the west side of the Capitol square, surely during his famous 1858 US Senate race against Stephen A. Douglas. Henry B. Rankin wrote that he saw Lincoln working in his office on the 1860 Cooper Union address—sometimes cited as the speech that made him president. Rankin reported that Lincoln's preparation for that speech involved spending considerable time on historical research in the State Library (in the Capitol) and that Lincoln discussed his findings with Herndon and Newton Bateman (then the Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction).[9]

Old State Capitol, Springfield, IL (ZPC-253)

Seeking solitude to work on his First Inaugural address, Lincoln got permission from Clark M. Smith, his brother-in-law, to seclude himself in a small, third-floor room of his general store on the south side of the Capitol square, with just a chair, desk, and the four publications he asked Herndon to collect for him, which Herndon identified as "Henry Clay's great speech delivered in 1850, Andrew Jackson's proclamation against Nullification, the Constitution," and [later] "Webster's reply to Hayne, a speech which he read when he lived at New Salem."[10]

Lincoln's bedroom in Springfield included a desk, and he undoubtedly found late-night solitude there conducive to writing. It is uncertain whether Lincoln's White House bedroom had a desk. In response to my email inquiry of April 29, 2022, The White House Historical Association replied, "It does not seem that Lincoln's White House bedroom had a desk, though there are very few mentions of the room's furnishings."

C.K. Stellwagen's 1866 drawing of Lincoln's White House office, on the second floor, sometimes called the Cabinet Room, shows the furniture that Lincoln used for writing. There were two desks besides the long table used for Cabinet meetings as depicted in Francis B. Carpenter's painting *First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln*, which hangs in the US Capitol. Besides writing on that table, Lincoln could have written on a large desk with a tall back case and elevated slanting work surface, and, more conveniently, at a smaller desk a few feet in front of it. The top of the smaller desk is long but not wide, with a low back case. It appears to be particularly designed for writing and was located just beyond the end of the Cabinet Room's long table toward the wall with two windows looking toward the Washington Monument and Potomac River. Most likely, this smaller desk is the one that Carpenter's *Six Months at the White House* refers to several times as Lincoln's desk, including twice as his "writing desk."[11] David S. Reynolds notes that Lincoln's office had "rickety furniture," including "his old desk under a window overlooking the Potomac; a large wooden table for cabinet meetings in the center of the room."[12]

Lincoln in the Cabinet Room (LFA-0536)

Stellwagen's drawing of the Cabinet Room shows an armchair between the large and small desks, near the wall with two windows, and Lincoln sometimes wrote while sitting in an armchair. In describing Lincoln's work on a Congressional message, Noah Brooks wrote: "The president's message was first written with pencil on stiff sheets of white pasteboard, or boxboard, a good supply of which he kept by him. These sheets, five or six inches wide, could be laid on the writer's knee, as he sat comfortably in his armchair, in his favorite position, with his legs crossed."[13] For reference, President Lincoln kept files on the important people he corresponded with: "In his office in the public wing of the White House was a little cabinet, the interior divided into pigeonholes. The pigeonholes were lettered in alphabetical order, but a few were devoted to individuals. Horace Greeley, I remember, had a pigeonhole by himself; so did each of several generals who wrote often to him."[14]

According to the *Mr. Lincoln's White House* website, he also wrote in the War Department's telegraph office: "The office gave Mr. Lincoln an opportunity to write and think in peace as he waited for telegrams to arrive and be deciphered."[15] He allegedly worked on the Emancipation Proclamation there.[16]

Lincoln sometimes used private writing to express his feelings and rehearse arguments and language. In *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, the titles of 111 writings contain the words "fragments" or "notes," and sometimes the editors refer to these pieces as "scraps." Thirty-nine of the fragments/notes date to before Lincoln's 1860 presidential election.

In *Lincoln in Private*, Ronald C. White describes Lincoln's fragments and notes as "private reflections" and "highly personal scraps of writings."[17] White does not mention that Lincoln's fragments/notes are not about such personal concerns as his relationship with his parents, stepmother, marriage, or fatherhood. White explains that Lincoln composed these pieces so that his "best thoughts" would "not escape him," referring to these pieces as "building blocks that can help us reconstruct Lincoln's thought processes as he approached history-altering decisions," and that he likely composed many others.[18] White's book focuses on just twelve of the 111 fragments/notes that he says "reveal new and interesting aspects about Lincoln" that White's previous thirty-plus years of Lincoln study had not taught him.

White observes that "almost every surviving Lincoln fragment/note begins with a challenge" and that "although a few of the notes appear to be part of a first draft or preparation for a more polished public speech, the large majority are reflections and analyses that did not reappear anywhere else."[19] The titles and dates, however, for sixteen of the first thirty-nine fragments or notes (41%) specify they were prepared for speeches

or debates (sometimes at named places) and a law lecture. The following survey discusses examples of the most substantial fragments/notes relating to possible or actual speech or lecture preparation. Lincoln drafted a 3,600-word Fragment on the Tariff (1847) in preparing to enter Congress because Whigs had favored a tariff, but he never delivered a speech on that subject. Instead, his congressional speeches were about other subjects of interest to Whigs that eclipsed the tariff: the Mexican War, internal improvements, and the 1848 presidential race. It is uncertain whether or how Lincoln may have publicly or privately used some of his 250-word Fragment: What General Taylor Ought to Say (1848). The 715-word Notes: Fragment Law Lecture (July 1, 1850?), urged students of the law to practice business "diligence," seek settlements out of court, prepare thoroughly, and learn to speak effectively, but Lincoln never gave such a lecture or published on practicing law. The Complete Works includes two fragments on government, with a combined word count of 427. Those fragments are arbitrarily dated to 1854, and Lincoln may have intended them for a lecture.

Lincoln in the Telegraph Office (71.2009.084.01309)

Dated arbitrarily to April 1, 1854, are two fragments on slavery, 400 words combined, from before Lincoln delivered his October Peoria address. That speech launched his second political career and is widely recognized as presenting his foundational antislavery arguments, including his central position grounded in the equality language of the Declaration of Independence. One of Lincoln's fragments on slavery expresses that position: "*Most governments* have been based, practically, on the denial of equal rights of men, as I have, in part, stated them; ours began by *affirming* those rights. . . We proposed to give *all* a chance; and we expected the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant, wiser; and all better, and happier together."[20] The other fragment on slavery, noted Roy P. Basler lead editor of *The Collected Works*, may belong to a later period than 1854. That fragment contains a logical train of thought suggesting Lincoln's mind at work on slavery when he contended with Douglas over slavery and race during the 1858 Senate campaign: "If A. can prove, however conclusively, that he may, of right, enslave B.—why may not B. snatch the same argument, and prove equally, that he may enslave A?—You say A. is white, and B. is black. It is color, then; the lighter, having the right to enslave the darker? Take care. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with a fairer skin than your own."[21] None of Lincoln's subsequent speeches or other compositions employ this exact language, but several speeches criticize the indifference to enslavement based racial superiority—one of Douglas's main positions.

Possibly written as the first Republican presidential campaign began, the Fragment on Sectionalism (c. July 23, 1856), is a 1,762-word analysis of Northern and Southern political, economic, and moral perspectives on slavery extension and whether proponents or opponents of it are "more sectional than the other." Lincoln notes that Southerners are driven by an economic interest in slavery, while "moral principle . . . unites us of the North." He questions whether the side without moral concern for slavery extension should "really think that by [the] right surrendering to wrong, the hopes of our Constitution, our Union, and our liberties, can possibly be bettered?" In 1856, as Lincoln campaigned for the Republican presidential candidate, John C. Frémont, he condemned the Southern charge that the Republican Party was sectional and disunionist, arguing for free labor and denying that the Southern cause would prevail. After his party's defeat, Lincoln urged its members to keep working on shaping public opinion to embrace the principle that "all *men* are created equal."[22]

The alleged dates of twelve fragments/notes coincide with the 1858 Senate race. Three concern a stump speech Lincoln made at Edwardsville on May 18 and show that he was anticipating oppositional positions he would probably encounter in the campaign, including sectionalism, the threat of slavery extension, and Douglas's regard for it. Those fragments/notes rehearse his responses to rival positions. The May speech includes language Lincoln would use in the House Divided speech, June 16. Among the twelve fragments/notes are three concerning slavery and several whose titles say they were in preparation for speeches in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Given the volume of the twelve fragments/notes, the following discussion concerns just two more of them; they are chosen for the important insights they afford into Lincoln's campaign rhetoric.

The first is a 2,450-word Fragment of a Speech (c. December 28, 1857). Like other fragments, the date is questionable. Basler observed that in this fragment "key reference and much of the argument in the identical language of the House Divided speech was derived from an earlier speech fragment, or that the fragment was in part actually a preliminary draft of that speech."[23] The 2,450-word fragment features the rhetorical qualities characteristic of the speeches Lincoln carefully crafted as he rose to political prominence in 1858: the speech develops logically through a problem-solution organization, ending with a cogent call to action. The language is direct and precise.

The fragment starts with an explanation of the problem that Douglas's position and policy on slavery pose for Republicans. Lincoln admonished Republicans not to align with Douglas based strictly on his opposition to the proslavery Lecompton Constitution, for such an alignment would make them captive to the Democratic Party, whose other policies are decidedly proslavery. Maintaining that Douglas has done nothing to "get a free-state majority into Kansas," Lincoln argued that Douglas's indifference as to whether slavery "is voted down or voted up" is contradictory to Republicans' position that slavery is morally wrong. Lincoln reminded Republicans that Douglas accuses them of sectionalism.

Lincoln began the second half of the fragment by asking and answering the question of "what ought Republicans do?" He averred that Republicans should support Douglas if he succeeds in "securing a fair vote to the people of Kansas, without contrivance." Lincoln reiterated that Republicans in Congress "ought to keep slavery out of a territory, up to the time of its forming a state constitution." He argues that the purpose of Douglas's 1854 Nebraska bill was to begin shaping public opinion to be indifferent to the immorality of slavery and that presently there is more "angry agitation of this subject, both in and out of Congress, than ever before." Lincoln then exclaimed: "A house divided against itself cannot stand" and proceeded by stating the same position and language he would use in the House Divided speech—that he did not "expect the Union to be dissolved," but the tendency is toward extending slavery even into free states. Lincoln gave a call to action with loaded language: the solution of giving "victory to the right [is] not *bloody bullets*, but *peaceful ballots*," as provided for in the "good old Constitution."

Basler observed that the 2,860-word Fragment: Notes for Speeches (c. August 21, 1858), pertains to Lincoln's single speech in the first of the 1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates, at Ottawa, and two stump speeches that Lincoln gave between the first and second debates. Much of this fragment rehearses Lincoln's subsequent defense of the Democratic proslavery conspiracy accusation from the House Divided speech that he would make in the second and sixth debates. He also repeated the view that the *Dred Scott* decision was not settled law, as he also said in his Speech at Springfield, June 26, 1857, and would maintain during the 1858 Senate campaign.

Douglas sometimes willfully misrepresented Lincoln's rhetoric, and the fragment dated c. August 21, 1858, expresses his frustration with that demagoguery:

> He [Douglas] takes issues I have not tendered. In good faith I try to set him right. If he really has misunderstood my meaning, I give him language that can no longer be misunderstood. He will have none of it. At Bloomington, six days later [July 17, 1858], he speaks again, and perverts me even worse than before. He seems to have grown confident and jubilant, in the belief that he has entirely diverted me from my purpose of fixing a conspiracy upon him and his co-workers [Lincoln's allegation that Democratic Presidents Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, and Douglas collaborated to spread slavery]. Next day he speaks again at Springfield, pursuing the same course, with increased confidence and recklessness of assertion.[24]

Ethical rhetoric was important to Lincoln, who wrestled with whether or how to respond to Douglas's demagogic methods. Lincoln sometimes resolved this dilemma with "turnabout is fair play" personal satire, at other times by satirizing his rival's positions and policy. The rivals even debated the use of personal attacks.

In the c. August 21, 1858, fragment Lincoln also practiced his argument that Douglas's refusal to recognize the immorality of slavery and indifference to its extension was designed to mold public opinion toward accepting slavery in free states. Lincoln drew upon the logic and language of this fragment during the rest of the debates and in the rhetoric he used in 1859 to advance the Republican cause and his political ambition.

Only three of the titles of Lincoln's fragments assigned to his presidency relate to public discourse: Fragment of the House Divided Speech (December 7, 1860), written years after the speech was given (June 1858) in response to an autograph request; Fragment of Speech Intended for Kentuckians (February 12, 1861?; speech never given); and A Meditation on the Divine Will (September 2, 1862?). Lincoln studies discuss this latter fragment more than any other. White devotes the insightful, final chapter of *Lincoln in Private* to that fragment. Most of the sixty-two presidential notes concern appointments and promotions, sometimes referring to correspondence. Others relate to election data, military strategy, or campaign concerns.

Lincoln understood the importance of writing to advance his political and presidential work: he was an opportunistic but astute writer. He wrote in various places from workplace settings to private and secluded quarters, and he knew the power of putting down one word after another to discover and develop ideas, and refine language privately before public speaking and publishing to gain the desired effect.

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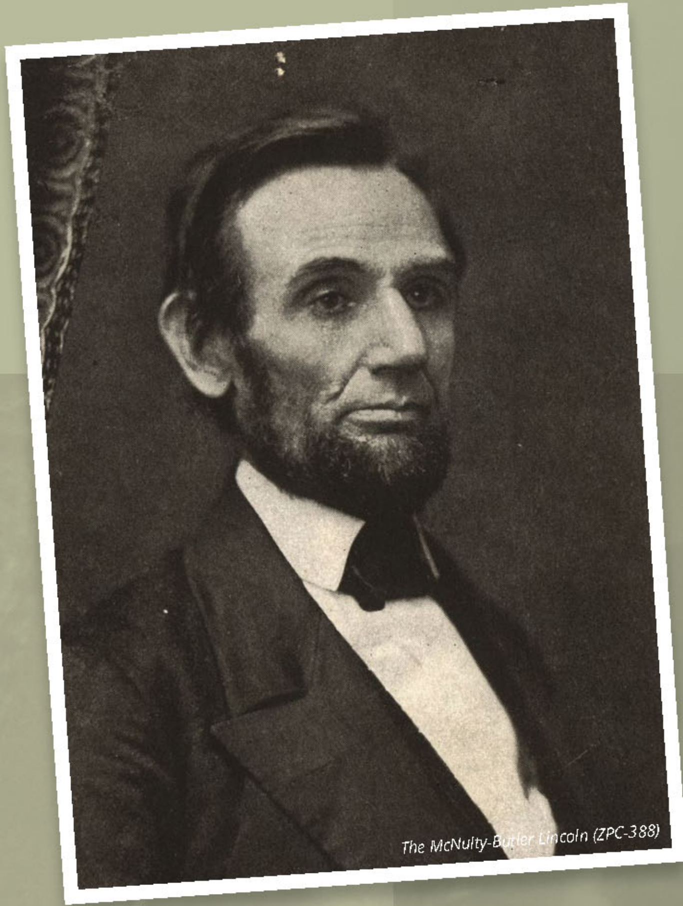
Editor's note: All citations for this article will be included in the online version of Lincoln Lore at *www.FriendsOfTheLincolnCollection.org*


The McNulty-Butler Lincoln (ZPC-388)

Dwight Eisenhower (LC-USZ62-13034)

LINCOLN & EISENHOWER: A COMPARISON

Richard Striner

Abraham Lincoln and Dwight D. Eisenhower were strangely alike in some respects—kindred spirits. I have often wondered about the nature of this interesting correspondence in my research about presidents. I have been working on Lincoln more or less continuously since I wrote my book *Father Abraham* twenty years ago. My new Lincoln biography *Summoned to Glory: The Audacious Life of Abraham Lincoln* was published in 2020. I have just completed a biography of Eisenhower that will be published in 2023, titled *Ike in Love and War: How Dwight D. Eisenhower Sacrificed Himself to Keep the Peace.* These studies have led me to reflect at great length about these two presidents.

In certain ways, Lincoln and Eisenhower were extraordinarily different: they were great, but in different ways. Lincoln's meteoric rise accompanied his charismatic words and deeds: his House Divided speech, his Cooper Union speech, and then his presidential words (and deeds) like the Emancipation Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, and his eloquent Second Inaugural Address. With Ike, it was different. He could also be charismatic, and he was the greatest American hero of World War II. His role as D-Day commander made him a presidential contender, and his heroic reputation carried him into the White House. But Eisenhower was not known for the kind of oracular speeches that Lincoln gave, and even the best of his speeches—like his address at London's medieval Guildhall after Germany surrendered—fell short of the grandeur that Lincoln attained at his best.

While Ike remained vastly popular as president, his governing style was so low-key that for years detractors were able to pillory him as an out-of-touch duffer who snoozed in the White House and wasted time on the golf course. The ironic truth was that Ike was a masterful president who deliberately kept his intentions hidden. He practiced what political scientist Fred Greenstein would later call the "hidden-hand presidency." Ike's presence in American memory has dwindled while Lincoln has remained iconic. It is only in the past generation that historians have started to grasp the full dimensions of what Eisenhower achieved.

But there were great commonalities between Lincoln and Eisenhower. And their personalities and lives make for interesting comparisons. They possessed very similar *minds* — they were "kindred spirits" despite their differences. Their innate gifts and distinctive patterns of development led to similar objectives and methods. Both possessed architectonic minds that could see the big picture in a flash and relate any part of a problem to the whole. Both were leaders who summoned overwhelming military force — practitioners of total war. Both were masters of deception who were guided by altruistic motives. Both strove to guard free society from the greatest threats that their generations confronted. And they both pursued their objectives through a combination of forthright advocacy and nuanced indirection when political realities dictated incremental methods. Both came from humble origins, and they were never close to their fathers. They had troubled love lives. Their personalities blended charismatic extroversion — with a penchant for mischievous humor — and a profound introversion that drove them to conceal their thoughts and intentions. They were both Republicans and they exemplified what Ike called the "Middle Way": ideological synthesis. But they should never be regarded as "moderates"; they were much too bold for that label. They were dynamic centrists — visionary leaders who sought to shape the emerging future in a decisive manner.

They confronted the fundamental threats to the United States — slavery and disunion in Lincoln's case, and the menace of the Axis powers followed by the threat of nuclear annihilation in the case of Eisenhower — and they forged new alignments of power that were designed to safeguard the nation and its values for a long time. As war leaders, they summoned overpowering force, and they orchestrated the actions of multiple forces to stretch the enemy thin. Such was the "broad front" campaign of Ike after D-Day. And such was the overall Union campaign of 1864 — so often attributed to the conceptions of Grant, but in truth a method that Lincoln had been trying to force upon his generals since 1862. Lincoln and Eisenhower sought to advance new conceptions in warfare, and they supported the development of advanced new weapons systems. They also sought to advance the cause of racial justice, and they did it through measured degrees. Their behind-the-scenes maneuvers were so carefully hidden that many years would elapse before scholars would be able to tease out the brilliant strategic ploys that they used to attain their objectives.

Eisenhower venerated Lincoln. Journalist Evan Thomas has written that while Grant and Lee were Ike's foremost military heroes, "his greatest hero was Abraham Lincoln, the 'master of men' of Ike's favorite biography, by Alonzo Rothschild. In his first year in the White House, Eisenhower had reread the story of how the Civil War president, by guile and patience, had bent to his will some outsized figures. In the small office at the back of Ike's farmhouse at Gettysburg where he went to take secure telephone calls, there was but one picture, a portrait of Lincoln. In the glassed-in porch, on top of the TV set, sat a small bust of Lincoln." Rothschild's biography—*Lincoln, Master of Men*—was published in 1906.

The revolution in Lincoln scholarship that revealed the Machiavellian genius of Lincoln was well under way in Ike's presidential years and it continued in the years leading up

to his death: T. Harry Williams' book *Lincoln and His Generals* appeared in 1952, Don Fehrenbacher's study *Prelude to Greatness* was published in 1962, and Richard Current's superb monograph *Lincoln and the First Shot* hit the shelves in 1963. But the flood tide of this revolution in Lincoln scholarship began after Eisenhower passed away in 1969. LaWanda Cox's extraordinarily revealing exposé *Lincoln and Black Freedom: A Study in Presidential Leadership* was published in 1981. By a pleasant coincidence, Fred Greenstein's seminal study *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader*, rolled off the press a year later.

Abraham Lincoln and Dwight Eisenhower also had a lot in common in their younger years. Lincoln had bad relations with his father Thomas, but he venerated his step-mother Sarah. Ike's relations with his parents were remarkably similar. His father David was taciturn, and he and Ike were never close. But Ike always regarded his mother Ida as the finest person he had ever known. Lincoln and Ike were voracious readers as children. Though both possessed a streak of intellectuality, both were mischievous. Ike was the arch-prankster when he attended West Point, and Lincoln was renowned for his ribald humor and his gifts as a raconteur when he moved to the settlement of New Salem, Illinois, in his twenties.

Both Lincoln and Ike made career choices early. Ike's decision to attend a military academy was in some respects opportunistic — both West Point and the Naval Academy charged no tuition — but his interest in military history correlated well with his decision to become a career soldier. In Lincoln's case, his keen interest in public affairs found a natural outlet: he became a self-taught lawyer and career politician.

Both men were both *innate* politicians. The political instincts of Eisenhower were apparent throughout his years in the military. One of the reasons Franklin Roosevelt selected him as the commander of both Operation TORCH and Operation OVERLORD was his skill in conducting coalition warfare with America's allies. It took brilliant political instincts to accomplish that task. The presidential king-makers were approaching Ike as early as 1943.

Despite their extroversion, both men possessed an introverted side that was haunted by very dark emotions. Lincoln struggled with depression till end of his life, and Ike had to struggle all his life with his terrible temper.

The love lives of both men were tragic, and they both had difficult marriages.

Lincoln's first love was a young woman named Ann Rutledge, whom he met when he lived in New Salem. Their romance was dismissed for many years by historians as a legend, but a wealth of long-neglected evidence has surfaced in the past three decades that confirms the romance beyond a doubt. The untimely death of Ann plunged Lincoln into a deep and clinical depression that recurred for the rest of his life. Lincoln's law partner William Herndon claimed right after Lincoln's death that the loss of Ann made Lincoln incapable of truly loving any other woman: he never got over the loss of Ann. Lincoln's marriage to Mary Todd was beset with tensions. Even so, his wife played a key role in encouraging his presidential ambitions.

Mary Todd Lincoln (OC-0259)

Eisenhower's first love was a girl named Gladys Harding whom he met in high school. Their attraction was passionate. But she hesitated to agree to his marriage proposal because it would mean giving up a very serious musical career to become an Army wife. Ike waited and waited for an answer to his marriage proposal, and the waiting depressed him. He finally gave up and started dating a pretty young woman named Mary — nicknamed "Mamie" — Geneva Doud, whom he met when he was stationed in San Antonio, Texas. He had no way of knowing that Gladys had reached the decision to give it all up for him. When she learned that he was engaged to another woman, she felt such despair that she impulsively married a lackluster suitor, and her marriage would be loveless.

Mamie Eisenhower (LC-USZ62-25814)

Ike's marriage would be troubled. He and Mamie got along very well at first, but the tragic loss of their first child, who died at age three of scarlet fever, cast a pall over their relationship. Ike wrote near the end of his life that he never really got over the loss of the child. There is also good reason to suspect that he never really got over his love for Gladys. Mamie could be cute, but Ike's passion for Gladys was nothing less than ardent. His love letters to her — which her son released after her death — reveal that clearly.

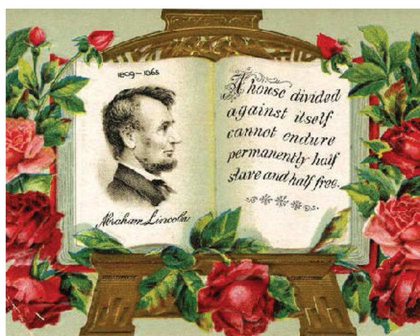
Strains and tensions started undermining Ike and Mamie's relationship. He was stationed for a while in the Panama Canal Zone, and Mamie found herself miserable there. Her misery was justified: their accommodations were wretched, and the hut where they lived was infested with bats, insects, and reptiles. A good deal of evidence suggests that she was pondering divorce. Later, in the 1930s, Ike was stationed in the Philippines, and Mamie refused to come along. He felt angry and betrayed, and this time he was the one to consider divorce.

During World War II he met a former fashion model named Kay Summersby, an Anglo-Irish volunteer in the British Motor Transport Corps. She became his chauffeur and then his all-purpose assistant. Before long, she was his constant companion, and rumors started flying that the two of them were having an affair. Just as Lincoln's romance with Ann Rutledge was dismissed for many years as a myth, Ike's affair with Kay was dismissed by historians for decades. In the course of my own research, I have become convinced that the rumors concerning Ike and Kay were true—so true, in fact, that Ike could be regarded as something of a tragic hero for giving her up. I believe she was the love of his life. Kay gave Eisenhower the *adoration* he had only experienced for a few summer months in 1915 with Gladys Harding. He had been missing out on that kind of raw passion for most of his adult life, and Kay gave it back to him. His sacrifice in giving up Kay must be understood as a fact of fundamental importance in his emotional development.

The contributions of Lincoln and Eisenhower to global history flowed from *ideals*. These ideals can be glimpsed in embryonic form in their early childhoods. But only in middle age would these ideals become volcanic imperatives with the potential to shape world history. Only then would their ambitions intersect great crises that summoned forth the full potential of their personalities. When that happened, their early ideals would define their lives' work—indeed dominate their lives day and night.

Lincoln had a sensitive streak, a deep empathy that prompted him to write an essay denouncing cruelty to animals when he was just a little boy. In early manhood, he was ridiculed by some rough-and-tumble friends when he stopped in the middle of a horseback ride to rescue birds that had fallen from their nest. He had a penchant for interceding on behalf of the powerless—interceding in ways that would empower them. He would *rescue* those who were in peril, those who were oppressed—those who were enslaved.

He loathed the institution of slavery, telling his best friend Joshua Speed that the very thought of it had "the power of making me miserable." But, like Henry Clay and others, Lincoln was convinced for most of his life that the only practical way to rid the country of slavery was to phase it out over time. He had great ambitions, and he sought the satisfactions of short-term political success. But he was also a visionary—and he pondered the long-term contingencies and hazards that might ruin the American experiment. "As a nation of freemen," he proclaimed in 1838, "we must live through all time or die by suicide."



A House Divided (71.2009.083.0975)

As the years rolled by, his career seemed to reach an impasse and then stagnate. He served a term in Congress, and then he found himself at loose ends—an Illinois lawyer with few political prospects. But in 1854, his outrage at the Kansas-Nebraska Act wrought a change in him: he had found his life's work. He would lead the opposition to the spread of slavery and fight the men like Stephen Douglas who promoted it. People commented at the time on his transformation: an Illinois congressman wrote of "the invisible chords of his marvelous power" and the "spell" of his "voice and presence." Another man said that Lincoln's voice had developed "some quality which I can't describe, but which seemed to thrill every fiber of one's body."

Four years later, he delivered his House Divided speech, and by 1860, when he won the Republican presidential nomination, he surpassed all his rivals as the champion of the Free Soil movement. He became a man of destiny. And his rise to greatness had been nothing less than meteoric.

A similar pattern can be seen in the life-trajectory of Dwight Eisenhower. The vision that would make him the victorious commander and the president who would give the world peace took shape in his early childhood. But its full implications would not play out for him until middle age.

Ike's mother was the dominant parent for him, and she was a powerful role model. His father was a sorry disappointment, so Ike went looking for surrogate father figures in his hometown of Abilene, Kansas. He found a series of manly mentors in Abilene who taught him all the manly arts: camping out, playing poker, shooting guns. The target practice merged with his fascination with ancient military history. Recent Abilene history was also a factor in his fascination with becoming a crack shot, for one of

his teachers had been a deputy to Wild Bill Hickok. But there was a problem in all of this for Ike, a big problem: his mother was an ardent pacifist. So he achieved a synthesis that would guide him years later at the height of his powers: he learned to fight, but he would use this knowledge to *keep the peace*.

A generation before Ike was born, Abilene had been the epicenter of the early Wild West, and only lawmen like Hickok had turned the town into a decent place for people like the Eisenhowers to call home. So, Ike would emulate these men. He knew that his interest in gunplay violated his mother's ideals, and yet he would use this knowledge to deliver his mother's fondest wish: *peace.* When fights broke out on the playground at school, the other kids all knew that they could call upon *Ike* to restore order. And so it was that Eisenhower's ideal of becoming a peace-keeper—the peace-keeper of the world, no less—was instilled early.

As with Lincoln, the grand consummation of Ike's early ideal would be delayed until middle age. Like Lincoln, Ike was fiercely ambitious, and because of his powerful mind he began to get noticed by the high command after World War I. Generals Fox Conner, John J. Pershing, and Douglas MacArthur valued him as a man of supreme discretion and a brilliant staff officer. He got some top assignments in the War Department by his early forties. But then, like Lincoln, he found himself sidetracked—at an impasse. He was merely a lieutenant colonel—a battalion commander at Fort Lewis, Washington—on the eve of World War II.

Then he found his life's work in the midst of a national emergency— like Lincoln.

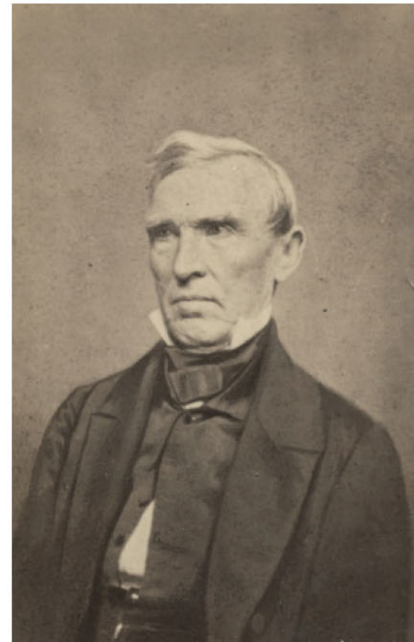
World War II brought spectacular opportunities for talented officers like Ike: swift promotions would be coming their way. And so it was that just a few months after Pearl Harbor Ike became the head of the Army's War Plans division, a top aide to Army Chief of Staff George Marshall, and a key player in the urgent strategic consultations that were taking place among President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and the British and American high commands.

By summer 1942, he was the theater commander in charge of Operation TORCH, the invasion of North Africa. By 1943, he was on the cover of Time magazine, and then FDR chose him to be the Supreme Commander at D-Day. Suddenly, he found himself a man of destiny. When the Germans surrendered, Ike was nothing less than a global hero, a man to whom people looked to keep the peace in the nuclear age. In a hero's welcome speech that he gave in New York City, Ike proclaimed in 1945 that "peace is an absolute necessity in this world." He had proven his skill as a warrior, but he had to prove his skill as a keeper of the peace—as a *guardian*. And the only way to do it was to rise to the presidency.

Both Lincoln and Ike had to call upon their skills as Machiavellian strategists in the White House. And they both made use of deception.

The quintessence of Lincoln's grand deception was to give the impression that saving the Union was his overall objective while the issue of slavery was secondary. But the truth was completely the reverse. It was Lincoln's stand on slavery that *caused* the rupture in the Union. His election was the death knell for slavery. The Republican platform in the presidential election of 1860 promised to halt its expansion. No more slave states would ever be created if Lincoln and the Republicans had their way. That meant that the existing bloc of slave states would be greatly out-numbered as more and more free states entered the Union. When a free-state majority reached three quarters, an anti-slavery constitutional amendment could be ratified. And that was exactly how slavery would be brought to an end by the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865.

The leaders of the slave states foresaw this. So as soon as Lincoln was elected president, the secession movement began. A frantic attempt would be made in the lame-duck Congress to halt it with a constitutional compromise to permit the continued extension of slavery. This was known as the Crittenden Compromise. Lincoln shot it down—but since he killed the compromise in *secret*, the public never knew. In letters marked "private and confidential," he told Republican leaders to destroy the Crittenden Compromise. "Hold on as with a chain of steel," he wrote. These facts must be distinctly understood to grasp the nature of the Lincoln *myth*—a myth that *he created himself.*



John Crittenden (LN-0477)

In August, 1862, he wrote his famous open letter to the editor Horace Greeley proclaiming that "my paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery.

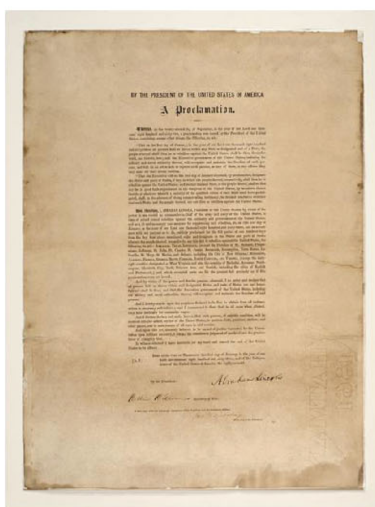
If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all of the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that." Americans are fooled by that letter to this very day. It was a brilliant trick—a deception. If Lincoln's paramount object were to save the Union, why did he destroy the Crittenden Compromise? He should have backed it energetically.

But he didn't.

The Union would not have been placed in jeopardy in the first place if it were not for Lincoln's stand on slavery. It was his non-negotiable objective of halting the expansion of slavery that triggered secession. And he responded to secession with vigor. He fought to preserve the Union, yes, but consider the flip side of that proposition: in "saving the Union," he was also *destroying the new slave-holding nation* that secessionists were trying to create. He would smash that new slave-holding nation—the Confederacy—like a snake in its egg. Most Americans had no idea at the time that Lincoln had destroyed the Crittenden Compromise because he did it in secret, so his letter to the editor sounded convincing. Moreover, he wrote the letter in part to *pave the way for his Emancipation Proclamation*—already written in secret—by getting northern voters used to the idea that to save the Union *he might have to start freeing some slaves.*

As he urged his generals to fight total war, he expanded the aims of the war to promote the empowerment of Black Americans, and he was doing that in secret as well. As his troops took over Confederate states in 1863, Lincoln told his commanders to get Unionists in those states to redraft their state constitutions in order to *turn them into free states*. He made it clear that his own role in the process would be kept carefully hidden, to preserve deniability. It was only the scholarship of LaWanda Cox that began to reveal this remarkable story in 1981.

Lincoln has gone down in history as the author of the "Ten Percent Plan," the supposedly "lenient" Reconstruction plan that would give a mere ten percent of the voters in rebel states the power of home rule once they had taken oaths of loyalty to the Union as well as to the Emancipation Proclamation. Lenient? It was quite the reverse: it was a pushy and high-handed scheme to force emancipation down the throats of pro-slavery majorities in southern rebel states. *It was a trick.* And the key was the oath to support the *Emancipation Proclamation*. Southern whites who wanted amnesty and the right to vote would have to do *more* than just swear an oath to the *Union*. They would also have to swear an oath to support the Emancipation Proclamation.



Emancipation Proclamation, Leland-Boker Edition (71.2009.083.0001)

The gist of it all came down to the following fact: *only anti-slavery whites would be allowed to vote*. If you could not take an oath on the holy Bible to support emancipation, you were not allowed to vote. In other words, only anti-slavery whites would be voting, and it would not take many of them—only ten percent of the state's population—to overpower the wishes of a ninety percent pro-slavery majority. Then the ten percent could go on to draft and ratify a new state constitution abolishing slavery forever. Lincoln's mastery of illusion—his ability to hide secret actions and to make his policies appear *the reverse* of what they were—was a demonstration of true Machiavellian genius. The presidency of Dwight Eisenhower was suffused with the very same genius.

After Ike left the presidency, he consented to some televised interviews with Walter Cronkite. When Cronkite asked him to name his best presidential achievement, Ike said that it was giving the American people serenity. And to do that, he used a deception.

Since he had always been consumed with inner rage—since he had always had a terrible temper—he had to appear to be relaxed when he really wasn't. He had to pretend to be the opposite of what he was. He had to project a sunny and relaxed personality, when behind the scenes he was an angry and impatient executive with a razor-sharp mind: an iron-willed commander who did not suffer fools gladly. To achieve the self-control that was needed to create this illusion, he developed a secret routine. He created a White House ritual that everybody understood: presidential aides could be summoned to the Oval Office at any time, and their job was to stand there and listen in silence while he cursed a blue streak. Ike grinned from ear to ear as he explained this method to Cronkite.

Ike's aim in his presidential years was to create good feelings while making tough-as-nails decisions to prevent World War III. He was careful to leave no traces when it came to his most secret programs. Indeed, the only way that we know about some of these programs is through oral history interviews conducted by historians. One of these historians, R. Cargill Hall, was the chief historian for the National Reconnaissance Office, an agency so

secret that its very name was kept secret for years.

Ike gave the American people a decade of peace and security, a guardianship that only he and a small inner circle could comprehend. He also pioneered an ethos in government that would serve the nation well for many years. When asked by a journalist after leaving the presidency to summarize his best presidential achievement, Ike had this to say: "The United States never lost a soldier or a foot of ground in my administration . . . . People ask how it happened—by God, it didn't just happen, I'll tell you that."

When Eisenhower ran for the presidency in 1952, the United States was fraught with hysteria. Demagogues like Joseph McCarthy had convinced huge numbers of Americans that their government was infested with traitors. Americans were fearful, angry, and prepared to retreat into isolationism—the kind of isolationism that prevailed before World War II. World War I had been sold a generation earlier as the "war to end war," and of course it was no such thing. World War II, in the minds of many people, was the war that was supposed to "finish the job"—but it didn't.

Only five years after the defeat of the Axis, American soldiers were fighting in Korea, and many concluded that only one thing—a *betrayal*—could explain this state of affairs. When Eisenhower ran for the Republican nomination, he had to defeat an unrepentant isolationist, Senator Robert Taft. Ike ended the unwinnable war in Korea, and he built up a strategy of nuclear deterrence to prevent war from breaking out elsewhere. It was all done quietly, methodically, behind the scenes—*in secret.*
Within a few years, he created such an age of good feelings that Americans were *proud* of the fact that their country was taking its place in the world as a permanent superpower. They were proud of the fact that their nation was "the leader of the free world." And to keep the United States a super-power in economic terms—while preventing another depression—Ike launched the greatest public works project in American history, the Interstate Highway System. In this case, he acted in the open—and yet this epochal project was launched with minimal fanfare. Here was a project that FDR would have envied, but how many Americans today remember—or even know—that Ike created it?

Quietly, systematically, he worked behind the scenes to reduce the tension in American life while promoting social change with his "hidden-hand" methods. He engineered the downfall of Joseph McCarthy through hidden maneuvers. He nominated Earl Warren as chief justice of the Supreme Court, knowing perfectly well that he favored public school integration. Then he followed up by packing the courts with integrationist judges to make certain that the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision would be enforced. And in deepest secrecy, he gave orders to develop the capacity for space-based reconnaissance.

Ike was a visionary: he developed in secret a vast array of programs to protect Americans, while building the country's prosperity, cohesion, and power.

President Lincoln on Battlefield of Antietam (OC-1522)

General Dwight D. Eisenhower gives the order of the day (LC-USZ62-25600)

All the while he gave the misleading impression that his own life was totally relaxed. He could create the impression that his mind was so completely relaxed that his thinking was imprecise and fuzzy. He would even go so far at certain times as to play the fool—he would put on an act at his own expense—to achieve deception. On one occasion, his press secretary James Hagerty warned him that a dangerous question might be coming his way at an upcoming press conference. Ike smiled at him and said, "Don't worry, Jim, I'll just confuse them." His answer at the press conference was a masterpiece of comic circumlocution, a rambling rumination that was almost incoherent. It was all quite deliberate: an evasion to preserve his maneuvering room. Who else would diminish his own reputation to achieve his policy goals? Who else? Only Lincoln.

On January 20, 1862, abolitionists called upon Lincoln at the White House. They urged him to expand the aims of the war in a manner that would strike down slavery. Lincoln encouraged them. And to work with them in a synergistic manner, he told them to whip up public sentiment—*against himself*. "You can go home and try to bring the people to your views," Lincoln told his guests, "and you may say anything you like about me, if that will help. Don't spare me!" In other words, Lincoln told his allies to trash his own reputation—to accuse him of being slow, dull-witted, and uninspired—to increase public pressure in a way that would justify the stronger measures he was planning. Like Ike, Lincoln was prepared to sacrifice his own reputation to create more maneuvering room and more leverage.

In these two men, we see a fascinating historical accomplishment: ambition brilliantly sublimated into self-sacrifice. There was more—much more—to their achievements than meets the eye, much more than most Americans know. We can only hope that their legacy will help to redeem our troubled land and create a better future for us all. Let us pray that it will.

Richard Striner is the author of over a dozen books. His new book on Eisenhower—*Ike in Love and War: How Dwight D. Eisenhower Sacrificed Himself to Keep the Peace*—will be published in October, 2023.

This paper was presented as the 39th Annual Abraham Lincoln Lecture at Louisiana State University/Shreveport on October 22, 2022.

The Lincoln Tomb (ZPC-263)

Robert L. Dean's eleven-foot-high bronze statue of Dwight D. Eisenhower stands at the "Champion of Peace Circle" (LC-DIG-highsm- 67172)

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