

Part 6: Introduction to the Lincoln Memorial

Background. The Lincoln Memorial is a tribute to President Abraham Lincoln and the nation he fought to preserve during the Civil War (1861-1865). Our nation's bloodiest conflict followed the secession of southern states and represented the supreme test of the durability of the Union created by the founding fathers. Lincoln's stewardship of the Union cause contributed to the final victory of the Union and the abolishment of slavery in the United States. These victories earned him the sobriquet "Savior of the Union." Lincoln was assassinated while attending a play at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C. For many he then became a martyr to the causes of union, emancipation, and equality.

At this shrine to our 16th President, Park Rangers will encounter a wide range of visitors, from those simply seeking a photo opportunity or a clean restroom to those enamoured with Lincoln and his legacy. This site is still one of the favorites--the grand architecture, art, and vistas will inspire many visitors. Rangers will have ample opportunities to apply their interpretive and resource protection skills. In addition to being one of the National Mall's most highly visited

sites, it is one of the most popular locations for 1st Amendment gatherings and special use permits. The Memorial has significant visitor safety challenges due to its steep and often-slick steps, the inviting slide-like shapes along the stairs, and the high walls around its base.

Daily and Standing Operating Procedures for Duty at the Lincoln Memorial. When you report for duty at the Lincoln Memorial, you will accomplish the routine tasks associated with opening or operating any of our sites such as:

- **Opening/ Beginning-of-Shift Procedures.** Rangers generally report to the small, portable, capsule-like contact station in the statuary chamber. Once on site, Rangers should:
 - Make contact with any other NPS staff to discern if there are any special details or problems at the site.
 - Inventory contact station supplies (shift logbook, brochures, first-aid kit, maps, lost and found items, and a small fan or heater.
 - Annotate appropriate opening or closing entries in the shift logbook.
 - Perform the Resource Protection inspection and complete the checklist. Areas of special interest in the Lincoln Memorial include:
 - Lobby. Open/ inspect condition.
 - Bathrooms. Open/ inspect condition.
 - Check status of elevator. The elevator is subject to overheating in summer and malfunctioning in winter if the hydraulic fluids are too cold.
- **Operating Procedures.** During the course of your shift, you will:

- Conduct scheduled visitor (Denver) counts.
- Performing scheduled interpretive programs/ talks. The talk sign is generally stored in the second floor foyer near the elevator entrance.
- Performing routine Visitor Service Functions.
- Monitor Special Use Permits.
- Monitor parking areas for problems.
- **Closing Procedures.** At the end of evening shifts, Rangers must secure all appropriate doors, turn off interior lobby lights and video power (located in cleaning closet to south of ladies bathroom) and lock up all NPS equipment.
- **Special Equipment.**
 - Elevator. In the event of an elevator problem, notify your Lead Ranger and Survey Lodge. If people are trapped inside, attempt to contact and reassure them. Determine if anyone has a medical condition or injury. Advise Emergency Services and US Park Police if necessary. If advised, enter the elevator control room to south of elevator, through the door adjacent to the aerial photo of the Reflecting Pool and Lincoln Memorial. If advised by a Supervisory Ranger, locate the elevator keys (normally in the Ranger break room or contact station), bring elevator car to ground floor, and evacuate. Post "Out of Order" signs as appropriate.
 - Video. Occasionally, the video player will not run. Apparently, the motion sensors do not always detect the presence of a visitor, particularly if nobody has entered the area for an

extended period of time. To rectify this problem, enter the cleaning closet to left of ladies bathroom and turn off the "Video" power switch. After a moment, turn the power switch back on. Return to the video display. It should display a message that indicates the video will begin momentarily. If you experience further problems, indicate the nature of the problem on the Resource Protection checklist and notify a Supervisor at Survey Lodge.

Twenty Most Frequently Asked Questions.

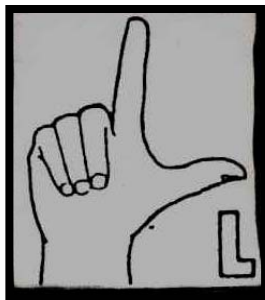
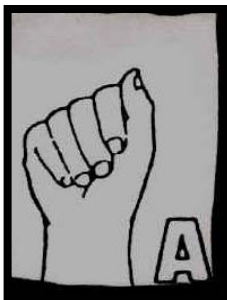
Visitor Service Questions:

- 1) **Where are the nearest bathrooms?** In the lower lobby. If closed, the closest are to the east near the DC War Memorial.
- 2) **Where are the nearest pay phones?** Near the refreshment trailer to the south along Daniel French Drive.
- 3) **Where can I buy a camera or film?** At the souvenir kiosk along Daniel French Drive, to the south.
- 4) **Where is the nearest Metro?** Foggy Bottom station, 8 blocks (.6 miles) to the north at 23rd Street and I street.
- 5) **Where can I find food?** At the refreshment trailer along Daniel Chester French Drive to the south, or at restaurants: 23rd and E, Washington Circle, Watergate area (VA Ave and H St.), many restaurants along Pennsylvania Ave between 21st and 18th Streets. Visitors can find **Grocery Stores** at 21st St. and F and in Washington Circle.

Historical or Cultural Questions:

- 6) **Where is Lincoln buried?** Not in this Memorial—in Springfield, Illinois.

- 7) **How tall is the statue?** 19 feet, 28 feet if he were standing.
- 8) **What number President was he?** 16th, preceded by James Buchanan, and succeeded by Andrew Johnson.
- 9) **Is there any significance to the number of steps in front of the Memorial?** No, unlike the 36 exterior columns around the memorial which represent the 36 states in the Union when Lincoln was President. Most visitors count 58 steps, but Henry Bacon meant nothing by that number...Lincoln was 56 when assassinated.
- 10) **Who designed the Memorial?** Henry Bacon designed the building in collaboration with Daniel Chester French who sculpted the statue and Jules Guerin who painted the murals "Reunion" and "Emancipation".
- 11) **Is it true that the hands of Lincoln's statue symbolize the American Sign Language Letters for "A" and "L"?** No. French sculpted the hands to signify Lincoln's determination and compassion.



In 1889, French did compose a sculpture of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet and his neighbor's daughter, Alice Cogswell communicating via sign language- a piece that still stands on the campus of Gallaudet University here in D.C.- but the sculptor used no such device here. French did want his statue of Lincoln to convey Lincoln's confidence and strength, both mental and

physical. The sculptor paid particular attention to Lincoln's hands and face to achieve the desired effects.



- 12) **Is it true that French carved Robert E. Lee's face in the back of the Lincoln statue?** No, there is no evidence to support this. It is improbable that an artist would remember the man who preserved the Union by carving the face of a Confederate leader into the statue.
- 13) **Can we still visit the cave or crypt below the Memorial?** No the basement or sub-structure was closed to visitors out of concern for their safety and to make room for the updated 1st Amendment exhibit area.
- 14) **Who did the paintings?** Jules Guerin, from St. Louis, Missouri.
- 15) **Where did Martin Luther King, Jr. stand?** Dr. King delivered his famous speech from the granite landing just below the white marble steps.

Questions about Adjacent Sites:

- 16) **How far to the Capitol Building?** 2 miles, or 45-60 minutes.
- 17) **How far to the FDR Memorial?** .6 miles, about 15-20 minutes, from Daniel Chester French to Independence, to West Basin Drive.
- 18) **How far to Arlington National Cemetery?** .75 miles to Arlington Cemetery Metro Station, 1.25 miles to Arlington Cemetery Visitor's Center, 1.6 miles to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.
- 19) **How far to the Jefferson Memorial?** .9 miles or 25-30 minutes via Independence Ave, West Basin Drive, and Tidal Basin sidewalk.
- 20) **How big is the Reflecting Pool?** 2082 feet by 160 feet, with a distance around it of .85 miles. Pool is 3 feet deep.

Description of the Cultural Resource. The Lincoln Memorial sits at the west end of the Mall--that great sweep of grass, trees, and water that extends to the Capitol on the east, a distance of more than 2 miles. The appearance is of a grand design that was carefully planned and patiently executed. The building sits on a rectangular platform, surrounded by boxwood and holly trees and approached by five flights of stairs from the east. It dominates its setting but does not overwhelm it; it is an inspired adaptation.

Origins of the Memorial. In order to understand the positioning of the Lincoln Memorial, one must understand the basic history of the western end of the National Mall. In the great scheme for the city, Pierre L'Enfant had included plans for a "grand avenue" stretching west from the Capitol to a

large equestrian statue of George Washington that he envisioned south of the White House.

Despite those early designs, city planners made little progress on real construction or development of the area we know as the mall until work commenced on the tribute to Washington in 1848. Even as work commenced on the Washington Monument, few officials agreed upon what the Mall should look like or even if it should be built according to L'Enfant's original plan. In the mid-19th century, the shoreline of the Potomac River roughly followed the current trace of Constitution Avenue (originally B Street) and 17th Street, just west of the Washington Monument, and then along the east side of the Tidal Basin. Thus, the future site of the Lincoln Memorial was underwater during Lincoln's time.

Reclaiming the land from the Potomac River. The area of the Lincoln Memorial was created between 1875 and 1892 when the Army Corps of Engineers initiated several projects to reclaim the "Potomac Flats" area around the old Long Bridge (14th Street Bridge site) and deepen the Potomac River through dredging operations. Almost as a by-product, these engineering feats extended the western end of L'Enfant's grand avenue nearly one mile to the west of the Washington Monument.

The first recommendations for a tribute to the President. The first calls for a memorial to Abraham Lincoln came just ten days after his assassination. The Washington, D.C. City Council voted to form the Lincoln National Monument Association, and in 1868, they placed a statue of Lincoln by artist Lot Flannery in front of the then City Hall, now the US Court House in Judiciary Square.

Congressional Resolutions. In 1867, and apparently oblivious to the D.C. City Council efforts, Congress incorporated the creation of a

Lincoln Monument Association as they believed a national tribute was still lacking. The group initiated fund raising efforts and sculptor Clark Mills prepared an initial design. Despite early successes, the Association made no significant progress on a tribute to the fallen leader as the nineteenth century closed.

The idea of a tribute to Lincoln resurfaced in the 20th century. US Senator Shelby Cullom (Illinois) lobbied for enactment of a Lincoln Memorial bill for many years before, finally, on June 28, 1902, the President approved the creation of a commission "to secure plans and designs for a memorial" to President Lincoln. The commission was ineffective and slow, meeting first on April 24, 1904, when they elected Senator Wetmore as Chairman of the Commission. With a \$25,000 appropriation, the group resolved to travel abroad to study monuments and memorials.

Upon completion of this tour, the members were to submit a final report by December 1, 1905. The Chairman finally issued his report on January 16, 1909. It appears that the commission achieved nothing beyond that report.

As the Lincoln Memorial Commission was floundering, the Senate Parks Commission (a.k.a. McMillan Commission) in 1902 proposed returning to L'Enfant's original plan of establishing an unbroken lawn that stretched west from the Capitol and embraced the Washington Monument. Because the Potomac Flats had been drained and filled in the last years of the 19th century, the commissioners proposed extending the Mall to the new Potomac shoreline. At this new western terminus, the Senate Parks Commission (a.k.a. McMillan Commission) proposed to anchor the Mall with a monument of great significance.

They proposed a national memorial honoring Abraham Lincoln. "Crowning the round point,

as the Arc de Triumphe crowns the Place de l'Etoile at Paris, should stand a memorial erected to the memory of that one man in our history as a Nation who is worthy to be named with George Washington".

The Commission report went on to state "the type which the Commission has in mind is a great portico of Doric columns, rising from an unbroken stylobate (a continuous pavement that supports columns). This portico, while affording a point of vantage from which one obtains a commanding outlook, both upon the river and eastward to the Capitol, has for its chief function to support a panel bearing an inscription taken either from the Gettysburg speech or from some one of the immortal messages of the Savior of the Union."

In their proposal, the commissioners also recommended clearing the Mall of all obstructions, establishing a building line beyond which structures could not intrude, and the planting of four rows of American elms on each side of the great avenue.

Despite its 1909 official report, the Lincoln Memorial Commission of 1902 was losing focus and Congressional support. The merits of the idea for a memorial to Abraham Lincoln were never questioned, but for years, politicians and constituents alike argued over the style, form, and location of a tribute to the "Great Emancipator".

Congressman James McCleary of Minnesota spent almost five years studying the issue. In a magazine article, he concluded that the most appropriate memorial would be a highway from Washington, D.C., to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, embellished with patriotic memorials and statues erected at suitable intervals by the states.

Others saw the plaza in front of the new Union Station as an ideal location for a statue or other

appropriate memorial. Congressman Joseph Cannon, sometimes Speaker of the House, pushed for a memorial either at the U.S. Soldiers Home or at Arlington Cemetery. He steadfastly opposed the West Potomac Park site chosen by the Senate Parks Commission (a.k.a. McMillan Commission) in 1902 and endorsed by the Commission of Fine Arts.

To speed a decision, Congress created another Lincoln Memorial Commission on February 9, 1911, and empowered it to select a site. Unlike earlier bills, this one appropriated \$2,000,000 and made the Memorial a government sponsored and funded project.

The new Lincoln Memorial Commission held its first meeting at the White House on March 4, 1911. They elected President William Howard Taft as Commission Chairman. The group asked the newly formed Fine Arts Commission to recommend a site for the Lincoln Memorial from the following list of proposed sites:

- Along Delaware Avenue between the Capitol and Union Station.
- Along Louisiana Avenue between the Peace Monument and Union Station.
- A site within the area proposed for the enlargement of the Capitol grounds.
- The Potomac Park site at the west end of the Mall, as proposed by the Senate Parks Commission (a.k.a. McMillan Commission).
- Any other site deemed suitable by the Fine Arts Commission.

On July 17, 1911, the Commission of Fine Arts unanimously endorsed the Potomac Park site at the west end of the National Mall. In addition to the sites proposed by the Lincoln Memorial Commission, the Fine Arts Commission considered grounds around

Meridian Hill and Ft. Stevens for a tribute to Lincoln. They also debated the idea of building a memorial bridge across the Potomac in honor of Lincoln, but in the end, voted for the Potomac Park location.

Even with the Fine Arts Commission blessing, the Lincoln Memorial Commission continued to debate. One member, Joseph Cannon, so hated the Potomac Park site because of its swampy appearance that he vowed that no memorial to Lincoln would be built in that place "as long as he lived." Cannon urged the Commission to consider other sites, including within Arlington National Cemetery, on the grounds of the Soldier's Home, and the grounds of the old Naval Observatory.

To help them decide upon the Memorial site, the Commissioners asked two architects to prepare designs for some of the locations they were considering. There is no record that explains why the Commission only solicited Henry Bacon and John Russell Pope for memorial designs. The Commission asked Bacon to prepare plans for a memorial at the west end of the Mall. A few weeks later, the Commission asked Pope to submit designs for the Meridian Hill (16th Street, north of Florida Ave) and Soldier's Home (north Capitol Street axis) sites. The Arlington site was not considered at the recommendation of the Fine Arts Commission. The Memorial Commission viewed the two architects' proposals in December 1911, which were then put on public display in the National Museum.

By a majority vote on February 3, 1912, the Lincoln Memorial Commission adopted the Potomac Park site as the location for the memorial.

Design Competition. Once they agreed upon the site for the Lincoln Memorial, the Lincoln Memorial Commission requested that Bacon and Pope submit designs for a memorial on the Potomac Park grounds. John Russell Pope

submitted several designs, mainly modifications of designs he had submitted for the other potential memorial sites. Although he had already submitted several designs for this site, Henry Bacon created new designs, including the Parthenon-like edifice as well as an open-air colonnade and a circular structure, all in neoclassical style of the American Renaissance.

Design Approval. On April 14, 1912, the Commission selected Henry Bacon as the architect to prepare the final memorial design. After further revision following suggestions by the Fine Arts and Lincoln Memorial Commissions, Bacon's first design was adopted by the Memorial Commission at its July 3, 1912 meeting. The proposed site and design were then submitted to Congress.

The Commission report advocated the Potomac Park site in order to give the Memorial "complete and undisputed domination over a large area, together with a certain dignified isolation..." After some further design refinements, Congress approved the Memorial Commission's proposed design and site on February 1, 1913.

The Winning Design and Designer. Bacon was an admirer of Greek architecture and purposefully sought to employ this idiom whenever he could. He took liberties with the form and adapted it to suit the occasion. In the Lincoln Memorial he turned the classic Greek temple building to its side. He thereby created an effective terminus to the Mall, presenting its longest side at right angles to the Mall. He also relocated the entrance from the short end of the building to the longer side.

Moreover, Bacon's design was intended to blend architecture, art, and literary into one grand work. Bacon stated that the Memorial must consist of four features "- a statue of the man, a memorial of his Gettysburg speech, a memorial of his second inaugural address, and

a symbol of the Union of the United States, which he stated it was his paramount objective to save--and which he did save."

The Four Features of Bacon's Design. In his proposal to the Commission, Bacon stated his goals for each feature:

- **Feature One: The statue.**

The most important object is the statue of Lincoln, which is placed in the center of the memorial, and by virtue of its imposing position in the place of honor, the gentleness, power, and intelligence of the man, expressed as far as possible by the sculptor's art, will predominate.

Bacon designed the interior of the Lincoln Memorial to protect the statue of Lincoln, provide favorable viewing conditions for the statue and promote a contemplative atmosphere. His Report on Designs for Lincoln Memorial on Potomac River Site, March 22, 1912 (National Archives) described his plan for the statue:

The power of impression by an object of reverence and honor is greatest when it is secluded and isolated, for then, in quiet and without distraction of the senses or mind, the beholder is alone with the lesson the object is designed to teach and inspire, and will be subject to its meaning.

This principle of seclusion is an old one. At the height of achievement in Greece was found the Athena in the Parthenon and one of the seven wonders of the world was placed within the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

By having the statue [of Lincoln] sheltered and secluded within a hall the lighting can be so arranged that it will be constant, the statue can be sculpted in marble, and it can be seen at all times to the best advantage....Enshrined as a precious

object, the statue would always be seen under ideal conditions and its effectiveness would be superlative.

- **Features Two and Three: The Inscriptions of Lincoln's Speeches.**

Bacon explained his desire to display Lincoln's own words:

These speeches would be shown in bronze letters arranged on a monumental tablet, and adjacent low reliefs or decoration would relate in allegory Lincoln's great qualities evident in those speeches. While these memorials can be seen from any part of the hall, they are partially screened from the central portion, where the statue is placed, by means of a row of Ionic columns, giving a certain isolation to the space they occupy and augmenting thereby their importance. I believe these two great speeches made by Lincoln will always have a far greater meaning to the citizens of the United States and visitors from other countries than a portrayal of periods or events by means of decorations.

- **The Fourth Feature: Symbol of the Union.** Bacon described "A colonnade forming a symbol of the union, each column representing a State--36 in all--for each State existing at the time of Lincoln's death, and on the walls appearing above the colonnade and supported at intervals by eagles are 48 memorial festoons, one for each State existing" at the time of the Memorial's dedication in 1922. Alaska and Hawaii are represented with a plaque on the front steps.

Bacon described this ideal of union:

I believe this symbol representing the union surrounding the memorials of the man who saved the union will give to them a great significance that will strengthen in

the hearts of the beholders the feelings of reverence and honor for the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

In addition to the four stated elements, Bacon saw the need for supporting artwork. As to the murals by Guerin, Bacon stated "I think, however, some reliefs and decoration designed in conjunction with these memorials and representing in allegory Lincoln's qualities, such as charity, patience, intelligence, patriotism, devotion to high ideals, and humaneness, will emphasize the effect of the speeches."

Moreover, the ceiling is a significant architectural element contributing to the overall quality of the memorial. In design, material, and execution it was intended to support the other elements with its monumentality and richness of materials. Bacon wrote to the Lincoln Memorial Commission in December 1911 that the ceiling should be composed of "massive beams gilded, colored and lacquered." The sunlight entering the statuary chamber is softened and filtered by the translucent marble panels, thus contributing to the seclusion and isolation desired by Bacon.

Architect's Ideas, Intent, and Theme.

Architect Henry Bacon modeled his design for the Lincoln Memorial after the Greek Parthenon, built in honor of Athena, the Greek goddess of Wisdom.



Because he submitted other designs not modeled after the Parthenon, it can be assumed that Bacon did not intentionally wish to convey any symbolic links between the goddess of Wisdom and Lincoln--Bacon simply saw the Parthenon as a strong example of classical design, which he admired.

Artwork in the Memorial.

The Lincoln Statue.

With the work on the Lincoln Memorial building well underway, the commission turned to the task of selecting a sculptor. Daniel Chester French (1850-1931) was acknowledged to be the leading American sculptor at the time, and he had worked often with Bacon. For those reasons he was asked, on December 18, 1914, to sculpt the statue of Lincoln.



French resigned his position as Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts because that

body would ultimately have to approve the design for the statue of Lincoln. His new contract stipulated that French produce a statue 10 feet high. Bacon and French worked together to determine the form which would work best in the context of the space within the building.

From the beginning, French and Bacon believed a seated figure would be best suited for the memorial chamber, with the statue of Lincoln poised at the back of the chamber in the place of honor facing the Washington Monument. By June 1915, the basic design of the statue was formed with the completion of French's "sketch," or first model. The next working model determined the position of the hands and feet as well as the addition of the United States flag to the back of the chair. In April 1916, the model was ready for inspection by the Commission of Fine Arts. The following month, the model was approved.

That summer, French started the project of creating a larger seven-foot model. This model was the first step to determine the exact features and posture of the finished statue. French renewed his study of Lincoln's features from photographs.

French studied in great detail copies of a life mask and plaster hand casts made in 1860 by sculptor Leonard Volk. Leonard Volk (1818-1895) met Lincoln in 1858 during the Lincoln-Douglas debates. In March, 1860, at his Chicago studio, Volk made measurements of Lincoln's head and upper torso.

He also made a plaster impression, or life mask, of Lincoln's face. The result was a sculptured bust of the future president. That May, Volk journeyed to Springfield, Illinois, to present Mrs. Lincoln with a copy of the bust. At the same time, Lincoln received his presidential nomination. Several days later, Volk made plaster castings of Lincoln's hands.

Lincoln's right hand was swollen from congratulatory hand-shaking.

The life mask and casts would aid future artists in the study of Lincoln's features. By having these castings, French learned some physical details of Lincoln's hands not generally found in photographs. French used the Volk castings for reference in physical features, while he cast his own hands in plaster for reference in pose.

By October 1916, the seven-foot model was completed. An even larger, fourth model was brought and placed in the memorial in April 1917. Henry Bacon, the memorial's architect, was present and later wrote the model "...was too small; and after experimenting with enlarged photos of the statue, of varying sizes, it was determined that the statue would be nineteen feet high."

French generally sent his work to Italy where stone cutters would carve it into marble. In the 1890s, the Piccirilli family immigrated to New York. They became French's primary marble cutters, and would be involved in most of French's marble works. The Piccirilli family estimated the cost of a statue this size to be \$46,000, and the enlarged pedestal another \$15,000. This surpassed an earlier estimate of \$18,000 for a ten-foot statue made from several types of marble.

Even though the Lincoln Memorial Commission had not yet decided on the size of the statue, French went ahead and created a full-scale plaster head. Shortly after, the Lincoln Memorial Commission approved the increased size.

In the fall of 1918, the cutting of the Georgia White marble began. No single block of flawless marble could be found for such a colossal statue. As finished, the figure is composed of 28 blocks of white Georgia

marble, joined together so precisely that the seams are barely visible.

The pieces were finished in November 1919 and in the following months, the statue was assembled in the memorial. This was the first time all 28 pieces were assembled together. French worked on the statue during this time putting on the finishing touches, and by May 1920 he reported, "The Lincoln statue, with its pedestal, is an accomplished fact."

Bacon and French had both hoped that the memorial would not need artificial lighting. But when it was finished they both realized that the figure of Lincoln sat in a deep shadow and was subject to great extremes in the normal weather variations that ranged from bright sunlight to overcast days.

French spent the next six years working to achieve the best lighting for the statue. He felt the statue was best lit from above. Careful planning by Bacon and French and the General Electric Company produced a lighting scheme that enhanced the building and the figure, showing fully the skill of the architect and of the sculptor. To achieve this, they removed several marble ceiling panels and in 1926 installed an acceptable lighting system. With this lighting design, visitors today see the statue as French envisioned it.

Symbols within the Lincoln Statue. As Bacon stated in his proposal to the memorial commission, he considered the statue to be the most important element within the memorial. He wanted a sculptor to capture Lincoln's "**gentleness, power, and intelligence**". Bacon relayed these desires to sculptor and friend Daniel Chester French.

In the following letter from Daniel Chester French to Charles Moore, Esq., Lincoln Memorial Commission, May 13, 1922, we

gain some insight into what the sculptor believed he captured in the stone:

What I wanted to convey was the mental and physical strength of the great war President and his confidence in his ability to carry the thing through to a successful finish. If any of this "gets over", I think it is probably as much due to the whole pose of the figure and particularly to the action of the hands as to the expression of the face.

Particularly in the expression on the statue's face, we see what French wanted to depict Lincoln as: a "war president". On his troubled brow and in his rugged features we see the physical manifestations of the sorrows born of a civil war in which fellow-countrymen kill one another.

As shown in the adjacent picture, Lincoln sits in a chair of the type reserved for the most honored dignitaries of ancient Rome: a curule chair. Modified fasces (bundles of sticks bound together with leather straps) adorn the seat. These fasces, like the curule chair, are classical symbols of authority, having been carried by magistrates in the Roman Republic, before the Empire. Fasces normally consist of rods bundled about an ax, as carved in the granite walls along the Memorial steps.

The statue is filled with elements and symbology. French sculpted the clenched left hand to suggest the president's determination to preserve the Union. The relaxed right hand conveys his gentleness and compassion as a human being. The United States flag adorns the chair, and Lincoln stoically sits in front of it.

The Inscriptions. Inscriptions located in the chamber of the memorial dominate the north, south and west walls.



Above the Statue. Royal Cortissoz, an art critic and long-time friend of Henry Bacon provided the words that now grace the space above the statue:

IN THIS TEMPLE

AS IN THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE FOR

WHOM HE SAVED THE UNION

THE MEMORY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN IS

ENSHRINED FOREVER

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

This touching speech of 19 November, 1863 is carved on the south wall:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us--that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion--that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

In November, 1863, Lincoln was invited to speak at the dedication of the National Cemetery in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. In July 1863, Gettysburg was the site of a major battle in which there were approximately 60,000 casualties.

The following extract from the Library of Congress web page describes how Lincoln came to speak at the cemetery and a possible motive:

On November 2, 1863, several months after the battle of Gettysburg, David Wills invited President Lincoln to make a "few appropriate remarks" at the consecration of a cemetery for the Union war dead. In early July, Pennsylvania governor Andrew Curtin had charged Wills, a successful local citizen and judge, with cleaning up the horrible aftermath of the battle: wounded soldiers crammed into every available building, and thousands of swollen dead strewn among hundreds of bloated dead horses.

With the approval of the governor and the eighteen states whose sons were among the dead, Wills quickly acquired seventeen acres for the national cemetery and had the Germantown landscape architect, William Saunders, draw up a plan. Burial began not long after. On September 23, Wills invited the venerable Edward Everett, the nation's foremost rhetorician, to give an oration at the dedication ceremony planned for October 23. Everett accepted, but, needing more time to prepare, persuaded Wills to postpone the ceremony to November 19.

Although Wills wrote his invitation to Lincoln only three weeks prior to the dedication -- prompting speculation among historians about his and Governor Curtin's motivations -- there is evidence that Lincoln was fully apprised of the affair in early October. Further, Wills's invitation

included a warm welcome to the president to stay at his house, along with Everett and Curtin.

Lincoln accepted the invitation, probably viewing it as an appropriate time to honor all those who had given their lives in the Civil War. He may also have seen the dedication as an opportunity to reveal his evolving thinking about the War, as a fight not only to save the Union, but also to establish freedom and equality for all under the law.

The keynote speaker, orator, statesman, academic, and former Presidential candidate Edward Everett later wrote the President and complimented him for better expressing in two minutes what he, himself, had tried to say in two hours. In those two minutes, Lincoln defined the purpose of the war and redefined American freedom and equality.

Second Inaugural Address. On the north wall is Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, delivered on Saturday, March 4, 1865 upon taking the oath of office for the second time. Weeks of wet weather had left Pennsylvania Avenue a sea of mud and standing water. Thousands gathered in the mud by the Capitol's East Portico. As Lincoln spoke, spectators could look up and admire the newly-completed dome, a symbol of Lincoln's resolve to finish what he started. Chief Justice Chase administered the oath. Union victory was near, although Lincoln makes "no prediction" of the war's outcome. This speech began to set the stage for postwar Reconstruction. Lincoln's statement "With malice toward none and charity for all" suggested a new beginning for the nation as a more perfect union. Forty two days later, Lincoln lay dying in the Petersen house after being shot at Ford's Theater the previous evening.

Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new would be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured. On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war, seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained.

Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invoked His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes.

"Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

The murals by Jules Guerin.

Jules Guerin was a prominent illustrator and muralist when he was asked in 1912 to design and execute the murals for the Lincoln Memorial. He had been hired by architect Henry Bacon to do a series of architectural illustrations of Bacon's proposed design for the Lincoln Memorial.

When Bacon was awarded the commission, he chose Guerin to create the two large murals, which were an integral part of Bacon's design.

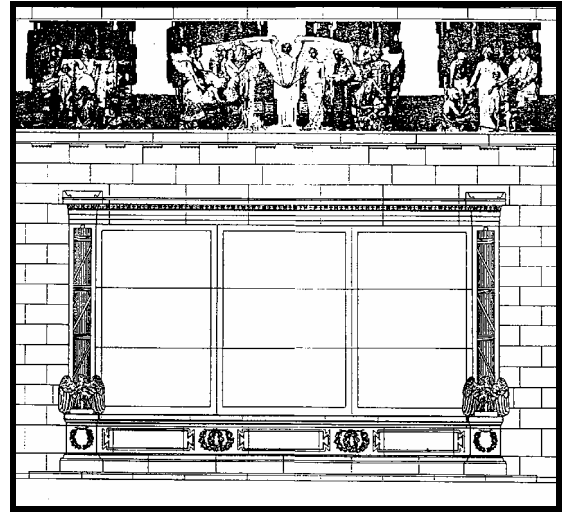
The murals add color and texture to the inside chamber and compliment the Classical Greek architecture of the building. A total of forty-eight allegorical figures in classical costume appear in the murals. Like the friezes of ancient Greek temples, the figures are shown in dramatic one-point perspective and are divided into three groupings. But they are painted in a contemporary style.

The murals, oil on canvas, were painted in the artist's studio in New York and were brought finished to Washington for installation at the Memorial in 1918 just before the end of World War I. Guerin executed the paintings in a style combining his early classical training in Europe with impressions from extensive travel in the Middle East and contemporary stylistic trends. Painted in rich, exotic colors and bold, distinctive brushstrokes, the paintings resemble tapestries, and serve the same purpose of warming the white stone interior of the memorial that Medieval tapestries served in stone castles.

Symbols within the murals. Guerin's paintings represent Abraham Lincoln's accomplishments and high moral values.

The north mural, "Reunion" or "Unification" depicts the ideas of Unity, Fraternity and

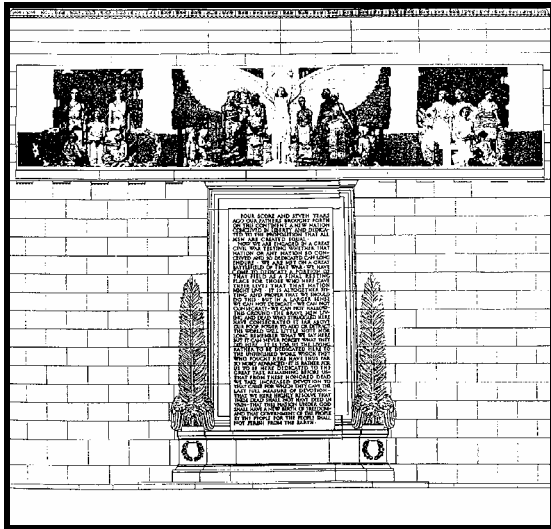
Charity associated with reunification of the states.



In the central group of figures, the Angel of Truth is shown joining the hands of the allegorical figures who represent the North and the South, and who are flanked by others that represent the arts and humanities.

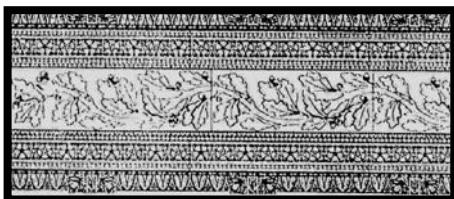
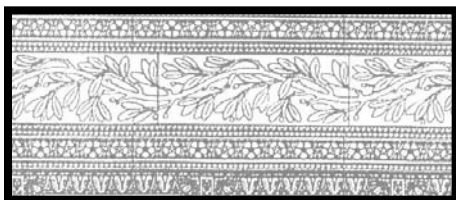
This scene affirms the importance of united progress in the arts and sciences in the once-divided nation. The group of figures at the left side symbolizes Fraternity in the family of man; and the group at the right side represents Charity to the unfortunate of the world.

The south mural, "Emancipation", represents the ideas of Freedom and Liberty. In the central group of figures, the Angel of Truth is shown bestowing freedom and liberty to slaves, whose chains drop as the angel raises her arms. Justice and Law are depicted in the group of figures on the left side, with the central figure of Law flanked by guardians that represent Reason and Intelligence. In the group of figures at the right side, the crowned central figure of Immortality is surrounded by the three virtues: Faith, Hope and Charity.



The Decorative Carvings. Stone frames surround the inscriptions of Lincoln's Gettysburg and Second Inaugural speeches. These frames consist of decorations of palm leaves, eagles, wreathes of pine and laurel, and fasces. Artist Evelyn Beatrice Longman executed these decorations under direction of Daniel Chester French.

The Ceiling Girders. The cast ornament on the beams is classical in character and consists of alternating garlands of laurel and oak bordered on either side by a line of rosettes.



A Greek key or fret pattern adorns the fascia or vertical face of the beams, above which is an acanthus leaf crown mold. In *The Lincoln Memorial*, published posthumously, Bacon mentions the ceiling beams only once:

"The ornamentation on the bronze ceiling beams, consisting of laurel and pine leaves, was also executed by Mr. Guerin."

Christopher Thomas, in his Doctoral dissertation at Yale University in 1990, suggests that Bacon was confusing the ornamentation on the exterior of the building with the interior. This view is substantiated by a drawing from Bacon's office, August 15, 1914 which clearly shows labels of oak and laurel.

Despite Bacon's quote about Guerin being the artist, it is possible that with Evelyn Longman's sculptural work at the memorial, this makes her a more likely candid than Guerin for the modeler of the ceiling beams.

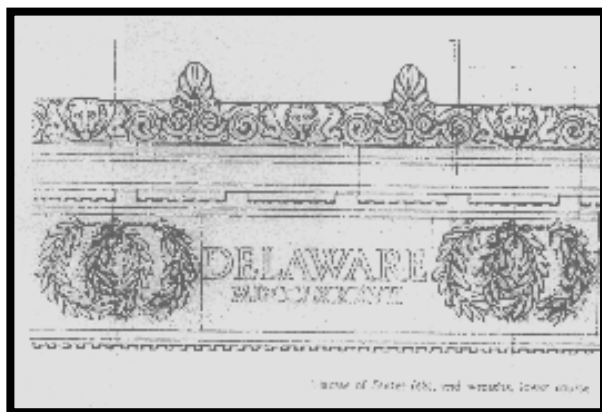
What could the plants signify? Concurrent with his work at the Lincoln Memorial, Bacon in 1913 and 1914 collaborated with Evelyn Beatrice Longman on the Allison Memorial in Des Moines, Iowa. Longman, a protégé of Daniel Chester French, had won a competition for the design of a memorial to Senator W. B. Allison for the State Capitol Grounds, Des Moines, Iowa. The memorial consists of a bas-relief of the senator in the pedestal, surmounted by a marble statue of the Republic. Grouped on the base are allegorical bronze figures. According to the publication *Annals of Iowa*, the base contains "a design of oak and laurel symbolizing strength and success."

While architectural historians credit Bacon with "masterminding the complex iconography" of the Lincoln Memorial, there is no historical record that indicates he

planned these ceiling ornamentations to be more than supportive to the overall concept of the interior. Nothing suggests that Bacon made any association between the oak and laurel garlands of the Lincoln and Allison Memorial. However, if Longman did the sculpting for the Lincoln Memorial components, it is important to interpret the same meanings of strength and success that she intended in the Allison memorial's oak and laurel.

The rosettes, fret pattern, and acanthus are recurring motifs that may be found on many classically inspired buildings, and seem to have no special meaning in the Lincoln memorial.

Exterior Decorations: Lettering, State Festoons and Friezes. Carved by Ernest C. Bairstow, these decorative ornaments pay tribute to the Union. A lower frieze is adorned with the names of the 36 states of the Union at the time of Lincoln's death. The upper carvings memorialize the 48 States which composed the Union when the Memorial was dedicated on May 30, 1922.



The state names from Lincoln's era are carved on the frieze immediately above the colonnade, each state separated from the other by a dedallion composed of intertwined wreaths of pine and laurel, while the cornice above is decorated with a carved scroll interspersed at regular intervals with a projecting lion's head.

On the upper frieze, high above the colonnade on the attic wall, are carved the names of the 48 states that comprised our Union in 1922. Above the state names appears a continuous string of garlands supported by the wings of elaborately carved eagles. The end of each garland is affixed to the wall with a ribbon with flowing ends, at the top of which are two palm leaves. Under the name of each state in both courses is shown in Roman numeral the date of its admission in the Union.



Lower Frieze: 36 States in the Union Upon Lincoln's Death:

Lower Course, East Side (11 States)

Delaware MDCCLXXXVII(1787)
Pennsylvania MDCCLXXXVII(1787)
New Jersey MDCCLXXXVII (1787)
Georgia MDCCLXXXVIII(1788)
Connecticut MDCCLXXXVIII(1788)
Massachusetts MDCCLXXXVIII(1788)
Maryland MDCCLXXXVIII(1788)
South Carolina MDCCLXXXVIII(1788)
New Hampshire MDCCLXXXVIII(1788)
Virginia MDCCLXXXVIII(1788)
New York MDCCLXXXVIII(1788)

Lower Course, West Side (11 States)

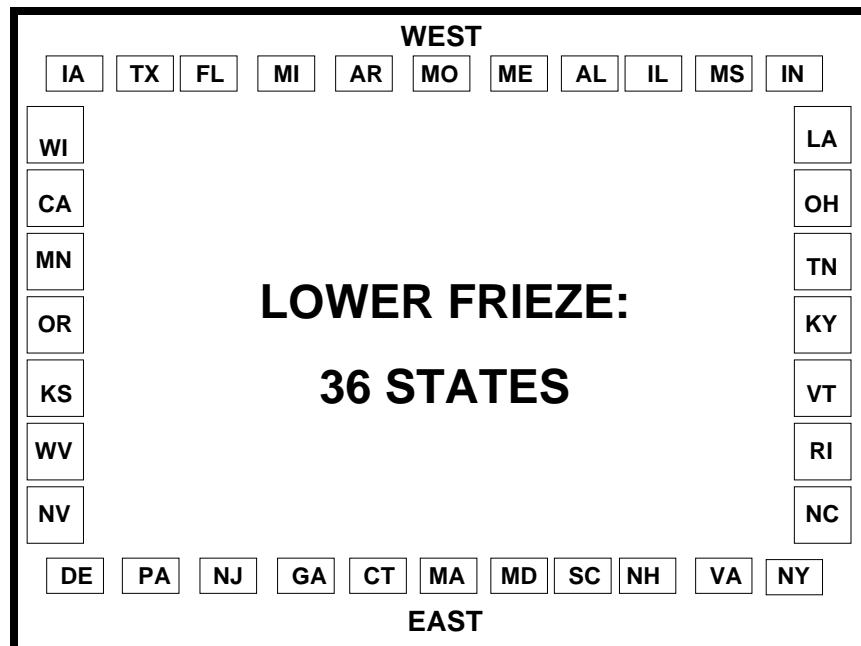
Indiana MDCCCXVI (1816)
Mississippi MDCCCXVII (1817)
Illinois MDCCCXVIII (1818)
Alabama MDCCCXIX (1819)
Maine MDCCCXX (1820)
Missouri MDCCCXXI (1821)
Arkansas MDCCCXXXVI (1836)
Michigan MDCCCXXXVII (1837)
Florida MDCCCXLV (1845)
Texas MDCCCXLV (1845)
Iowa MDCCCXLVI (1846)

Lower Course, North Side (7 States)

North Carolina MDCCLXXXIX (1789)
Rhode Island MDCCXC (1790)
Vermont MDCCXCI (1791)
Kentucky MDCCXCII (1792)
Tennessee MDCCXCVI (1796)
Ohio MDCCCII (1802)
Louisiana MDCCCXII (1812)

Lower Course, South Side (7 States)

Wisconsin MDCCCXLVIII (1848)
California MDCCCL (1850)
Minnesota MDCCCLVIII (1858)
Oregon MDCCCLIX (1859)
Kansas MDCCCLXI (1861)
West Virginia MDCCCLXIII (1863)
Nevada MDCCCLXIV (1864)



The Upper Frieze: Names of States Comprising the Union May 30, 1922

Upper Course, West Side (15 States)

Delaware MDCCLXXXVII (1787)
Pennsylvania MDCCLXXXVII (1787)
New Jersey MDCCLXXXVII (1787)
Georgia MDCCLXXXVIII (1788)
Connecticut MDCCLXXXVIII (1788)
Massachusetts MDCCLXXXVIII (1788)
Maryland MDCCLXXXVIII (1788)
South Carolina MDCCLXXXVIII (1788)
New Hampshire MDCCLXXXVIII (1788)
Virginia MDCCLXXXVIII (1788)
New York MDCCLXXXVIII (1788)
North Carolina MDCCLXXXIX (1789)
Rhode Island MDCCXC (1790)
Vermont MDCCXCI (1791)
Kentucky MDCCXCII (1792)

Upper Course, South Side (9 States)

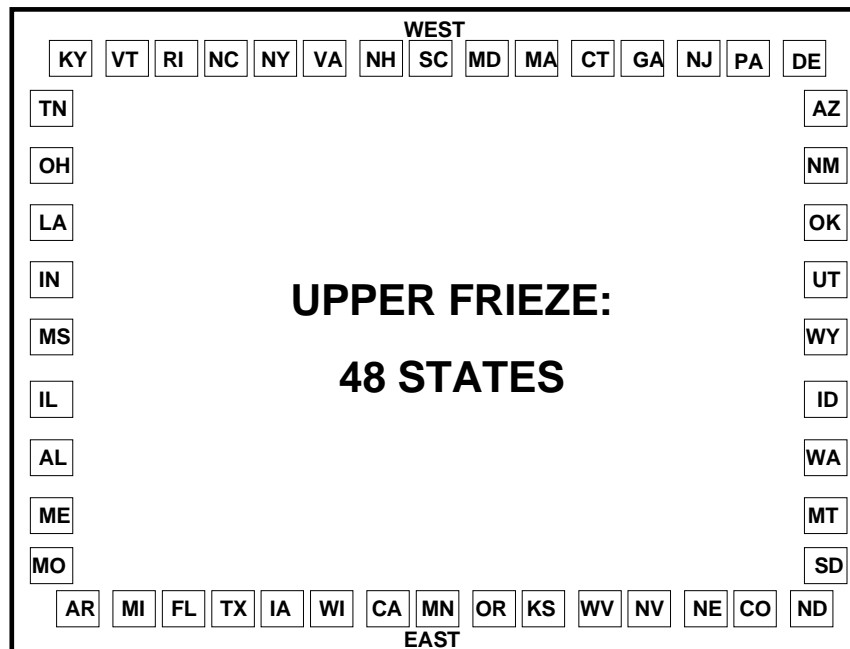
Tennessee MDCCXCVI (1796)
Ohio MDCCCII (1802)
Louisiana MDCCCXII (1812)
Indiana MDCCCXVI (1816)
Mississippi MDCCCXVII (1817)
Illinois MDCCCXVIII (1818)
Alabama MDCCCXIX (1819)
Maine MDCCCXX (1820)
Missouri MDCCCXXI (1821)

Upper Course, East Side (15 States)

Arkansas MDCCCXXXVI (1836)
Michigan MDCCCXXXVII (1837)
Florida MDCCCXLV (1845)
Texas MDCCCXLV (1845)
Iowa MDCCCXLVI (1846)
Wisconsin MDCCCXLVIII (1848)
California MDCCCL (1850)
Minnesota MDCCCLVIII (1858)
Oregon MDCCCLIX (1859)
Kansas MDCCCLXI (1861)
West Virginia MDCCCLXIII (1863)
Nevada MDCCCLXIV (1864)
Nebraska MDCCCLXVII (1867)
Colorado MDCCCLXXVI (1876)
North Dakota MDCCCLXXXIX (1889)

Upper Course, North Side (9 States)

South Dakota MDCCCLXXXIX (1889)
Montana MDCCCLXXXIX (1889)
Washington MDCCCLXXXIX (1889)
Idaho MDCCCXC (1890)
Wyoming MDCCCXC (1890)
Utah MDCCCXCVI (1896)
Oklahoma MCMVII (1907)
New Mexico MCMXII (1912)
Arizona MCMXII (1912)



Construction Materials. The exterior is made of Colorado Yule marble with a walkway made of Massachusetts granite and Potomac River stones. The interior walls and columns are Indiana limestone, the floor Tennessee Pink marble, and the ceiling is made of panels of Alabama marble soaked in paraffin to make them translucent.

Construction Timeline. Construction took place between 1914 and 1922. President Warren G. Harding attended the 1922 dedication. In 1933, the Lincoln Memorial was transferred to the jurisdiction of the National Park Service.

February 12, 1914. Contractors broke ground for the Lincoln Memorial foundation. The work was divided into two parts, a sub- and an upper-foundation.

Because the memorial was built on drained and filled land, the foundation for such a massive structure required extra care. The sub-foundation is made up of 122 solid, poured concrete piers with steel reinforcing rods anchored in bedrock. The upper-foundation is a second series of piers resting on the primary columns. The top piers are all joined together by poured concrete arches that form the floor of the memorial, later covered with a sheathing of marble.

February 10, 1915. Workers laid the first exterior stone for the superstructure.

February 12, 1915. Cornerstone placed at 3:07 PM. Cornerstone cavity contained numerous items, including a Bible, topographical map of Getysburg battlefield, and a small American flag.

After that, workers brought fill in to build up the circular mound that would be the landscaped setting for the memorial.

May, 1915. Workers completed all foundation work.

December 22, 1915. Sculptor French contracted to produce statue "in the best statuary bronze or marble not less than ten (10) feet in height."

February, 1917. Exterior marble work completed.

March, 1917. Bronze ceiling completed.

April, 1917. The United States entered World War I. Work slowed considerably because of labor and material shortages but never came to a halt.

May, 1917. Attic letters, frieze and leaf moulding completed.

August, 1917. Carving of memorial tablets completed.

October, 1917. Bacon and French decide 10 foot statue is too small. Decide upon 22 foot plinth, including pedestal. Also decide in favor of white Georgia marble instead of bronze.

31 December, 1917. Contract signed with D.C. French to increase size of statue from 10 to 19 feet.

1918. After all parties agreed that the statue of Lincoln would have to be doubled in size so that it would not appear lost in the building, steel struts were added beneath the floor to support the added weight from the larger statue.

March, 1919. Jules Guerin's murals placed in position.

December 1919-January 1920. The statue of Lincoln was assembled and completed. Periodically during the project, the structure was inspected for settling. When necessary, crews made repairs and strengthened walls and foundations.

1921. Workers built roadways and walks and planted trees and shrubbery. They also seeded new lawns and transplanted huge, old boxwoods within the memorial grounds. Work began, too, on the Reflecting Pool between the Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monument.

May 30, 1922. Dedication ceremony. By the time of the dedication, all work was done except the Reflecting Pool and the interior lighting.

1929. Overhead lighting system and louvered panels installed.

Facts and Figures-Lincoln Memorial Statistics:

EXTERIOR DIMENSIONS:

Height of columns (Doric) in colonnade:

44 ft. (13.4m.)

Diameter of Doric Columns

7 ft. 5 in. (2.3m.) at base

Number of Flutes, Doric Columns

20

Length of Doric colonnade (N-S)

188 ft. (57.3 m.)

Width of Doric colonnade (E-W)

118 ft. (57.3 m.)

Height of building:

99 ft. (30.2 m.) above grade

80 ft. (24.4 m.) above foundation

INTERIOR DIMENSIONS:

Central chamber

60 ft. wide by 74 ft. deep (18.3 by 22.6 m.)

Side chambers

38 ft. wide 63 ft. deep (11.6 by 19.3 m.)

Height of interior (Ionic) columns

50 ft. (15.2 m.)

Number of Flutes, Ionic columns

24

Diameter of interior (Ionic) columns

5 ft. 6 in. (1.7 m.)

Weight Of Statue:

150 tons -175 tons

MATERIALS:

Exterior walls, columns and upper steps

Colorado Yule marble

Tripods (urns)

Pink Tennessee marble, each a single piece

Interior walls and columns

Indiana limestone

Ceiling

Alabama marble saturated with paraffin

Floor and wall base

Pink Tennessee marble

Pedestal and platform for statue

Tennessee marble

Statue

White Georgia marble (28 pieces)

Lower steps

Massachusetts Granite

Approachway sides

Potomac River cobblestones

COSTS.

Total cost of Memorial:

\$2.8 Million, (\$2.95 million allocated)

Cost of contracts included:

Henry Bacon's fees: \$155, 371

Daniel Chester French's fees: \$88,400

Jules Guerin's fees:

\$45,000

The 1922 Dedication Ceremony. On Memorial Day, May 30, 1922, more than 50,000 people went to West Potomac Park for the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial. 3,500 of these were invited guests--elected and appointed government officials, the diplomatic corps, and distinguished citizens.

It was an impressive gathering of notables with Chief Justice and former President William Howard Taft and President Warren G. Harding joining guest of honor Robert Todd Lincoln, former secretary of war, ambassador to Great Britain, and the only surviving son of the Civil War President.

A public address system made the proceedings audible to the large crowd, and a nationwide radio broadcast enabled thousands of others to hear the speakers. This was quite an achievement, for commercial broadcasting was less than two years old. Many notables took part in the ceremony. The colors of the Grand Army of the Republic were presented, and the invocation was given by Wallace Radcliffe, pastor emeritus of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, the church Lincoln attended while President.

The main address was given by Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute. Illustrating the racial attitudes of the day, other African Americans were required to sit in a segregated section. Edwin Markham, a poet and lecturer, read his revised poem, "Lincoln, The Man of The People" which ended in this dramatic verse:

*And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.*

This was followed by the Marine Corps Band's rendition of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and presentation of the memorial

to President Harding by chief Justice Taft, who was president of the Lincoln Memorial Commission. In his speech of acceptance, Harding noted that "this Memorial...is less for Abraham Lincoln than those of us to-day, and for those who follow after." His remarks were followed by a benediction given by Rev. Radcliffe.

Development of the Interpretive Exhibits at the Lincoln Memorial. On September 23, 1994, the NPS unveiled "Lincoln's Legacy", a new permanent exhibition at the Lincoln Memorial. Six high school students from Arizona provided its inspiration. They were visiting the Memorial in 1990 when they noticed its exhibits made no mention of the many demonstrations that had occurred at the site, all related to Lincoln's devotion to the ideals of equality and justice. They were especially disappointed to discover no reference to the 1963 "March on Washington D.C. For Jobs and Freedom", an event best remembered for Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, delivered from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

So, with the help of their teachers, the Close Up Foundation, and the American Federation of Teachers, these devoted students organized a drive to correct these deficiencies. They lobbied Congress to authorize a new display and provide funding for it. They also launched a private fund raising effort to supplement federal support called "Pennies Make a Difference" campaign which collected donations from American school children, one penny at a time. Students from across the country donated over \$62,000 toward the project.

Student representatives also worked with National Park Service exhibit planners to develop the themes and design for the new exhibition. "Lincoln's Legacy" became the first exhibit ever produced as a collaborative

effort between students and the exhibit design specialists at the NPS Interpretive Design Center, Harper's Ferry.

The exhibits. The exhibit occupies 560 square feet of floor space in the ground-level visitor area. The center is equipped with restrooms and an elevator for handicapped access. The space was entirely remodeled and the old exhibits of construction photographs removed.

Appropriately, the exhibit begins and ends with a salute to the nation's students who supported the "Pennies Make a Monumental Difference Campaign."

One space highlights the architecture and symbolism of the memorial using photographs and facsimiles of the original design drawings that were proposed once the site was selected in West Potomac Park on the axis of the Capitol and Washington Monument. Congress acted to procure the designs in 1911 although the effort to build a memorial came in 1867, two years after Lincoln's death.

Another alcove displays construction photos of the memorial and tools used by the sculptor on the 19-foot high seated figure of Lincoln in the inner chamber. A model of the Lincoln life mask is shown with information about the sculptor Daniel Chester French.

A third part of the exhibit brings to life the variety of protests and demonstrations under the First Amendment of the Constitution that have taken place at the memorial. Video footage and news photographs show Martin Luther King, Jr. delivering his "I Have a Dream Speech" and President Truman announcing the integration of the Armed Services. Among the many historical events included are Marian Anderson in concert, Easter Sunday, 1939; a Black Panther rally in

1970; wreath-laying ceremonies for Iranian Hostages in 1979; and an Earth First demonstration in 1987.

To convey a sense of Lincoln's legacy outside the United States, the exhibit devotes space to pictures of postage stamps from around the world. More than 100 nations have had Lincoln's face on their postage stamps.

Perhaps the most striking element in the exhibit is a series of 13 panels of black Tennessee marble each weighing up to 400 pounds which have been honed and engraved with Lincoln's quotations about Equality, Freedom & Emancipation and Union. The panels in the center of the exhibit create a sense of the importance and enduring quality of Lincoln's words.

EQUALITY

You know I dislike slavery and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it.

-Letter to Joshua Speed, Springfield, Illinois, August 24, 1842

Let us discard all this quibbling about this man or the other man, this race and that race, and the other race being inferior and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position...

Let us discard all these things and unite as one people throughout this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.

-Speech at Chicago, Illinois, July 10, 1858

EQUALITY, continued

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes can prevent it, allow it to spread into the national territories, and overrun us here in these free states? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively.

-Address at the Cooper Institute, New York City, February 27, 1860

Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and only that, is self government.

-Speech at Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854

There is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights numerated in the Declaration of Independence - the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man.

-Speech at Ottawa, Illinois, August 2, 1858

FREEDOM AND EMANCIPATION

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

-Sect 1 of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, adopted Dec.18, 1865

I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruits of his labor, so far as it in no way interferes with any other man's rights.

-Speech in Chicago, Illinois, July 10, 1858

I intend no modification to my personally expressed wish that all men everywhere could be free.

-Letter to General Grant, July 10, 1864

And then, there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while, I fear, there will be some white ones, unable to forget that, with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they have strove to hinder it.

-Letter to James Conkling, August 26, 1863

A proclamation, that on the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, henceforward, and forever free

-Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863

My enemies pretend that I am now carrying on the war for the sole purpose of abolition.

So long as I am president, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union.

-Interview with Alexander Randall, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1864

Negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us, if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest possible motive -even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept.

-Letter to James C. Conkling, August 26, 1863

I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved - I do not expect the house to fall -but I do expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become all one thing, or all the other.

-Speech at the Republican State Convention, Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858

UNION

I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies.

Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bond of affection.

The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield, and patriotic grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

-Closing comments from the first Inaugural Address, Washington, D.C., March 4, 1861

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not 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 the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

-Letter to Horace Greeley, Washington, D.C., August 22, 1862

The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation.

We say we are for the Union.

The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We - even we here hold the power and bear the responsibility.

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

We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope on earth.

-Second Annual Message to Congress,
Washington, D. C., December 1, 1862

The Legacy: Relevant Celebrations or Gatherings at the Site.

The Lincoln Memorial site lends itself to large crowds and ceremonial occasions. Since its dedication great numbers of people have come to the Lincoln Memorial, some singly, some in large groups, but all in the spirit of the man whose memory is honored here.

Each year on Lincoln's Birthday the President or his representative lays a wreath before his statue. Visiting heads of state often make a similar gesture. And at times of great national debate, citizens have assembled here to give voice to their concert. Fittingly many of these occasions have concerned the struggle by black Americans for their civil rights.

One such occasion occurred in 1939 as opera singer Marian Anderson was refused permission by the Daughter of the American Revolution to sing at Constitution Hall

because of her race. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, at the urging of Eleanor Roosevelt, offered her the use of the Lincoln Memorial. A crowd of 75,000 attended her concert on Easter Sunday 1939.

One of the most noteworthy assemblies occurred here on August 28, 1963, more than 200,000 people led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., met here to take a stand for equal treatment for all races. Each year, as if to renew the dream, the Lincoln Memorial hosts a ceremony to remember Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday.

Possible Themes and Universal Concepts for Rangers at the Lincoln Memorial.

- Equality
- Union
- Freedom
- Strength
- Perseverance
- Democracy:

Possible Theme Statements:

- To go from defeated Senatorial candidate to President of the United States in two years demonstrates the perseverance and popularity of Abraham Lincoln and his ideas.
- The house divided against itself but remained standing because Abraham Lincoln poured a new and better foundation.
- Lincoln gave birth to new freedoms and now his memorial has become their playpen.
- The Lincoln Memorial is filled with symbols of Lincoln's physical and mental strength and the strength of our Union.

You can develop this last thematic statement quite easily. Consider the fasces that adorn the chair before you. When one thinks of the American Colonies during the Revolutionary War and how our early leaders clung together in political and military coalitions to overthrow tyranny, these ornaments become even more symbolic.

And with the Constitution, the newly independent states bound themselves together under a central government. This is the government that Lincoln pledged to hold together. He, in essence, became the sinew or the leather strap that strained to hold the bundle of states together.

Examine the hands and body language of Lincoln's statue. The clenched left hand perhaps suggests his determination to preserve the Union. The relaxed right hand conveys gentleness and compassion as a human being. He uses the strength of his military forces to strangle the Confederacy into submission, but he gently speaks of charity for the citizens who will again pledge support for the Union.

The United States flag, the quintessential symbol of the Union that Lincoln preserved, is draped over the chair. Lincoln stoically and symbolically sits in front of and protects that national standard. He seems determined to give his life for its defense, which he ultimately did.

Recent Restoration Efforts. Damaged over the years by heavy visitation and environmental factors, the Lincoln Memorial underwent major restoration in the 1990s.

Mural Restoration. In 1995-1996, conservators restored the original color and vibrancy of two huge decorative murals inside the chamber of the Lincoln Memorial. Conservators worked from a shrouded

scaffold and painstakingly removed the dirt and damage of nearly 75 years exposure to the weather. The work was part of a multi-million dollar series of contracts over a 10-year period sponsored by the National Park Service to preserve the Lincoln Memorial and Thomas Jefferson Memorial for future generations.

The goal of the mural restoration was to stabilize cracked and flaked layers in the paintings which had been subjected to fluctuations of heat and cold and penetrated by moisture.

The murals, each measuring 60-feet long by 12-feet high, are located 37 feet above the chamber floor over inscriptions of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address and Gettysburg Address. The murals by Jules Guerin were painted with oil paint on canvas which then was affixed to the inner chamber walls of Indiana limestone. "The murals had faded so badly over the years that many visitors barely noticed them and certainly couldn't appreciate their artistry," National Capital Field Director Robert G. Stanton said.

The restoration work began on the north mural in April 1995, then was suspended during the winter. Work on the south mural followed, completed in the summer of 1996. The murals were out of view behind the scaffolds until late August as workers installed bird deterrents and environmental monitors.

The team of conservators, working from two decks of aluminum scaffolding, developed a treatment that consolidated the materials of the paintings with a mixture of microcrystalline wax and methylacrylate resin. The process revealed the original colors somewhat the same way you can bring out the grain in a piece of driftwood by wetting it. Several applications were made to

recover the original aesthetic character of the painting and at the same time reveal the rich colors and inspiring narrative of the artist's original work.

The murals suffered results from the natural effects of the environment over the 75 years since they were installed. The entire paint film was fractured in a grid of tiny fissures that ran vertically and horizontally across the paintings. Paint squares between the fissures were coming loose from the supporting fabric behind them, and in some areas had fallen away completely. Salts, black fungus and dirt had accumulated on the surface. The surfaces of paint between the fissures and the little remaining varnish had eroded, covering the paintings with a whitish veil and reducing the brilliance of the original colors.

The first design of the Lincoln Memorial called for doors to close off the inner chamber, but Bacon discarded that idea himself, in favor of the aesthetic and emotional effect of the open.

In addition to restoring the original luster of the murals, the treatment also is expected to slow the rate of deterioration as the murals continue to age.

Ongoing Preservation Concerns for the Building. The Lincoln Memorial is being affected by accumulation of pollutants. As these accumulate, they cause unnatural weathering of the stone, areas called alteration crusts. The Memorial has relatively few alteration crusts, in part because it receives regular cleaning and in part because of the design of the building. Except for the features around the entablature (the edge of the roof) there are few sheltered areas where alteration crusts can accumulate.

With the aid of binoculars, you can see some alteration crusts along the underside of the

roof overhang; in these places the marble is very badly crumbled under the alteration crusts. Some columns show preferential weathering or loss of inclusions, but some of this damage might be from graffiti removal. The most visible dissolution feature is sugaring, where the stone has lost its polish and the surface now feels rough.

Visitors have affected this popular memorial too; several of the columns, especially the limestone columns inside the chamber, show darkening and rounding of edges where visitors have touched them over the years.

At several places around the outside of the memorial, adjacent blocks of marble show very different surface roughness. Since the blocks of stone have the same orientation with respect to wind, rain, and pollution, the difference in condition cannot be due to exposure and must be related to basic characteristics in the stone that was used.

Under the roof overhang is one of the few places at the Lincoln Memorial where alteration crusts have developed on the marble. The marble guttae on the roof overhang are crumbling and falling apart underneath blackened alteration crusts. Some columns at the Lincoln Memorial have flattened chalky areas where inclusions have weathered differently from the surrounding calcite.

Ceiling Panel Restoration. In 1999-2000, the memorial ceiling underwent an extensive restoration that involved careful consideration. Initially, metal and stone preservation experts in the National Park Service and other agencies conducted extensive research and analysis. Their goal was to determine architect Henry Bacon's original design intent and to find the best way to restore and protect the ceiling.

Henry Bacon envisioned that natural light would filter through marble ceiling panels and illuminate the statue of Lincoln.

Today, per Bacon's plan, Alabama white marble panels allow natural light to flow into the large chamber, thus illuminating the interior of the Memorial and the face of Lincoln's statue. In a few places, these panels have been replaced by louvered coverings that allow high-powered incandescent lights to enhance the illumination of the chamber. The true roof of the building is a glass skylight above the marble panels, so they are not open to the air from above.

The panels, five-eighths of an inch thick, were boiled in a wax solution which probably included beeswax or paraffin. This process caused the panels to become translucent as the wax penetrated the marble. This created a result Bacon described as, "somewhat like the difference between the opacity of plain paper and the transparency of oiled paper, but in this case, the translucence of the marble is like light through alabaster."

Over time, the panels became dim due to accumulations of dirt and insect residue. As part of the restoration, the marble was cleaned, polished and boiled in a beeswax solution. This process significantly increased the light in the chamber.

The marble panels are suspended from copper-alloy beams that cross the chamber ceiling. Garlands of oak and laurel leaves, representing strength and success, adorn the underside of the beams. Acanthus leaves, Greek key pattern, and rosettes ornament the vertical sides of the beams, carrying out the classical motif of the memorial.

Copper-alloys are bronze, brass, or a similar metal. In this case, project analysts tested the

girders and revealed a mixture close to brass. Supported by steel girders fixed in concrete, the beams consist of an outer metal case cast in separate parts and bolted onto a cement, sand, and cinder filling.

Project researchers and analysts determined that the original metal color was a saddle-brown. Before the restoration began, the girders had turned greenish-brown due to corrosion and oxidation. By spring 2000, workers had restored the girders to their original color. In order to achieve this color and re-patinate the beams, workers applied chemicals and heat to the metal.

To complete the restoration, workers coated the beams with a protective layer to slow future oxidation.

Biographical Sketch of the Winning Architect. Henry Bacon, Jr. (28 Nov. , 1866 -16 Feb. 1924), architect, was born in Watseka, Illinois, the son of Henry Bacon, a civil engineer, and Elizabeth Kelton. After repeated moves, in 1876 the family settled in south-eastern North Carolina, where Bacon's father had charge of port and channel improvements on the Cape Fear River. They lived at Smithville (now Southport) and later Wilmington, where Bacon attended school.

In 1884 Bacon entered the architecture program at the University of Illinois but left it in 1885 to go to Boston to qualify as a competitor for the Rotch Travelling Scholarship of the Boston Society of Architects. Working as a draftsman first for Chamberlin & Whidden and then McKim, Mead & White, he became involved in the colonial revival and had many perspective drawings of buildings old and new published in architectural journals.

In 1889 he won the Rotch scholarship, allowing him to make a two-year study tour

of Europe. His itinerary included visits to Rome, Pompeii, Greece, and coastal Asia Minor, where he began to acquire the detailed knowledge of classical, especially Greek, design that became a hallmark of his later work. In this he was influenced by the example of his older brother, Francis Henry Bacon, an architect, furniture designer, and classical archaeologist. In 1893 he married Laura Calvert; they did not have children.

From 1891 to 1897 Bacon worked as a designer for McKim, Mead & White in New York, contributing to such projects as the Rhode Island State House and the Brooklyn Museum and helping turn the firm's work toward its trademark white classicism by applying his extensive, detailed knowledge of Greek precedents to several of the firm's designs of the 1890s. His contribution to some of its designs for monuments and memorials-the field in which the new style is most apparent-is known to have been especially formative.

On the strength of noteworthy but unexecuted entries in competitions to design the Philadelphia Art Museum and New York Public Library, Bacon and a friend, James Brite, started a practice of their own in 1897. Brite & Bacon had success in designing city and country residences and public libraries in Madison, Connecticut, and Jersey City and Paterson, New Jersey, but the partnership ended in 1903.

Thereafter Bacon practiced on his own, with a small staff, undertaking a limited number of commissions for small or middle-sized buildings, the design and construction of which he supervised closely. He designed several savings banks and financial houses, including the Union Square Savings Bank, New York City (1905-1907), and served as campus architect for Wesleyan University. For that institution he created a master plan in 1912-1913 and designed two houses for

student societies, a dormitory, a swimming pool, an observatory, and a library built to revised designs after his death.

Bacon's specialty, however, was the design of monuments and memorials, usually (but not always) conceived in collaboration with sculptors. On his own he designed many grave markers and mausolea patterned on classical Greek models, such as the marble mausoleum for Mark Hanna in Lake View Cemetery, Cleveland (1904 -1906), which has the form of a miniature Doric temple or treasury.

He participated in several of Augustus Saint - Gaudens's late projects, including an obelisk in O'Connell Street, Dublin, honoring Charles Stewart Parnell (1900-1911), and collaborated with Karl Bitter several times. Their best-known joint work is a memorial to the German-American leader Carl Schurz in Morningside Park, New York (1900-1913), a platform with an exedra containing a bench, relief panels, and a dignified statue of Schurz.

Bacon's most productive collaboration was with the sculptor Daniel Chester French, whose summer home and studio, "Chesterwood," in Glendale, Massachusetts, Bacon had designed (1897-1901). Together French and Bacon undertook more than fifty monumental projects, including memorials to Francis Parkman in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts (1902-1907), and to Asa, John, and Samuel Melvin, three brothers who were killed in the Civil War, in Concord, Massachusetts (1897-1908). Both of these were austere exedral monuments with stone benches and figures modeled in negative relief emerging from upright slabs.

Bacon and French's memorial to Spencer Trask in Saratoga, New York (1913-1915), was a landscape composition with a fountain,

pool, and restful walks, whereas the monument to Admiral Samuel Francis du Pont in Washington, D.C. (1917-1921), takes the form of a fountain with allegorical figures in the recesses of its base. In 1921-1924 they planned a large memorial at Saint-Mihiel, France, to those from Massachusetts who had died in World War I, but it was not executed because a federal commission assumed responsibility for building all American battle monuments in Europe.

Thanks to his success with such "ideal" programs, Bacon received the prestigious commission to design one of three open-air courts at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco (1915). Consisting of a colonnaded approach and a square containing plantings and a mirror-pool, his *Court of the Four Seasons* was acclaimed by architects and the public as the most reflective and contemplative feature of the fair.

Bacon's career reached its peak when he was invited in 1911 to design the nation's memorial to Abraham Lincoln in Potomac Park, Washington. The memorial, first proposed in the McMillan Plan of 1901-1902, was to terminate the ceremonial axis of the Mall and be a pivot for a new memorial bridge to Arlington.

Drawing his inspiration from classical Greek temples, Bacon designed a memorial hall surrounded by Doric columns, raised on a high, stepped podium at the end of a long reflecting basin. His design was selected above others (some for different sites) submitted by architect John Russell Pope and was approved by Congress in 1913. Again, French had a hand in the project, modeling the colossal seated figure of Lincoln within. Dedicated in May 1922, the memorial was a huge public success and has remained one of America's most moving patriotic shrines. For its design Bacon was awarded the gold

medal of the American Institute of Architects in 1923, a year before he died in New York City.

Bacon's work, climaxing in the Lincoln Memorial, epitomizes the sophisticated classicism dominant in American civic, national, and commercial design of the early twentieth century.

Bacon's professional papers, including many drawings and the scrapbooks of his European tour, are in the Olin Memorial Library, Wesleyan University. A reminiscence of him by William Partridge is found in the William R. Ware Collection, Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University. There are large, important collections on the construction of the Lincoln Memorial in the National Archives. For an appreciative early account, see Francis S. Swales, "Henry Bacon as a Draftsman," *Pencil Points* 5 (May 1924): 42-62. On the *Court of the Four Seasons* see *The Architecture and Landscape Gardening of the Exposition* (1915), pp. 12-37.

The most comprehensive account of the building of the Lincoln Memorial is Edward Concklin, comp., *The Lincoln Memorial, Washington* (1927). Of modern sources on Bacon, the most complete is Christopher A. Thomas, "The Lincoln Memorial and Its Architect, Henry Bacon (1866-1924)" Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1990).

Biographical Sketches of the Artists.

Daniel Chester French (1850-1931)

*By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world.*

Singing these words from Ralph Waldo Emerson's CONCORD HYMN on July 4,

1837, the Massachusetts townsfolk dedicated the obelisk commemorating the Battles of Lexington & Concord at the Old North Bridge. Thirty-eight years later on the centenary of the battle, a new and even more dramatic monument would be erected on the opposite side of the bridge. The riveting bronze statue of a young plowman, eyes ablaze, musket in hand, *The Minute Man*, had been commissioned by Emerson from a young New England sculptor, Daniel Chester French.

French, born in Exeter, NH, had studied in Boston with William Hunt. He had come highly recommended to Emerson from the Transcendentalist community. Indeed, it was Louisa May Alcott who had first encouraged French's vocation as a sculptor, and it was with Samuel Ward, one of Emerson's close friends, that French continued his training in Brooklyn.

The instant popularity of his Concord monument afforded French the opportunity to study in Italy in 1876 before opening his first studio in Washington, DC, where his father was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. After a decade of adorning customs houses and post offices, French traveled to Paris, made the friendship of Saint Gaudens, and executed the arresting statue of General Lewis Cass for the Capitol in Washington.

From this point on he built his career as the preeminent monumental sculptor in America. Infusing the neo-classical tradition of statuary with a penetrating new realism and lively animation, he created dramatic compositions in marble and bronze such as *Alma Mater* at Columbia University, *The Angel Of Death Staying The Hand Of The Sculptor*, *Andromeda*, and *The Lincoln Memorial*. In addition to these large scale works French proved himself to be adept at smaller sculptures, among them his 1879

portrait head of Emerson, who exclaimed upon seeing it: "Yes, that is the face I have!"

The statue at the Lincoln Memorial was not the first time French sculpted the 16th President. In 1909 he collaborated with architect Henry Bacon on a standing, bronze figure in front of a granite wall inscribed with the Gettysburg Address. This tribute was dedicated in 1912 on the Capitol grounds, in Lincoln, Nebraska.

In Washington, D.C., one can see several of French's works, including the Samuel F. Dupont Memorial (Dupont Circle), Butt-Millet Memorial (E Street near 17th), and the First Infantry Division Memorial (State Place near 17th). Also in Washington is the Thomas Gallaudet Memorial (Gallaudet University), which is the only sculptured work of French's to incorporate American Sign Language (1889).

A long time resident of the Berkshires where he had established a summer home at Stockbridge in 1896, French is buried in Concord not far from Authors' Ridge where Emerson and the Alcotts lie.

Jules Vallee Guerin (18 November 1866 - 14 June 1946), painter and illustrator, was born in St. Louis, Missouri, the son of Edwin Guerin (occupation unknown) and Louise Davis. His father's family was of Huguenot descent and had been in America for at least a generation. In 1880 the family moved to Chicago, where the young man probably received his first art instruction. In 1889 he is known to have lived in Dearborn Street boarding house with Winsor Mccay (1867-4), the creator of the comic strip, "Little Nemo." They became friends and influenced each other's styles of illustration.

Young Guerin gained some recognition in Chicago during the 1890s, exhibiting at the

Art Institute of Chicago and executing at least one painting of the buildings at the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition. His biographies claim he studied painting in Paris at the ateliers of Jean Joseph Benjamin-Constant (1845-1902) and Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921), but this cannot be reconciled with what is known of his travels before 1900, when he established a studio in New York.

Guerin achieved his greatest fame as an architectural delineator, muralist and magazine illustrator. His artistic influences derive from the flourishing school of magazine artists working with color lithography at the century turn of the century, from French Impressionism, and from the classically trained painters and architects of the American Renaissance (1876-1917). Known for his bold perspective compositions and his flair as a colorist, he was acknowledged to be America's finest painter of architectural subjects during an era renowned for its illustrators.

Guerin's first national exposure came in 1901, when he was retained by Charles Follen McKim to prepare a few of the elaborate architectural renderings for the McMillan (Senate Parks Commission) plan for Washington, D.C., one of the cornerstones of the City Beautiful Movement. His brilliant perspective drawings helped to sell the committee's visionary proposals for the Mall, and led to commissions by other prominent architects, including Daniel Burnham, the father of City Beautiful planning principles. In 1907, Burnham and his partner, Edward Bennett, commissioned Guerin to prepare an extensive series of renderings for their monumental "Plan of Chicago."

His dramatically lit and colored bird's eye views became virtual icons of American city

planning, and remain his most famous works. He also collaborated with Bennett on plans for San Francisco and as "Director of Color" for the 1915 Panama Pacific Exposition held there, and known as the "Jewel City" for its brilliant Mediterranean palette.

In addition to his work with architects, Guerin achieved considerable fame for his magazine and book illustrations of travel scenes and architectural monuments. Working for Century, Scribner's and Harper's, he made hundreds of lithographs of buildings and cities in the U.S. and abroad. During 1909-1911 he toured the Middle East, Greece and Turkey with the travel writer Robert Smythe Hitchens, producing his finest illustrations for such books as Egypt and Its Monuments (1908), The Holy Land (1910), and The Near East (1913). Owing to their enormous popularity, many of his prints were marketed individually by such presses as the University Prints and the Devinne Press.

Prior to World War I, Guerin had won recognition as a major illustrator, but his career as a serious painter had languished. During the final phase of his life he devoted himself increasingly to mural painting, decorating the buildings of such prominent architects as Cass Gilbert, McKim, Mead and White, and Graham, Anderson, Probst and White (the successor firm to Daniel H. Burnham & Company).

The commission for his best-known monumental paintings, the two 60-foot-long murals in the cella of Henry Bacon's Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. (1912-1922), came as a result of his work as a delineator. Guerin's superb renderings of Bacon's designs for the memorial helped the architect win a limited competition against John Russell Pope's office, in 1912. He was then invited to join Daniel Chester French and Bacon in preparing the decorative and sculptural program for the monument.

The stiff, angular bodies in the "Emancipation" and "Reunion" murals (placed respectively above inscriptions of the Gettysburg and Second Inaugural Addresses) are typical of Guerin's figure draftsmanship, always designed to support the lines of the architecture. Conceived by the artist to "typify in allegory the principles evident in the life of Abraham Lincoln," six groups of figures are depicted in a grove of Cypress trees, symbolizing eternity.

As a decorative painter, he also distinguished himself in the large murals for McKim, Mead & White's Pennsylvania Station (1902-11), decorations for the Chicago Lyric Opera building and Merchandise Mart (1929), Cleveland's Union Trust and Terminal buildings (1924, 1926-31) and the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City (1921-1935).

Despite this, art historians have not viewed Guerin as a major painter of monumental subjects. Jules Guerin was honored in his time by membership in the National Academy of Design (Associate 1916, Member 1931). He won medals for painting at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900, at the Buffalo (1904) and San Francisco (1915) Fairs, was awarded the first Yerkes Medal in Chicago, and was honored by the Philadelphia Water Color Club in 1913.

He died in Avon, New Jersey and was survived only by his wife, Mary Mulford Guerin.

Quick Facts: Abraham Lincoln, 16th President of the United States (1861-65).

Nickname: "Honest Abe"; "Illinois Rail-Splitter".

Born: Feb. 12, 1809, Hardin (now Larue) County, Ky.

Profession: Lawyer.

Religious Affiliation: None.

Marriage: Nov. 4, 1842, to Mary Todd (1818-82).

Children: Robert Todd Lincoln (1843-1926);
Edward Baker Lincoln (1846-50);
William Wallace Lincoln (1850-62);
Thomas "Tad" Lincoln (1853-71).

Political Affiliation: Whig; Republican.

Writings: Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (8 vols., 1953-55), ed. By Roy P. Basler.

Died: Apr. 15, 1865, Washington, D.C.

Buried: Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Ill.

Vice-Presidents: Hannibal Hamlin (1861-65); Andrew Johnson (1865).

Cabinet Members:

Secretary of State: William H. Seward.

Secretary of the Treasury: Salmon P. Chase (1861-64); William P. Fessenden (1864-65); Hugh McCulloch (1865).

Secretary of War: Simon Cameron (1861-62); Edwin M. Stanton (1862-65).

Attorney General: Edward Bates (1861-64); James Speed (1864-65).

Postmaster General: Montgomery Blair (1861-64); William Dennison (1864-65).

Secretary of the Navy: Gideon Welles.

Secretary of the Interior: Caleb B. Smith (1861-63); John P. Usher (1863-65).

Height: 6' 4".

Weight: 180 pounds.

Biography of Lincoln. The following is taken from the Grolier Encyclopedia web site.

Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), 16th PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Lincoln entered office at a critical period in U. S. history, just before the Civil War, and died from an assassin's bullet at the war's end, but before the greater implications of the conflict could be resolved. He brought to the office personal integrity, intelligence, and humanity, plus the wholesome characteristics of his frontier upbringing. He also had the liabilities of his upbringing--he was self-educated, culturally unsophisticated, and lacking in administrative and diplomatic skills. Sharp-witted, he was not especially sharp-tongued, but was noted for his warm good humor. Although relatively unknown and inexperienced politically when elected president, he proved to be a consummate politician. He was above all firm in his convictions and dedicated to the preservation of the Union.

Lincoln was perhaps the most esteemed and maligned of the American presidents. Generally admired and loved by the public, he was attacked on a partisan basis as the man responsible for and in the middle of every major issue facing the nation during his administration. Although his reputation has fluctuated with changing times, he was clearly a great man and a great president. He firmly and fairly guided the nation through its most perilous period and made a lasting impact in shaping the office of chief executive. Once regarded as the "Great Emancipator" for his forward strides in freeing the slaves, he was criticized a century later, when the Civil Rights Movement gained

momentum, for his caution in moving toward equal rights. If he is judged in the historical context, however, it can be seen that he was far in advance of most liberal opinion. His claim to greatness endures.

Early Life

The future president was born in the most modest of circumstances in a log cabin near Hodgenville, Ky., on Feb. 12, 1809. His entire childhood and young manhood were spent on the brink of poverty as his pioneering family made repeated fresh starts in the West. Opportunities for education, cultural activities, and even socializing were meager.

Ancestry

Lincoln's paternal ancestry has been traced, in an unbroken line, to Samuel Lincoln, a weaver's apprentice from Hingham, England, who settled in Hingham, Mass., in 1637. From him the line of descent came down through Mordecai Lincoln of Hingham and of Scituate, Mass.; Mordecai of Berks county, Pa.; John of Berks county and of Rockingham county, Va.; and Abraham, the grandfather of the president, who moved from Virginia to Kentucky about 1782, settled near Hughes Station, east of Louisville, and was killed in an Indian ambush in 1786.

Abraham's youngest son, Thomas, who became the father of the president, was born in Rockingham county, Va., on Jan. 6, 1778. After the death of his father, he roamed about, settling eventually in Hardin county, Ky., where he worked at carpentry, farming, and odd jobs. He was not the shiftless ne'er-do-well sometimes depicted, but an honest, conscientious man of modest means, well regarded by his neighbors. He had practically no education, however, and could barely scrawl his name.

Nancy Hanks, whom Thomas Lincoln married on June 12, 1806, and who became the mother of the president, remains a shadowy figure. Her birth date is uncertain, and descriptions of her are contradictory. Scholars despair of penetrating the tangled Hanks genealogy, and the legitimacy of Nancy's birth is a subject of argument. Lincoln, himself, apparently believed that his mother was born out of wedlock. In either case, Nancy came of lowly people. Reared by her aunt, Betsy Hanks, who married Thomas Sparrow, she was utterly uneducated.

Childhood

Thomas and Nancy Lincoln set up housekeeping in Elizabethtown, Ky., where their first child, Sarah, was born on Feb. 10, 1807. In December 1808, Thomas bought a hard-scrabble farm on the South Fork of Nolin Creek, where Abraham was born. Soon after Abe's second birthday the family moved to a more productive farm along Knob Creek, a branch of the Rolling Fork, in a region of fertile bottomland surrounded by crags and bluffs. The old Cumberland Trail from Louisville to Nashville passed close by, and the boy could see a vigorous civilization on the march--settlers, peddlers,

circuit-riding preachers, now and then a coffle of slaves. This was probably his first view of human bondage, for the small landholdings of the region were not suited to slaveowning, and local sentiment, especially among the Baptists, with whom the Lincolns had affiliated, was hostile to slavery. Like most frontier children, Abraham performed chores at an early age, but occasionally he and his sister Sarah attended classes in a log schoolhouse some two miles (3 km) from home. Nancy bore a third child, Thomas, but he died in infancy.

Faulty land titles, which were a constant problem to Kentucky settlers, were especially troublesome to Thomas Lincoln. Because of a flaw in title, he lost part of a farm he had bought before his marriage, and both his other Kentucky farms became involved in litigation. For this reason, and because of his roving disposition, he resolved to move to Indiana, where land could be bought directly from the government.

Abraham was seven years old when, in December 1816, the Lincolns struck out northwestward. They crossed the Ohio River on a ferry near the village of Troy, made their way 16 miles (26 km) farther north through thick woods and tangled underbrush, and settled near Pigeon Creek, in present Spencer county, Ind. Thomas hastily threw up a half-faced camp, a rude shelter of logs and boughs, closed on three sides and warmed only by a fire at the open front. Here the family lived while Thomas built a cabin. The region was gloomy, with few settlers, and wild animals prowled in the forest. By spring Thomas had cleared a few acres for a crop. In an autobiography that Abraham Lincoln composed in 1860, he said of himself: "Abraham, though very young, was large of his age, and had an axe put into his hands at once; and from that till within his twenty-third year, he was almost constantly handling that most useful instrument--less, of course, in plowing and harvesting seasons." So, year by year the clearing grew, and the family's diet became more varied as farm products supplemented game and fowl. At first, Thomas was a mere squatter on the land, but on Oct. 15, 1817, he applied for 160 acres (65 hectares) at the government land office in Vincennes. Unable to complete payment on so large a tract, he later gave up half, but paid for the rest.

The Lincolns had not been long in Indiana when they were joined by Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow, the relatives by whom Nancy had been reared. They arrived from Kentucky with Dennis Hanks, the illegitimate son of another of Nancy's aunts. An energetic youth of 19, he became Abraham's companion. Within a year, however, the Sparrows became victims of the "milk-sick" (milk sickness), a disease dreaded by Indiana settlers, and soon afterward, on Oct. 5, 1818, Nancy Lincoln, too, died of this malady. Without a woman to keep the household functioning, the Lincolns lived almost in squalor. To remedy this intolerable condition, Thomas Lincoln returned to Elizabethtown, where, on Dec. 2, 1819, he married Sarah Bush Johnston, a

widow with three children. A kindly, hard-working woman, she brought order to the Lincolns' Indiana homestead. She also saw to it that at intervals over the next two years Abraham received enough additional schooling to be able, as he said later, "to read, write and cipher to the Rule of Three." All told, however, he attended school less than a year.

Young Manhood

During the 14 years the Lincolns lived in Indiana, the region became more thickly settled, mostly by people from the South. But conditions remained primitive, and farming was backbreaking work. Superstitions were prevalent; social functions consisted of such utilitarian amusements as corn shuckings, house raisings, and hog killings; and religion was dogmatic and emotional. Abe, growing tall and strong, won a reputation as the best local athlete and a rollicking storyteller. But his father kept him busy at hard labor, hiring him out to neighbors when work at home slackened.

Abe's meager education had aroused his desire to learn, and he traveled over the countryside to borrow books. Among those he read were Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, Aesop's Fables, William Grimshaw's History of the United States, and Mason Weems' Life of Washington. The Bible was probably the only book his family owned, and his abundant use of scriptural quotations in his later writings shows how earnestly he must have studied it.

Young Lincoln worked for a while as a ferryman on the Ohio River, and at 19 helped take a flatboat cargo to New Orleans. There he encountered a manner of living wholly unknown to him. Soon after he returned, his father decided to move to Illinois, where a relative, John Hanks, had preceded him. On March 1, 1830, the family set out with all their possessions loaded on three wagons. Their new home was located on the north bank of the Sangamon River, west of Decatur. When a cabin had been built and a crop had been planted and fenced, young Lincoln hired out to split fence rails for neighbors.

In the autumn all the Lincoln family came down with fever and ague. That winter the pioneers experienced the deepest snow they had ever known, accompanied by subzero temperatures. In the spring the family backtracked eastward to Coles county, Ill. But this time Abraham did not accompany them, for during the winter he, his stepbrother John D. Johnston, and his cousin John Hanks had agreed to take another cargo to New Orleans for a trader, Denton Offutt. A new life was opening for young Lincoln. Henceforth he could make his own way.

Supposedly it was on this second trip to New Orleans that young Lincoln, watching a slave auction, declared: "If I ever get a chance to hit that thing, I'll hit it hard." But the story is almost certainly untrue. Lincoln at this period of his life could scarcely have believed himself to be a man of destiny, and John Hanks, who originated the story, was not with Lincoln,

having left his fellow crewmen at St. Louis.

Near the outset of this voyage, at the little village of New Salem on the Sangamon River, Lincoln had impressed Offutt by his ingenuity in moving the flatboat over a milldam. Offutt, impressed likewise by the prospects of the village, arranged to open a store and rent the mill. On Lincoln's return from New Orleans, Offutt engaged him as clerk and handyman.

By late July 1831, when Lincoln came back, New Salem was enjoying what proved to be a short-lived boom based on a local conviction that the Sangamon River would be made navigable for steamboats. For a time the village served as a trading center for the surrounding area and numbered among its enterprises three stores, a tavern, a carding machine for wool, a saloon, and a ferry. Among its residents were two physicians, a blacksmith, a cooper, a shoemaker, and other craftsmen common to a pioneer settlement. The people were mostly from the South, though a number of Yankees had also drifted in. Community pastimes were similar to those Lincoln had previously known, and life in general differed only in being somewhat more advanced. Lincoln gained the admiration of the rougher element of the community, who were known as the Clary's Grove boys, when he threw their champion in a wrestling match. But his kindness, honesty, and efforts at self-betterment so impressed the more reputable people of the community that they, too, soon came to respect him. He became a member of the debating society, studied grammar with the aid of a local schoolmaster, and acquired a lasting fondness for the writings of Shakespeare and Robert Burns from the village philosopher and fisherman.

Offutt paid little attention to business, and his store was about to fail, when an Indian disturbance, known as the Black Hawk War, broke out in April 1832, in Illinois. Lincoln enlisted and was elected captain of his volunteer company. When his term expired, he reenlisted, serving about 80 days in all. He experienced some hardships, but no fighting.

Politics and Law

Returning to New Salem, Lincoln sought election to the state legislature. He won almost all the votes in his own community, but lost the election because he was not known throughout the county. In partnership with William F. Berry, he bought a store on credit, but it soon failed, leaving him deeply in debt. He then got a job as deputy surveyor, was appointed postmaster, and pieced out his income with odd jobs. The story of his romance with Ann Rutledge is rejected as a legend by most authorities, but he did have a short-lived love affair with Mary Owens.

Illinois Legislator

In 1834, Lincoln was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives, and he was reelected in 1836, 1838, and 1840. Political alignments were in a

state of flux during his first two candidacies, but as the Whig and Democratic parties began to take form, he followed his political idol, Henry Clay, and John T. Stuart, a Springfield lawyer and friend, into the Whig ranks. Twice Lincoln was his party's candidate for speaker, and when defeated, he served as its floor leader.

His greatest achievement in the legislature, where he was a consistent supporter of conservative business interests, was to bring about the removal of the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield, by means of adroit logrolling. When certain resolutions denouncing antislavery agitation were passed by the house, Lincoln and a colleague, Dan Stone, defined their position by a written declaration that slavery was "founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils." An internal improvement project that Lincoln promoted in the legislature turned out to be impractical and almost bankrupted the state. On national issues Lincoln favored the United States Bank and opposed the presidential policies of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren.

Law Practice

His friend Stuart had encouraged him to study law, and he obtained a license on Sept. 9, 1836. By this time New Salem was in decline and would soon be a ghost town. It has since been restored as a state park. On April 15, 1837, Lincoln moved to Springfield to become Stuart's partner. His conscientious efforts to pay off his debts had earned him the nickname "Honest Abe," but he was so poor that he arrived in Springfield on a borrowed horse with all his personal property in his saddlebags.

With the courts in Springfield in session only a few weeks during the year, lawyers were obliged to travel the circuit in order to make a living. Every year, in spring and autumn, Lincoln followed the judge from county to county over the 12,000 square miles (31,000 sq km) of the Eighth Circuit. In 1841 he and Stuart dissolved their firm, and Lincoln formed a new partnership with Stephen T. Logan, who taught him the value of careful preparation and clear, succinct reasoning as opposed to mere cleverness and oratory. This partnership was in turn dissolved in 1844, when Lincoln took young William H. Herndon, later to be his biographer, as a partner.

Marriage

Meanwhile, on Nov. 4, 1842, after a somewhat tumultuous courtship, Lincoln had married Mary Todd. Brought up in Lexington, Ky., she was a high-spirited, quick-tempered girl of excellent education and cultural background. Notwithstanding her vanity, ambition, and unstable temperament and Lincoln's careless ways and alternating moods of hilarity and dejection, the marriage turned out to be generally happy. Of their four children, only Robert Todd Lincoln, born on Aug. 1, 1843, lived to maturity. Edward Baker,

who was born on March 10, 1846, died on Feb. 1, 1850; William Wallace, born Dec. 21, 1850, died on Feb. 20, 1862; and Thomas ("Tad"), born April 4, 1853, died on July 15, 1871.

Though Mrs. Lincoln was by no means such a shrew as has been asserted, she was difficult to live with. Lincoln responded to her impulsive and imprudent behavior with tireless patience, forbearance, and forgiveness. Borne down by grief and illness after her husband's death, Mrs. Lincoln became so unbalanced at one time that her son Robert had her committed to an institution.

Congressman

Having attained a position of leadership in state politics and worked strenuously for the Whig ticket in the presidential election of 1840, Lincoln aspired to go to Congress. But two other prominent young Whigs of his district, Edward D. Baker of Springfield and John J. Hardin of Jacksonville, also coveted this distinction. So Lincoln stepped aside temporarily, first for Hardin, then for Baker, under a sort of understanding that they would "take a turn about." When Lincoln's turn came in 1846, however, Hardin wished to serve again, and Lincoln was obliged to maneuver skillfully to obtain the nomination. His district was so predominantly Whig that this amounted to election, and he won handily over his Democratic opponent.

Lincoln worked conscientiously as a freshman congressman, but was unable to gain distinction. Both from conviction and party expediency, he went along with the Whig leaders in blaming the Polk administration for bringing on war with Mexico, though he always voted for appropriations to sustain it. His opposition to the war was unpopular in his district, however. When the annexations of territory from Mexico brought up the question of the status of slavery in the new lands, Lincoln voted for the Wilmot Proviso and other measures designed to confine the institution to the states where it already existed.

Disillusionment with Politics

In the campaign of 1848, Lincoln labored strenuously for the nomination and election of Gen. Zachary Taylor. He served on the Whig National Committee, attended the national convention at Philadelphia, and made campaign speeches. With the Whig national ticket victorious, he hoped to share with Baker the control of federal patronage in his home state. The juiciest plum that had been promised to Illinois was the position of commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington. After trying vainly to reconcile two rival candidates for this office, Lincoln tried to obtain it for himself. But he had little influence with the new administration. The most that it would offer him was the governorship or secretaryship of the Oregon Territory. Neither job appealed to him, and he returned to Springfield

thoroughly disheartened.

Never one to repine, however, Lincoln now devoted himself to becoming a better lawyer and a more enlightened man. Pitching into his law books with greater zest, he also resumed his study of Shakespeare and mastered the first six books of Euclid as a mental discipline. At the same time, he renewed acquaintances and won new friends around the circuit. Law practice was changing as the country developed, especially with the advent of railroads and the growth of corporations. Lincoln, conscientiously keeping pace, became one of the state's outstanding lawyers, with a steadily increasing practice, not only on the circuit but also in the state supreme court and the federal courts. Regular travel to Chicago to attend court sessions became part of his routine when Illinois was divided into two federal districts.

Outwardly, however, Lincoln remained unchanged in his simple, somewhat rustic ways. Six feet four inches (1.9 meters) tall, weighing about 180 pounds (82 kg), ungainly, slightly stooped, with a seamed and rugged countenance and unruly hair, he wore a shabby old top hat, an ill-fitting frock coat and pantaloons, and unblackened boots. His genial manner and fund of stories won him a host of friends. Yet, notwithstanding his friendly ways, he had a certain natural dignity that discouraged familiarity and commanded respect.

Return to Politics

Lincoln took only a perfunctory part in the presidential campaign of 1852, and was rapidly losing interest in politics. Two years later, however, an event occurred that roused him, he declared, as never before. The status of slavery in the national territories, which had been virtually settled by the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and the Compromise of 1850, now came to the fore. In 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, whom Lincoln had known as a young lawyer and legislator and who was now a Democratic leader in the U. S. Senate, brought about the repeal of a crucial section of the Missouri Compromise that had prohibited slavery in the Louisiana Purchase north of the line of 36 degrees, 30 minutes. Douglas substituted for it a provision that the people in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska could admit or exclude slavery as they chose.

The congressional campaign of 1854 found Lincoln back on the stump in behalf of the antislavery cause, speaking with a new authority gained from self-imposed intellectual discipline. Henceforth, he was a different Lincoln--ambitious, as before, but purged of partisan pettiness and moved instead by moral earnestness.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act so disrupted old party lines that when the Illinois legislature met to elect a U.S. senator to succeed Douglas' colleague, James

Shields, it was evident that the Anti-Nebraska group drawn from both parties had the votes to win, if the antislavery Whigs and antislavery Democrats could united on a candidate. However, the Whigs backed Lincoln, and the Democrats supported Lyman Trumbull. Although Lincoln commanded far more strength than Trumbull, the latter's supporters were resolved never to desert him for a Whig. As their stubbornness threatened to result in the election of a proslavery Democrat, Lincoln instructed his own backers to vote for Trumbull, thus assuring the latter's election.

Campaigns of 1856 and 1858

With old party lines sundered, the antislavery factions in the North gradually coalesced to form a new party, which took the name Republican. Lincoln stayed aloof at the beginning, fearing that it would be dominated by the radical rather than the moderate antislavery element. Also, he hoped for a resurgence of the Whig party, in which he had attained a position of state leadership. But as the presidential campaign of 1856 approached, he cast his lot with the new party. In the national convention, which nominated John C. Frémont for president, Lincoln received 110 ballots for the Vice-Presidential nomination, which went eventually to William L. Dayton of New Jersey. Though Lincoln had favored Justice John McLean, he worked faithfully for Frémont, who showed surprising strength, notwithstanding his defeat by the Democratic candidate, James Buchanan.

With Senator Douglas running for reelection in 1858, Lincoln was recognized in Illinois as the strongest man to oppose him. Endorsed by Republican meetings all over the state and by the Republican State Convention, he opened his campaign with the famous declaration: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of seven joint debates, and these became the most spectacular feature of the campaign. Douglas refused to take a position on the rightfulness or wrongfulness of slavery, and offered his "popular sovereignty" doctrine as the solution of the problem. Lincoln, on the other hand, insisted that slavery was primarily a moral issue and offered as his solution a return to the principles of the Founding Fathers, which tolerated slavery where it existed but looked to its ultimate extinction by preventing its spread. The Republicans polled the larger number of votes in the election, but an outdated apportionment of seats in the legislature permitted Douglas to win the senatorship.

Election of 1860

Friends began to urge Lincoln to run for president. He held back, but did extend his range of speechmaking beyond Illinois. On Feb. 27, 1860, at Cooper Union, in New York City, he delivered an address on the need for restricting slavery that put him in the forefront of Republican leadership. The enthusiasm evoked by this speech and others overcame Lincoln's

reluctance. On May 9 and 10, the Illinois Republican convention, meeting in Decatur, instructed the state's delegates to the national convention to vote as a unit for him.

When that convention met in Chicago on May 16, Lincoln's chances were better than was generally supposed. William H. Seward, the acknowledged party leader, and other aspirants all had political liabilities of some sort. As Lincoln's managers maneuvered behind the scenes, more and more delegates lined up behind the "Illinois Rail Splitter." Seward led on the first ballot, but on the third ballot Lincoln obtained the required majority. A split in the Democratic party, which resulted in the nomination of Douglas by one faction and of John C. Breckinridge by the other, made Lincoln's ELECTION a certainty. Lincoln polled 1,865,593 votes to Douglas' 1,382,713, and Breckinridge's 848,356. John Bell, candidate of the Constitutional Union party, polled 592,906. The ELECTORAL vote was Lincoln, 180; Breckinridge, 72; Bell, 39; and Douglas, 12.

Presidency

On Feb. 11, 1861, Lincoln left Springfield to take up his duties as president. Before him lay, as he recognized, "a task ... greater than that which rested upon [George] Washington." The seven states of the lower South had seceded from the Union, and Southern delegates meeting in Montgomery, Ala., had formed a new, separate government. Before Lincoln reached the national capital, Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as President of the Confederate States of America. The four states of the upper South teetered on the brink of secession, and disunion sentiment was rampant in the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri.

When Lincoln reached Washington on February 23, he found the national government incapable of meeting the crisis. President James Buchanan deplored secession but could not check it, and Congress fruitlessly debated compromise. The national treasury was near bankruptcy; the civil service was riddled with secessionists; and the miniscule armed forces were being weakened by defection of officers to the South.

It was not immediately evident that Lincoln could avert the dissolution of the United States. Few American presidents have assumed office under greater handicaps. Warned of an attempt on his life being planned in Baltimore, Lincoln had to enter the national capital surreptitiously, arriving after a secret midnight journey from Harrisburg, Pa. Widely publicized, the episode did little to inspire public confidence in the government or to create an image of Lincoln as a dynamic leader. That so many citizens could believe their new president a coward was evidence of a more serious handicap under which Lincoln labored: he was virtually unknown to the American people. Lincoln's record as an Illinois state legislator, as a one-term member of the House of Representatives in the 1840's, and as an unsuccessful

senatorial candidate against Douglas was not one to inspire confidence in his abilities. Even the leaders of the Republican party had little acquaintance with the new President.

Almost at the outset, Lincoln demonstrated that he was a poor administrator. Accustomed, as his law partner William H. Herndon said, to filing legal papers in his top hat, Lincoln conducted the administration of the national government in the same fashion. Selecting for his cabinet spokesmen of the diverse elements that constituted the Republican party, he surrounded himself with men of such conflicting views that he could not rely on them to work together. Cabinet sessions rarely dealt with serious issues. Usually, Lincoln permitted cabinet officers free rein in running their departments. Nor was Lincoln an effective leader of his party in the Congress, where after secession the Republicans had overwhelming majorities. Long a Whig, vigilant against executive "usurpation," he earnestly felt that as president he ought not to exert even "indirect influence to affect the action of congress." In consequence there was poor rapport between Capitol Hill and the White House. Even those measures that the President earnestly advocated were weakened or defeated by members of his own party. But on important issues relating to the conduct of the war and the restoration of the Union, Lincoln followed his own counsel, ignoring the opinions of Congress.

More than counterbalancing these deficiencies, however, were Lincoln's strengths. Foremost was his unflinching dedication to the preservation of the Union. Convinced that the United States was more than an ordinary nation, that it was a proving ground for the idea of democratic government, Lincoln felt that he was leading a struggle to preserve "the last, best hope of earth." Despite war-weariness and repeated defeats, he never wavered in his "paramount object." To restore national unity he would do what was necessary, without regard to legalistic construction of the Constitution, political objections in Congress, or personal popularity.

Partly because of that single-minded dedication, the American people, in time, gave to Lincoln a loyalty that proved to be another of his great assets. Making himself accessible to all who went to the White House, Lincoln learned what ordinary citizens felt about their government. In turn, his availability helped create in the popular mind the stereotype of "Honest Abe," the people's president, straightforward, and sympathetic. Lincoln's mastery of rhetoric further endeared him to the public. In an age of pretentious orators, he wrote clearly and succinctly. Purists might object when he said that the Confederates in one engagement "turned tail and ran," but the man in the street approved. Lincoln's 268-word address at the dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg meant more than the preceding two-hour oration by Edward Everett.

Another of Lincoln's assets was the fact that he was a genius at the game of

politics. He astutely managed the patronage at his disposal, distributing favors so as to bind local politicians to his administration and to undermine potential rivals for the presidency. He understood the value of silence and secrecy in politics and refrained from creating divisive issues or causing needless confrontations. He was extraordinarily flexible and pragmatic in the means he employed to restore the Union. "My policy," he frequently said, "is to have no policy." That did not mean that his was a course of drift. Instead, it reflected his understanding that, as president, he could only handle problems as they arose, confident that popular support for his solutions would be forthcoming.

Lincoln believed that the ultimate decision in the Civil War was beyond his, or any other man's, control. "Now, at the end of three years struggle," he wrote, as the war reached its climax, "the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it."

Sumter Crisis

In 1861, Lincoln's weaknesses were more evident than his strengths. Immediately after his inauguration he faced a crisis over Fort Sumter in the Charleston (S. C.) harbor, one of the few remaining U.S. forts in the seceded states still under federal control. Informed that the troops would have to be supplied or withdrawn, the inexperienced President anxiously explored solutions. Withdrawal would appear a cowardly back down, but reinforcing the fort might precipitate hostilities. Lincoln painfully concluded that he would send supplies to Sumter and let the Confederates decide whether to fire on the flag of the Union. Historians differ as to whether Lincoln anticipated that hostilities would follow his decision, but they agree that Lincoln was determined that he would not order the first shot fired. Informed of the approach of the federal supply fleet, Confederate authorities at Charleston during the early hours of April 12 decided to bombard the fort. Thus, the Civil War began.

Because Congress was not in session, Lincoln moved swiftly to mobilize the Union by executive order. His requisition to the states for 75,000 volunteers precipitated the secession of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Kentucky tried to adopt an official policy of "neutrality," while secession sentiment in Maryland was so strong that for a time Washington, D.C., was cut off from communication with the North. In order to restore order, Lincoln directed that the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus be suspended, at first along the line between Washington and Philadelphia and later throughout most of the North, so that known secessionists and persons suspected of disloyalty could be held without trial. At the same time the President, without congressional authorization--and thus in direct violation of the Constitution--ordered an increase in the size of the regular Army and Navy. Doubting the loyalty of certain government officials, he also entrusted public funds to private

agents in New York to purchase arms and supplies.

When the 37th Congress assembled in special session on July 4, 1861, it was thus confronted with a fait accompli. The President, acting in his capacity as commander in chief, had put himself at the head of the whole Union war effort, arrogating to himself greater powers than those claimed by any previous American president. His enemies termed him a dictator and a tyrant. In fact, his power was limited, partly by his own instincts, partly by the knowledge that his actions would be judged in four years at the polls, and chiefly by the inadequacy of the federal bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, the role of Congress was sharply defined: it could appropriate money to support the war, it could initiate legislation on issues not related to the war, it could debate questions relating to the conflict. But direction of the Union war effort was to remain firmly in Lincoln's hands.

Military Policy

The first responsibility of the President was the successful prosecution of the war against the Confederate States. In this duty he was hampered by the lack of a strong military tradition in America and by the shortage of trained officers. During the early months of the conflict the War Department was headed by Simon Cameron, and corruption and inefficiency were rife. Not until January, 1862, when Lincoln replaced Cameron with the imperious but efficient Edwin M. Stanton, was some semblance of order brought to the procurement of supplies for the federal armies. Navy secretary Gideon Welles was above suspicion, but he was inexperienced in nautical affairs and cautious in accepting innovations, such as the ironclad monitors. Even more difficult was the task of finding capable general officers. At first the President gave supreme command of the Union forces to the elderly Gen. Winfield Scott. After the Confederate victory at the first battle of Bull Run (July 21, 1861), Lincoln increasingly entrusted power to George B. McClellan, a brilliant organizer and administrator. But McClellan's caution, his secretiveness, and his willingness to strip the defenses of Washington the better to attack Richmond led Lincoln to look elsewhere for military advice. Borrowing "a large number of strategical works" from the Library of Congress, he attempted to direct the overall conduct of the war himself by issuing a series of presidential general war orders. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, whom Lincoln brought to Washington as a strategic planner, served more as a glorified clerk, and the President repeatedly exercised personal supervision over the commanders in the field.

Not until the emergence of Ulysses S. Grant, hero of Vicksburg and Chattanooga, did Lincoln find a general to whom he could entrust overall direction of the war. Even then, the President kept a close eye on military operations, advising and even occasionally overruling the general, but mostly supporting and encouraging him.

Emancipation

Strongly opposed to slavery, Lincoln made a sharp distinction between his personal views and his public responsibilities. He had been elected on a platform that pledged not to interfere with the "peculiar institution" in states where it already existed and had sworn to uphold a Constitution that protected Southern rights. From the first day of the war, however, he was under pressure from the more extreme antislavery men in his own party to strike at slavery as the mainspring of the rebellion. Counterbalancing this pressure was the need to conciliate opinion in the border states, which still recognized slavery but were loyal to the Union. Any move against slavery, Lincoln feared, would cause their secession.

Wartime pressure inescapably forced the president toward emancipation. Foreign powers could not be expected to sympathize with the North, when both the Union and the Confederate governments were pledged to uphold slavery. As the war dragged on, more and more northerners saw the absurdity of continuing to protect the "peculiar institution," which, by keeping a subservient labor force on the farms, permitted the Confederates to put proportionately more of their able-bodied white men into their armies. When Union casualties mounted, even racist northerners began to favor enlisting blacks in the Union armies.

As sentiment for emancipation mounted, Lincoln was careful to keep complete control of the problem in his own hands. He sharply overruled premature efforts by two of his military commanders, Frémont in Missouri and David Hunter in the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, to declare slaves in their military theaters free. At the same time, the President urged the border states to accept a program of gradual emancipation, with federal compensation.

By midsummer of 1862, however, it was evident that these efforts would not be successful. Still troubled by divided Union sentiment and still uncertain of his constitutional powers to act, Lincoln prepared to issue an emancipation proclamation. Secretary of State William H. Seward, however, persuaded him that such an order, issued at the low point of Union military fortunes, would be taken as evidence of weakness. The President postponed his move until after the Battle of Antietam. Then, on Sept. 22, 1862, he issued his preliminary proclamation, announcing that after 100 days all slaves in states still in rebellion would be forever free. This was followed, in due course, by the definitive Emancipation Proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863.

Because the proclamation exempted slavery in the border states and in all Confederate territory already under the control of Union armies and because Lincoln was not certain that his action would be sustained by the Supreme

Court, he strongly urged Congress to adopt the 13th Amendment, forever abolishing slavery throughout the country. Congressional action on this measure was completed in January 1865. Lincoln considered the amendment "the complete consummation of his own work, the emancipation proclamation."

Foreign Relations

Never having traveled abroad and having few acquaintances in the courts of Europe, Lincoln, for the most part, left the conduct of foreign policy to Seward. Yet, at critical times he made his influence felt. Early in his administration, when Seward recklessly proposed to divert attention from domestic difficulties by threatening a war against Spain and perhaps other powers, the President quietly squelched the project. Again, in 1861, Lincoln intervened to tone down a dispatch Seward wrote to Charles Francis Adams, the U.S. minister in London, which probably would have led to a break in diplomatic relations with Britain. In the Trent affair, that same year, when Union Capt. Charles Wilkes endangered the peace by removing two Confederate emissaries from a British ship and taking them into custody, Lincoln took a courageous but unpopular stand by insisting that the prisoners be released.

Wartime Politics

Throughout the war Lincoln was the subject of frequent, and often vitriolic, attacks, both from the Democrats who thought he was proceeding too drastically against slavery and from the Radicals in his own party--men like Charles Sumner, Benjamin F. Wade, and Zachariah Chandler--who considered him slow and ineffective. Partisan newspapers abused the President as "a slangwhanging stump speaker," a "half-witted usurper," a "mole-eyed" monster with "soul ... of leather", "the present turtle at the head of the government." Men of his own party openly charged that he was "unfit," a "political coward," a "dictator," "timid and ignorant," "shattered, dazed, utterly foolish."

A minority president in 1861, Lincoln lost further support in the congressional elections of 1862, when Democrats took control of the crucial states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. As the 1864 election approached, it was clear that Lincoln would face formidable opposition for reelection, not merely from a Democratic candidate but from rivals within his own party. Republican anti-Lincoln sentiment centered on treasury secretary Salmon P. Chase, who was working with the Radical critics of Lincoln in Congress. The Chase boom failed, however, chiefly because Lincoln insisted upon keeping the ambitious secretary in his cabinet. At the same time, Lincoln's own agents were working quietly to sew up the state delegations to the Republican national convention. Even Chase's own state of Ohio pledged to vote for Lincoln. Facing certain defeat, Chase withdrew from the race, but Lincoln kept him in the cabinet until after the Republican national convention, which met in Baltimore in June 1864.

Lacking a prominent standard bearer, some disgruntled Republicans gathered in Cleveland in May 1864 to nominate Frémont, but the movement never made much headway. Radical pressure was powerful enough, however, to persuade Lincoln to drop the most outspokenly conservative member of his cabinet, Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, and Frémont withdrew from the race. Lincoln's Republican critics continued to hope they could summon a new national convention, which would replace the President with a more Radical candidate, but this scheme died with news of Union military victories. For a time Democratic opposition in 1864 to Lincoln's reelection also appeared to be formidable, for people were tired of the endless war and disinclined to fight for the liberty of black men. But the Democrats found it impossible to bring together the two major groups of Lincoln's critics--those who wanted the President to end the war, and those who wanted him to prosecute it more vigorously. Meeting at Chicago in August, the Democratic national convention nominated a candidate, Gen. George B. McClellan, pledged to the successful conclusion of the war on a platform that called the war a failure. McClellan's repudiation of this peace plank showed how fundamentally split were the Democrats.

Whatever chance the Democrats had in 1864 was lost when the war at last began to favor the Union cause. By the late summer of 1864, Grant had forced Lee back into the defenses of Richmond and Petersburg. In the West, Sherman's advancing army captured Atlanta on September 2. At the same time, Admiral Farragut's naval forces closed the key Confederate port of Mobile. When the ballots were cast in November, the results reflected both these Union triumphs and the rift among the opposition. Lincoln carried every state except Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey. He polled 2,206,938 popular votes to McClellan's 1,803,787 and won an electoral vote victory of 212 to 21. It must be remembered, however, that voters in the seceded states, the strongholds of the Democratic party, did not participate in the election.

Life in the White House

Beset by military, diplomatic, and political problems, the President tried to keep his family life as normal as possible. The two youngest Lincoln boys, Thomas (Tad) and William Wallace (Willie), were high spirited lads. Their older brother, the sober Robert Todd Lincoln, was less frequently in Washington, because he was first a student at Harvard and later an aide to General Grant. Despite the snobbishness of Washington society and criticisms from those who wanted all social affairs suspended because of the war, the Lincolns continued to hold receptions in the White House. But the President found these affairs costly and tiring. He would slip away late at night after a White House party to visit the telegraph room of the War Department to read the latest dispatches from the front. He never took a vacation, but in summer he moved his family to the cooler and more secluded Soldier's Home in Washington.

Lincoln visibly aged during the war years, and by 1865 he appeared almost haggard. His life was made harder by personal trials. Early in 1862, Willie died of typhoid. His mother, always high-strung and hysterical, suffered a nervous breakdown, and Lincoln had to watch over her with careful solicitude. But Lincoln emerged from his public and private agonies with a new serenity of soul. Any trace of vanity or egotism was burned out by the fires of war. In his second inaugural address, his language reached a new level of eloquence. Urging his countrymen to act "with malice toward none; with charity for all," he looked beyond the end of the war toward binding up the nation's wounds, so as to "achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace."

Reconstruction

From the start of the Civil War, Lincoln was deeply concerned about the terms under which the Southern states, once subdued, should be restored to the Union. He had no fixed plan for reconstruction. At the outset, he would have welcomed a simple decision on the part of any Southern state government to rescind its ordinance of secession and return its delegation to Congress. By 1863, however, to this war aim of union he added that of liberty, for he now insisted that emancipation of the slaves was a necessary condition for restoration. By the end of the war he was beginning to add a third condition, equality, for he realized that minimal guarantees of civil rights for blacks were essential. Privately, he let it be known that he favored extending the franchise in the Southern states to some of the blacks--"as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks."

As to means by which to achieve these goals, Lincoln was also flexible. When Union armies advanced into the South, he appointed military governors for the states that were conquered. Most notable of these was the military governor of Tennessee, Andrew Johnson, who became Lincoln's running mate in 1864. In December 1863, Lincoln enunciated a comprehensive reconstruction program, pledging pardon and amnesty to Confederates who were prepared to swear loyalty to the Union and promising to turn back control of local governments to the civil authorities in the South when as few as 10% of the 1860 voting population participated in the elections. Governments operating under this 10% plan were set up in Louisiana and Arkansas and soon were petitioning for readmission to Congress.

Inevitably Lincoln's program ran into opposition, both because it represented a gigantic expansion of presidential powers and because it appeared not to give adequate guarantees to the freedmen. Defeating an attempt to seat the senators from the new government in Arkansas, Radical Republicans in Congress in July 1864 set forth their own terms for restoration in the far harsher Wade-Davis Bill. When Lincoln pocket-vetoed this measure, declaring that he was "unprepared to be inflexibly committed

to any single plan of reconstruction," Radicals accused him of "dictatorial usurpation."

The stage was set for further conflict over reconstruction when Congress reassembled in December 1864, just after Lincoln's reelection. Assisted by the Democrats, the Radicals forced Lincoln's supporters to drop the bill to readmit Louisiana. Lincoln was deeply saddened by the defeat. "Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl," he said, "shall we sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it?" On April 11, 1865, in his last public address, the President defended his reconstruction policy.

Death

Three days later, the President was shot by the actor John Wilkes Booth while attending a performance at Ford's Theater in Washington. He died at 7:22 the following morning, April 15, 1865. After lying in state in the Capitol, his body was taken to Springfield, Ill., where he was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery.

Benjamin P. Thomas,

Author of "Abraham Lincoln: A Biography" and

David Herbert Donald

Harry C. Black Professor of History and Director of the Institute of
Southern History, The Johns Hopkins University

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Biography of Mary Todd Lincoln (from Grolier Encyclopedia)

Mary Todd Lincoln, (1818-1882), wife of Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States. She was born in Lexington, Ky., on Dec. 13, 1818, the fourth child of Robert S. Todd and Eliza Parker Todd. The family was well-to-do and socially prominent, and Mary received a good education. But life in the Todd household was somewhat strained, for Mrs. Todd died when Mary was six, and Mr. Todd soon remarried.

Wife of Lincoln

In 1839, Mary Todd went to Springfield, Ill., to live with her oldest sister, Elizabeth, who had married Ninian W. Edwards, the son of the former governor of Illinois. There she met Abraham Lincoln, nine years her senior, a lawyer and state legislator. After a lengthy courtship marked by a broken engagement, they were married on Nov. 4, 1842. Four sons were born of this marriage, but only the oldest, Robert Todd Lincoln, lived to maturity.

The course of the marriage was not always smooth. Lincoln was reserved, introspective, and deficient in social graces, whereas his wife was vivacious, self-centered, and ambitious. On his modest income Lincoln could not provide the luxuries Mrs. Lincoln wanted. Temperaments clashed, but the reported extent of discord has been exaggerated. Certainly Mary Lincoln took pride in her husband's rise in law and politics.

With Lincoln's election to the presidency in 1860, Mary Lincoln realized her highest ambition. But life in the White House was not what she had expected. By her sharp tongue and by meddling in matters not her concern, she made enemies. Her family connections in the Confederacy aroused suspicions, totally unwarranted, of her loyalty. The death of her third son, 12-year-old William Wallace, in 1862 was shattering. Her second son, Edward Baker, had died in infancy.

Widow of Lincoln

Mrs. Lincoln was with the president at Ford's Theater on the night he was shot. Probably long neurotic, she was rarely fully responsible after Lincoln's death, on April 15, 1865. Her principal obsession was poverty. Because of debts, she felt impelled to sell her wardrobe, a venture that created a public uproar. In fact, she had an income adequate to support her comfortably. Aside from her share of Lincoln's estate, she had an annuity from Congress of \$3,000 granted in 1870, which was increased to \$5,000 in 1880.

For three years Mrs. Lincoln lived in Chicago, then went to Europe. In 1871, shortly after her return to the United States, her youngest son, Thomas (Tad), died at the age of 13. His death prostrated the already overwrought mother.

In 1875, Mary Lincoln began to show signs of acute mental abnormality. Fearing that she would squander her estate and perhaps even take her own life, Robert Todd Lincoln brought insanity proceedings against her. On May 19 a jury found her insane. After four months in a private

sanatorium, she was released in the care of her sister, Mrs. Edwards, in Springfield. On June 15, 1876, another jury declared her sane.

During the next four years Mrs. Lincoln lived in Europe, mainly in Pau, France. Her health was poor, and she complained incessantly of poverty. In 1880 she returned to the United States to live with Mrs. Edwards. A tragic figure, who had descended from youthful exuberance and high ambition to bleak despair, she died in Springfield, Ill., on July 16, 1882.

Paul M. Angle

Coauthor, *Mary Lincoln: Wife and Widow*

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Significant Writings and Documents of the President.

Lincoln's Autobiographies.

Abraham Lincoln wrote three short autobiographical statements, all of them solicited by others. They are reproduced here with the spelling and grammar that Lincoln used.

In 1858, Charles Lanman, while preparing a Dictionary of Congress, which would include all those who had served in the United States Congress, requested information from Lincoln. Some sent in twenty page replies; Lincoln wrote seven lines:

Lincoln's 1858 Autobiographical statement:

Born, February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky.

Education defective.

Profession, a law.

Have been a captain of volunteers in Black Hawk war.

Postmaster at a very small office.

Four times a member of the Illinois legislature, and was a member of the lower house of Congress.

A year later, Jesse W. Fell, editor of Chester County Times, requested an autobiography. Lincoln provided a longer one but, he claimed, "There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me."

Lincoln's 1859 Autobiographical statement December 20, 1859:

I was born Feb. 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families-second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon counties, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky, about 1781 or 2, where, a year or two later, he was killed by indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New-England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite, than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age; and he grew up, literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer county, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came in the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called; but no qualification was ever required of a teacher, beyond "readin, writin, and cipherin," to the Rule of Three. If a straggler supposed to understand latin, happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizzard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course when I came of age I did not know much. Still somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the Rule of Three; but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education. I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty two. At twenty two I came to Illinois, and passed the first year in Illinois - Macon county. Then I got to New-Salem, (at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard county), where I remained a year as a sort of Clerk in a store. Then came the Black-Hawk war; and I was elected a Captain of Volunteers - a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went the campaign, was elated, ran for the Legislature the same year (1832) and was beaten - the only time I have been beaten by the people. The next, and three succeeding biennial elections, I was elected to the Legislature. I was not a candidate afterwards. During this Legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was once elected to the lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a whig in politics, and generally on the whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said, I am, in height, six feet, four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing, on an average, one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair, and grey eyes - no other marks or brands recollected. Yours very truly,

Lincoln

1860 Autobiography. Lincoln's last autobiography was requested by John Locke Scripps of the Chicago Press and Tribune, who was writing a campaign biography for Lincoln's 1860 presidential race. This was his longest one, and provided the best information on his early years.

Lincoln's 1860 Autobiographical statement:

June, 1860 (Source: The Lincoln Encyclopedia by Mark Neely, Jr., 1982.)

Abraham Lincoln was born Feb. 12, 1809, then in Hardin, now in the more recently formed county of Larue, Kentucky. His father, Thomas, & grand-father, Abraham, were born in Rockingham county Virginia, whither their ancestors had come from Berks county Pennsylvania. His lineage has been traced no farther back than this. The family were originally quakers, though in later times they have fallen away from the peculiar habits of that people. The grand-father Abraham, had four brothers - Isaac, Jacob, John & Thomas. So far as known, the descendants of Jacob and John are still in Virginia. Isaac went to a place near where Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, join; and his decendants are in that region. Thomas came to Kentucky, and after many years, died there, whence his decendants went to Missouri. Abraham, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, came to Kentucky, and was killed by indians about the year 1784. He left a widow, three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Mordecai, remained in Kentucky, till late in life, when he removed to Hancock county, Illinois, where soon after he died, and where several of his descendants still reside. The second son, Josiah, removed at an early day to a place on Blue River, now within Harrison [Hancock] county, Indiana; but no recent information of him, or his family, has been obtained. The eldest sister, Mary, married Ralph Crume and some of her descendants are now known to be in Breckenridge county, Kentucky. The second sister, Nancy, married William Brumfield, and her family are not known to have left Kentucky, but there is no recent information from them. Thomas, the youngest son, and father of the present subject, by the early death of his father, and very narrow circumstances of his mother, even in childhood was a wandering laboring boy, and grew up literally without education.

He never did more in the way of writing than to bunglingly sign his own name. Before he was grown, he passed one year as a hired hand with his uncle Isaac on Wata[u]ga, a branch of the Holsteen [Holston] River. Getting back into Kentucky, and having reached his 28th. year, he married Nancy Hanks—mother of the present subject—in the year 1806. She also was born in Virginia; and relatives of hers of the name of Hanks, and of other names, now reside in Coles, in Macon, and in Abrams counties, Illinois, and also in Iowa. The present subject has no brother or sister of the whole or half blood. He had a sister, older than himself, who was grown and married, but died many years ago, leaving no child. Also a brother, younger than himself, who died in infancy. Before leaving Kentucky he and his sister were sent for short periods, to A.B.C. schools, the first kept by Zachariah Riney, and the second by Caleb Hazel.

At this time his father resided on Knob-creek, on the road from Bardstown Ky. to Nashville Tenn. At a point three, or three and a half miles South or South-West of Atherton's ferry on the Rolling Fork. From this place he removed to what is now Spencer county Indiana, in the autumn of 1816, A. then being in his eighth year. This removal was partly on account of slavery; but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles in Ky. He settled in an unbroken forest; and the clearing away of surplus wood was the great task a head. A. though very young, was large of his age and had an axe put into his hands at once; and from that till within his twentythird year, he was almost constantly handling that most useful instrument—less, of course, in plowing and harvesting

seasons. At this place A. took an early start as a hunter, which was never much improved afterwards. (A few days before the completion of his eighth year, in the absence of his father, a flock of wild turkeys approached the new log-cabin, and A. with a rifle gun, standing inside, shot through a crack, and killed one of them. He has never since pulled a trigger on any larger game.) In the autumn of 1818 his mother died; and a year afterwards his father married Mrs. Sally Johnston, at Elizabeth-Town, Ky—a widow, with three children of her first marriage. She proved a good and kind mother to A. and is still living in Coles Co. Illinois. There were no children of this second marriage. His father's residence continued at the same place in Indiana, till 1830. While here A. went to A.B.C. schools by littles, kept successively by Andrew Crawford, ---- Sweeney, and Azel W. Dorsey. He does not remember any other. The family of Mr. Dorsey now reside in Schuyler Co. Illinois. A. now thinks that the aggregate of all his schooling did not amount to one year. He was never in a college or Academy as a student; and never inside of a college or accademy building till since he had a law-license. What he has in the way of education, he has picked up. After he was twentythree, and had separated from his father, he studied English grammar, imperfectly of course, but so as to speak and write as well as he now does. He studied and nearly mastered the Six-books of Euclid, since he was a member of Congress. He regrets his want of education, and does what he can to supply the want. In his tenth year he was kicked by a horse, and apparently killed for a time. When he was nineteen, still residing in Indiana, he made his first trip upon a flat-boat to New-Orleans. He was a hired hand merely; and he and a son of the owner, without other assistance, made the trip.

The nature of part of the cargo-load, as it was called—made it necessary for them to linger and trade along the Sugar coast—and one night they were attacked by seven negroes with intent to kill and rob them. They were hurt some in the melee, but succeeded in driving the negroes from the boat, and then “cut cable” “weighed anchor” and left.

March 1st, 1830 -- A. having just completed his 21st. year, his father and family, with the families of the two daughters and sons-in-law, of his step-mother, left the old homestead in Indiana, and came to Illinois. Their mode of conveyance was waggons drawn by ox-teams, or A. drove one of the teams. They reached the county of Macon, and stopped there some time within the same month of March. His father and family settled a new place on the North side of the Sangamon river, at the junction of the timber-land and prairie, about ten miles Westerly from Decatur. Here they built a log-cabin, into which they removed, and made sufficient of rails to fence ten acres of ground, fenced and broke the ground, and raised a crop of sow[n] corn upon it the same year. These are, or are supposed to be, the rails about which so much is being said just now, though they are far from being the first, or only rails ever made by A.

The sons-in-law, were temporarily settled at other places in the county. In the autumn all hands were greatly afflicted with augue and fever, to which they had not been used, and by which they were greatly discouraged—so much so that they determined on leaving the county. They remained however, through the succeeding winter, which was the winter of the very celebrated “deep snow” of Illinois. During that winter, A. together with his stepmother's son, John D. Johnston, and John Hanks, yet residing in Macon country, hired themselves to one Denton Offutt, to take a flat boat from Beardstown, Illinois to New-Orleans; and for that purpose, were to join him—Offut—at Springfield, Ills so soon as the snow should go off. When it did go off which was about the 1st. of March 1831 -- the county was so flooded, as to make travelling by land impracticable; to obviate

which difficulty the[y] purchased a large canoe and came down the Sangamon river in it. This is the time and manner of A's first entrance into Sangamon County. They found Offutt at Springfield, but learned from him that he had failed in getting a boat at Beardstown. This lead to their hiring themselves to him at \$12 per month, each; and getting the timber out of the trees and building a boat at old Sangamon Town on the Sangamon river, seven miles N.W. of Springfield, which boat they took to New-Orleans, substantially upon the old contract. It was in connection with this boat that occurred the ludicrous incident of sewing up the hogs eyes. Offutt bought thirty odd large fat live hogs, but found difficulty in driving them from where [he] purchased them to the boat, and thereupon conceived the whim that he could sew up their eyes and drive them where he pleased. No sooner thought of than decided, he put his hands, including A. at the job, which they completed—all but the driving. In their blind condition they could not be driven out of the lot or field they were in. This expedient failing, they were tied and hauled on carts to the boat. It was near the Sangamon River, within what is now Menard county.

During this boat enterprize acquaintance with Offutt, who was previously an entire stranger, he conceived a liking for A. and believing he could turn him to account, he contracted with him to act as clerk for him, on his return from New-Orleans, in charge of a store and Mill at New-Salem, then in Sangamon, now in Menard country. Hanks had not gone to New-Orleans, but having a family, and being likely to be detained from home longer than at first expected, had turned back from St. Louis. He is the same John Hanks who now engineers the "rail enterprize" at Decatur; and is a first cousin to A's mother. A's father, with his own family & others mentioned, had, in pursuance of their intention, removed from Macon to Coles country. John D. Johnston, the step-mother's son, went to them; and A. stopped indefinitely, and, for the first time, as it were, by himself at New-Salem, before mentioned. This was in July 1831. Here he rapidly made acquaintances and friends. In less than a year Offutt's business was failing—had almost failed, -- when the Black-Hawk war of 1832 -- broke out. A joined a volunteer company, and to his own surprise, was elected captain of it. He says he has not since had any success in life which gave him so much satisfaction. He went the campaign, served near three months, met the ordinary hardships of such an expedition, but was in no battle. He now owns in Iowa, the land upon which his own warrants for this service, were located. Returning from the campaign, and encouraged by his great popularity, among his immediate neighbors, he, the same year, ran for the Legislature and was beaten—his own precinct, however, casting it's votes 277 for and 7, against him. And this too while he was an avowed Clay man, and the precinct the autumn afterwards, giving a majority of 115 to Genl. Jackson over Mr. Clay.

This was the only time A was ever beaten on a direct vote of the people. He was now without means and out of business, but was anxious to remain with his friends who had treated him with so much generosity, especially as he had nothing elsewhere to go to. He studied what he should do—thought of learning the black-smith trade—thought of trying to study law—rather thought he could not succeed at that without a better education. Before long, strangely enough, a man offered to sell and did sell, to A. and another as poor as himself, and old stock of goods, upon credit. They opened as merchants; and he says that was the store. Of course they did nothing but get deeper and deeper in debt. He was appointed Postmaster at New-Salem—the office being too insignificant, to make his politics an objection. The store winked out. The Surveyor of Sangamon, offered to depute to A that portion of his work which was within his part of the county. He accepted, procured a compass and chain, studied Flint, and Gibson a little, and went at it. This

procured bread, and kept soul and body together. The election of 1834 came, and he was then elected to the Legislature by the highest vote cast for any candidate. Major John T. Stuart, then in full practice of the law, was also elected. During the canvass, in a private conversation he encouraged A. [to] study law. After the election he borrowed books of Stuart, took them home with him, and went at it in good earnest. He studied with nobody. He still mixed in the surveying to pay board and clothing bills. When the Legislature met, the law books were dropped, but were taken up again at the end of the session. He was re-elected in 1836, 1838, and 1840. In the autumn of 1836 he obtained a law licence, and on April 15, 1837, removed to Springfield, and commenced the practice, his old friend, Stuart taking him into partnership.

March 3rd, 1837, by a protest entered upon the Ills. House Journal of that date, at pages 817, 818, A. with Dan Stone, another representative of Sangamon, briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, it was then the same that it is now. The protest is as follows - (Here insert it) In 1838, & 1840 Mr. L's party in the Legislature voted for him as Speaker; but being in the minority, he was not elected. After 1840 he declined a re-election to the Legislature. He was on the Harrison electoral ticket in 1840, and on that of Clay in 1844, and spent much time and labor in both those canvasses. In Nov. 1842 he was married to Mary, daughter of Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky. They have three living children, all sons—one born in 1843, one in 1850, and one in 1853. They lost one, who was born in 1846. In 1846, he was elected to the lower House of Congress, and served one term only, commencing in Dec. 1847 and ending with the inauguration of Gen. Taylor, in March, 1849. All the battles of the Mexican war had been fought before Mr. L. took his seat in congress, but the American army was still in Mexico, and the treaty of peace was not fully and formally ratified till the June afterwards. Much as been said of his course in Congress in regard to this war.

A careful examination of the Journals and Congressional Globe shows, that he voted for all the supply measures which came up, and for all the meeasures in any way favorable to the officers, soldiers, and their families, who conducted the war through; with this exception that some of these measures passed without yeas and nays, leaving no record as to how particular men voted. The Journals and Globe also show him voting that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States. This is the language of Mr. Ashmun's amendment, for which Mr. L. and nearly or quite all, other whigs of the H.R. voted.

Mr. L's reasons for the opinion expressed by this vote were briefly that the President had sent Genl. Taylor into an inhabited part of the country belonging to Mexico, and not to the U.S. and thereby had provoked the first act of hostility—in fact the commencement of the war; that the place, being the country bordering on the East bank of the Rio Grande, was inhabited by native Mexicans, born there under the Mexican government; and had never submitted to, nor been conquered by Texas, or the U.S. nor transferred to either by treaty—that although Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her boundary, Mexico had never recognized it, the people on the ground had never recognized it, and neither Texas nor the U.S. had ever enforced it—that there was a broad desert between that, and the country over which Texas had actual control—that the country where hostilities commenced, having once belonged to Mexico, must remain so, until it was somehow legally transferred, which had never been done.

Mr. L. thought the act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans, was unnecessary, inasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting, or menacing the U.S. or the people thereof; and that it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President. He thought the principal motive for the act, was to divert public opinion from the surrender of "Fifty-four, forty, or fight" to Great Britain, on the Oregon boundary question.

Mr. L. was not a candidate for re-election. This was determined upon, and declared before he went to Washington, in accordance with an understanding among whig friends, by which Col. Hardin, and Col. Baker had each previously served a single term in the same District. In 1848, during his term in congress, he advocated Gen. Taylor's nomination for the Presidency, in opposition to all others, and also took an active part for this election, after his nomination—speaking a few times in Maryland, near Washington, several times in Massachusetts, and canvassing quite fully his own district in Illinois, which was followed by a majority in the district of over 1500 for Gen. Taylor.

Upon his return from Congress he went to the practice of the law with greater earnestness than ever before. In 1852 he was upon the Scott electoral ticket, and did something in the way of canvassing, but owing to the hopelessness of the cause in Illinois, he did less than in previous presidential canvasses. In 1854, his profession had almost superseded the thought of politics in his mind, when the repeal of the Missouri compromise aroused him as he had never been before.

In the autumn of that year he took the stump with no broader practical aim or object than [than?] to secure, if possible, the reelection of Hon Richard Yates to congress. His speeches at once attracted a more marked attention than they had ever before done. As the canvass proceeded, he was drawn to different parts of the state, outside of Mr. Yates' district. He did not abandon the law, but gave his attention, by turns, to that and politics. The State agricultural fair was at Springfield that year, and Douglas was announced to speak there.

In the canvass of 1856, Mr. L. made over fifty speeches, no one of which, so far as he remembers, was put in print. One of them was made at Galena, but Mr. L. has no recollection of any part of it being printed; nor does he remember whether in that speech he said anything about a Supreme court decision. He may have spoken upon that subject; and some of the newspapers may have reported him as saying what is now ascribed to him; but he thinks he could not have expressed himself as represented. —A Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln's Speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act, October 16, 1854

... It is argued that slavery will not go to Kansas and Nebraska, in any event. This is a palliation--a lullaby. I have some hope that it will not; but let us not be too confident. As to climate, a glance at the map shows that there are five slave States--Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri--and also the District of Columbia, all north of the Missouri compromise line. The census returns of 1850 show that, within these, there are 867,276 slaves--being more than one-fourth of all the slaves in the nation.

It is not climate, then, that will keep slavery out of these territories. Is there any thing in the peculiar nature of the country? Missouri adjoins these territories, by her entire western boundary, and slavery is already within every one of her western counties. I have even heard it said that there are more slaves, in proportion to whites, in the north western county of Missouri, than within any county of the State. Slavery pressed entirely up to the old western boundary of the State, and when, rather recently, a part of that boundary, at the north-west was, moved out a little farther west, slavery followed on quite up to the new line. Now, when the restriction is removed, what is to prevent it from going still further? Climate will not. No peculiarity of the country will--nothing in nature will. Will the disposition of the people prevent it? Those nearest the scene, are all in favor of the extension. The yankees, who are opposed to it may be more numerous; but in military phrase, the battle-field is too far from their base of operations.

But it is said, there now is no law in Nebraska on the subject of slavery; and that, in such case, taking a slave there, operates his freedom. That is good book-law; but is not the rule of actual practice. Wherever slavery is, it has been first introduced without law. The oldest laws we find concerning it, are not laws introducing it; but regulating it, as an already existing thing. A white man takes his slave to Nebraska now; who will inform the negro that he is free? Who will take him before court to test the question of his freedom? In ignorance of his legal emancipation, he is kept chopping, splitting and plowing. Others are brought, and move on in the same track. At last, if ever the time for voting comes, on the question of slavery, the institution already in fact exists in the country, and cannot well be removed. The facts of its presence, and the difficulty of its removal will carry the vote in its favor. Keep it out until a vote is taken, and a vote in favor of it, can not be got in any population of forty thousand, on earth, who have been drawn together by the ordinary motives of emigration and settlement. To get slaves into the country simultaneously with the whites, in the incipient stages of settlement, is the precise stake played for, and won in this Nebraska measure.

The question is asked us, "If slaves will go in, notwithstanding the general principle of law liberates them, why would they not equally go in against positive statute law?--go in, even if the Missouri restriction were maintained?" I answer, because it takes a much bolder man to venture in, with his property, in the latter case, than in the former--because the positive congressional enactment is known to, and respected by all, or nearly all; whereas the negative principle that no law is free law, is not much known except among lawyers. We have some experience of this practical difference. In spite of the Ordinance of `87, a few negroes were brought into Illinois, and held in a state of quasi slavery; not enough, however to carry a vote of the people in favor of the institution when they came to form a constitution. But in the adjoining Missouri country, where there was no ordinance of `87--was no restriction--they were carried ten times, nay a hundred times, as fast, and actually made a slave State. This is fact--naked fact.

Another LULLABY argument is, that taking slaves to new countries does not increase their number--alms not make any one slave who otherwise would be free. There is some truth in this, and I am glad of it, but it [is] not WHOLLY true. The African slave trade is not yet effectually suppressed; and if we make a reasonable deduction for the white people amongst us, who are foreigners, and the descendants of foreigners, arriving here since 1808, we shall find the increase of the black population out-running that of the white, to an extent unaccountable, except by supposing that some of them too, have been coming from Africa. If this be so, the opening of new countries to the institution, increases the demand for, and augments the price of slaves, and so does, in fact, make slaves of freemen by causing them to be brought from Africa, and sold into bondage.

But, however this may be, we know the opening of new countries to slavery, tends to the perpetuation of the institution, and so does KEEP men in slavery who otherwise would be free. This result we do not FEEL like favoring, and we are under no legal obligation to suppress our feelings in this respect.

Equal justice to the south, it is said, requires us to consent to the extending of slavery to new countries. That is to say, inasmuch as you do not object to my taking my hog to Nebraska, therefore I must not object to you taking your slave. Now, I admit this is perfectly logical, if there is no difference between hogs and negroes. But while you thus require me to deny the humanity of the negro, I wish to ask whether you of the south yourselves, have ever been willing to do as much? It is kindly provided that of all those who come into the world, only a small percentage are natural tyrants. That percentage is no larger in the slave States than in the free. The great majority, south as well as north, have human sympathies, of which they can no more divest themselves than they can of

their sensibility to physical pain. These sympathies in the bosoms of the southern people, manifest in many ways, their sense of the wrong of slavery, and their consciousness that, after all, there is humanity in the negro. If they deny this, let me address them a few plain questions. In 1820 you joined the north, almost unanimously, in declaring the African slave trade piracy, and in annexing to it the punishment of death. Why did you do this? If you did not feel that it was wrong, why did you join in providing that men should be hung for it? The practice was no more than bringing wild negroes from Africa, to sell to such as would buy them. But you never thought of hanging men for catching and selling wild horses, wild buffaloes or wild bears.

Again, you have amongst you, a sneaking individual, of the class of native tyrants, known as the "SLAVE-DEALER." He watches your necessities, and crawls up to buy your slave, at a speculating price. If you cannot help it, you sell to him; but if you can help it, you drive him from your door. You despise him utterly. You do not recognize him as a friend, or even as an honest man. Your children must not play with his; they may rollick freely with the little negroes, but not with the "slave-dealers" children. If you are obliged to deal with him, you try to get through the job without so much as touching him. It is common with you to join hands with the men you meet; but with the slave dealer you avoid the ceremony-instinctively shrinking from the snaky contact. If he grows rich and retires from business, you still remember him, and still keep up the ban of non-intercourse upon him and his family. Now why is this? You do not so treat the man who deals in corn, cattle or tobacco.

And yet again; there are in the United States and territories, including the District of Columbia, 433,643 free blacks. At \$500 per head they are worth over two hundred millions of dollars. How comes this vast amount of property to be running about without owners? We do not see free horses or free cattle running at large. How is this? All these free blacks are the descendants of slaves, or have been slaves themselves, and they would be slaves now, but for SOMETHING which has operated on their white owners, inducing them, at vast pecuniary sacrifices, to liberate them. What is that SOMETHING? Is there any mistaking it? In all these cases it is your sense of justice, and human sympathy, continually telling you, that the poor negro has some natural right to himself-that those who deny it, and make mere merchandise of him, deserve kickings, contempt and death.

And now, why will you ask us to deny the humanity of the slave? and estimate him only as the equal of the hog? Why ask us to do what you will not do yourselves? Why ask us to do for nothing, what two hundred million of dollars could not induce you to do?

But one great argument in the support of the repeal of the Missouri

Compromise, is still to come. That argument is “the sacred right of self government.” It seems our distinguished Senator has found great difficulty in getting his antagonists, even in the Senate to meet him fairly on this argument-some poet has said

“Fools rush in where angels fear to tread.”

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

I trust I understand, and truly estimate the right of self-government. My faith in the proposition that each man should do precisely as he pleases with all which is exclusively his own, lies at the foundation of the sense of justice there is in me. I extend the principles to communities of men, as well as to individuals. I so extend it, because it is politically wise, as well as naturally just: politically wise, in saving us from broils about matters which do not concern us. Here, or at Washington, I would not trouble myself with the oyster laws of Virginia, or the cranberry laws of Indiana.

The doctrine of self government is right--absolutely and eternally right--but it has no just application, as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such just application depends upon whether a negro is not or is a man. If he is not a man, why in that case, he who is a man may, as a matter of self-government, do just as he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent, a total destruction of self-government, to say that he too shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself, and also governs another man, that is more than self-government--that is despotism. If the negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that “all men are created equal;” and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another.

Judge Douglas frequently, with bitter irony and sarcasm, paraphrases our argument by saying “The white people of Nebraska are good enough to govern themselves, but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable negroes!!”

Well I doubt not that the people of Nebraska are, and will continue to be as good as the average of people elsewhere. I do not say the contrary. What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man, without the other's consent. I say this is the leading principle--the sheet anchor of American republicanism. Our Declaration of Independence says:

“We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;

that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.”

I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that according to our ancient faith, the just powers of governments are derived from the consent of the governed. Now the relation of masters and slaves is, PRO TANTO, a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent; but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow ALL the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and that only is self-government.

Let it not be said I am contending for the establishment of political and social equality between the whites and blacks. I have already said the contrary. I am not now combating the argument of NECESSITY, arising from the fact that the blacks are already amongst us; but I am combating what is set up as MORAL argument for allowing them to be taken where they have never yet been--arguing against the EXTENSION of a bad thing, which where it already exists, we must of necessity, manage as we best can.

In support of his application of the doctrine of self-government, Senator Douglas has sought to bring to his aid the opinions and examples of our revolutionary fathers. I am glad he has done this. I love the sentiments of those old-time men; and shall be most happy to abide by their opinions. He shows us that when it was in contemplation for the colonies to break off from Great Britain, and set up a new government for themselves, several of the states instructed their delegates to go for the measure PROVIDED EACH STATE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO REGULATE ITS DOMESTIC CONCERNS IN ITS OWN WAY. I do not quote; but this in substance. This was right. I see nothing objectionable in it. I also think it probable that it had some reference to the existence of slavery amongst them. I will not deny that it had. But had it, in any reference to the carrying of slavery into NEW COUNTRIES? That is the question; and we will let the fathers themselves answer it.

This same generation of men, and mostly the same individuals of the generation, who declared this principle--who declared independence--who fought the war of the revolution through--who afterwards made the constitution under which we still live--these same men passed the ordinance of '87, declaring that slavery should never go to the north-west territory. I have no doubt Judge Douglas thinks they were very inconsistent in this. It is a question of discrimination between them and him. But there is not an inch of ground left for his claiming that their opinions--their example--their authority-- are on his side in this controversy.

Again, is not Nebraska, while a territory, a part of us? Do we not own the

country? And if we surrender the control of it, do we not surrender the right of self-government? It is part of ourselves. If you say we shall not control it because it is ONLY part, the same is true of every other part; and when all the parts are gone, what has become of the whole? What is then left of us? What use for the general government, when there is nothing left for it [to] govern?

But you say this question should be left to the people of Nebraska, because they are more particularly interested. If this be the rule, you must leave it to each individual to say for himself whether he will have slaves. What better moral right have thirty-one citizens of Nebraska to say, that the thirty-second shall not hold slaves, than the people of the thirty-one States have to say that slavery shall not go into the thirty-second State at all?

But if it is a sacred right for the people of Nebraska to take and hold slaves there, it is equally their sacred right to buy them where they can buy them cheapest; and that undoubtedly will be on the coast of Africa; provided you will consent to not hang them for going there to buy them. You must remove this restriction too, from the sacred right of self-government. I am aware you say that taking slaves from the States to Nebraska, does not make slaves of freemen; but the African slave-trader can say just as much. He does not catch free negroes and bring them here. He finds them already slaves in the hands of their black captors, and he honestly buys them at the rate of about a red cotton handkerchief a head. This is very cheap, and it is a great abridgement of the sacred right of self-government to hang men for engaging in this profitable trade!

Another important objection to this application of the right of self-government, is that it enables the first FEW, to deprive the succeeding MANY, of a free exercise of the right of self-government. The first few may get slavery IN, and the subsequent many cannot easily get it OUT. How common is the remark now in the slave States-- "If we were only clear of our slaves, how much better it would be for us." They are actually deprived of the privilege of governing themselves as they would, by the action of a very few, in the beginning. The same thing was true of the whole nation at the time our constitution was formed.

Whether slavery shall go into Nebraska, or other new territories, is not a matter of exclusive concern to the people who may go there. The whole nation is interested that the best use shall be made of these territories. We want them for the homes of free white people. This they cannot be, to any considerable extent, if slavery shall be planted within them. Slave States are places for poor white people to remove FROM; not to remove TO. New free States are the places for poor people to go to and better their condition. For this use, the nation needs these territories.

Still further; there are constitutional relations between the slave and free States, which are degrading to the latter. We are under legal obligations to catch and return their runaway slaves to them--a sort of dirty, disagreeable job, which I believe, as a general rule the slave-holders will not perform for one another. Then again, in the control of the government the management of the partnership affairs--they have greatly the advantage of us. By the constitution, each State has two Senators--each has a number of Representatives; in proportion to the number of its people--and each has a number of presidential electors, equal to the whole number of its Senators and Representatives together. But in ascertaining the number of the people, for this purpose, five slaves are counted as being equal to three whites. The slaves do not vote; they are only counted and so used, as to swell the influence of the white people's votes. The practical effect of this is more aptly shown by a comparison of the States of South Carolina and Maine. South Carolina has six representatives, and so has Maine; South Carolina has eight presidential electors, and so has Maine. This is precise equality so far; and, of course they are equal in Senators, each having two. Thus in the control of the government, the two States are equals precisely. But how are they in the number of their white people? Maine has 581,813-- while South Carolina has 274,567. Maine has twice as many as South Carolina, and 32,679 over. Thus each white man in South Carolina is more than the double of any man in Maine. This is all because South Carolina, besides her free people, has 384,984 slaves. The South Carolinian has precisely the same advantage over the white man in every other free State, as well as in Maine. He is more than the double of any one of us in this crowd. The same advantage, but not to the same extent, is held by all the citizens of the slave States, over those of the free; and it is an absolute truth, without an exception, that there is no voter in any slave State, but who has more legal power in the government, than any voter in any free State. There is no instance of exact equality; and the disadvantage is against us the whole chapter through. This principle, in the aggregate, gives the slave States, in the present Congress, twenty additional representatives--being seven more than the whole majority by which they passed the Nebraska bill.

Now all this is manifestly unfair; yet I do not mention it to complain of it, in so far as it is already settled. It is in the constitution; and I do not, for that cause, or any other cause, propose to destroy, or alter, or disregard the constitution. I stand to it, fairly, fully, and firmly.

But when I am told I must leave it altogether to OTHER PEOPLE to say whether new partners are to be bred up and brought into the firm, on the same degrading terms against me, I respectfully demur. I insist, that whether I shall be a whole man, or only, the half of one, in comparison with others, is a question in which I am somewhat concerned; and one which

no other man can have a sacred right of deciding for me. If I am wrong in this-if it really be a sacred right of self-government, in the man who shall go to Nebraska, to decide whether he will be the EQUAL of me or the DOUBLE of me, then after he shall have exercised that right, and thereby shall have reduced me to a still smaller fraction of a man than I already am, I should like for some gentleman deeply skilled in the mysteries of sacred rights, to provide himself with a microscope, and peep about, and find out, if he can, what has become of my sacred rights! They will surely be too small for detection with the naked eye.

Finally, I insist, that if there is ANY THING which it is the duty of the WHOLE PEOPLE to never entrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity, of their own liberties, and institutions. And if they shall think, as I do, that the extension of slavery endangers them, more than any, or all other causes, how recreant to themselves, if they submit the question, and with it, the fate of their country, to a mere hand-full of men, bent only on temporary self-interest. If this question of slavery extension were an insignificant one having no power to do harm--it might be shuffled aside in this way. But being, as it is, the great Behemoth of danger, shall the strong gripe of the nation be loosened upon him, to entrust him to the hands of such feeble keepers? . . .

A House Divided Speech at Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858

PRESIDENT and Gentlemen of the Convention.

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it.

We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated, with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, not ceased, but has constantly augmented.

In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached, and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved -- I do not expect the house to fall -- but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

Either the opponents of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new -- North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition?

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

The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State Constitutions, and from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition. Four days later, commenced the struggle, which ended in repealing that Congressional prohibition. This opened all the national territory to slavery; and was the first point gained. But, so far, Congress only, had acted; and an indorsement by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable, to save the point already gained, and give chance for more. This necessity had not been overlooked; but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of squatter sovereignty, otherwise called sacred right of self government, which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: That if any one man, choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object. That argument was incorporated into the Nebraska bill itself, in the language which follows: It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or state, not exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the

United States. Then opened the roar of loose declamation in favor of Squatter Sovereignty, and Sacred right of self government. But, said opposition members, let us be more specific -- let us amend the bill so as to expressly declare that the people of the territory may exclude slavery. Not we, said the friends of the measure; and down they voted the amendment.

While the Nebraska bill was passing through congress, a law case, involving the question of a negroe's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free state and then a territory covered by the congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave, for a long time in each, was passing through the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Missouri; and both Nebraska bill and law suit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The negroe's name was Dred Scott, which name now designates the decision finally made in the case.

Before the then next Presidential election, the law case came to, and was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requests the leading advocate of the Nebraska bill to state his opinion whether the people of a territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answers, That is a question for the Supreme Court.

The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the indorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The indorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory.

The outgoing President, in his last annual message, as impressively as possible echoed back upon the people the weight and authority of the indorsement.

The Supreme Court met again; did not announce their decision, but ordered a re-argument.

The Presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the incoming President, in his inaugural address, fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, whatever it might be.

Then, in a few days, came the decision.

The reputed author of the Nebraska bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capitol indorsing the Dred Scott Decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it. The new President, too, seizes the early occasion of the Silliman letter to indorse and strongly construe that decision, and to express his astonishment that any different view had ever been entertained. At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska bill, on the mere question of fact, whether the Lecompton constitution was or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that squabble the latter declares that all he wants is a fair vote for the people, and that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up. I do not understand his declaration that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up, to be intended by him other than as an apt definition of the policy he would impress upon the public mind -- the principle for which he declares he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer to the end.

And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle, is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision, squatter sovereignty squatted out of existence, tumbled down like temporary scaffolding -- like the mould at the foundry served through one blast and fell back into loose sand -- helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. His late joint struggle with the Republicans, against the Lecompton Constitution, involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point, the right of a people to make their own Constitution, upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas' care not policy, constitute the piece of machinery, in its present state of advancement. This was the third point gained.

The working points of that machinery are:

First, that no negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave can ever be a citizen of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

This point is made in order to deprive the negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of this provision of the United States Constitution, which declares that-

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Secondly, that subject to the Constitution of the United States, neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature can exclude slavery from any United States territory.

This point is made in order that individual men may fill up the territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future. Thirdly, that whether the holding a negro in actual slavery in a free State, makes him free, as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any slave State the negro may be forced into by the master. This point is made, not to be pressed immediately; but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently indorsed by the people at an election, then to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott, in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other one, or one thousand slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free State.

Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to educate and mould public opinion, at least Northern public opinion, to not care whether slavery is voted down or voted up.

This shows exactly where we now are ; and partially also, whither we are tending. It will throw additional light on the latter, to go back, and run the mind over the string of historical facts already stated. Several things will now appear less dark and mysterious than they did when they were transpiring. The people were to be left perfectly free subject only to the

Constitution. What the Constitution had to do with it, outsiders could not then see. Plainly enough now, it was an exactly fitted niche, for the Dred Scott decision to afterwards come in, and declare the perfect freedom of the people, to be just no freedom at all. Why was the amendment, expressly declaring the right of the people to exclude slavery, voted down? Plainly enough now, the adoption of it, would have spoiled the niche for the Dred Scott decision.

Why was the court decision held up? Why, even a Senator's individual opinion withheld, till after the Presidential election? Plainly enough now, the speaking out then would have damaged the perfectly free argument upon which the election was to be carried.

Why the outgoing President's felicitation on the indorsement? Why the delay of a reargument? Why the incoming President's advance exhortation in favor of the decision?

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

And why the hasty after indorsements of the decision by the President and others?

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

It should not be overlooked that, by the Nebraska bill, the people of a State as well as Territory, were to be left perfectly free subject only to the Constitution.

Why mention a State? They were legislating for territories, and not for or about States. Certainly the people of a State are and ought to be subject to the Constitution of the United States; but why is mention of this lugged into this merely territorial law? Why are the people of a territory and the people of a state therein lumped together, and their relation to the Constitution therein treated as being precisely the same?

While the opinion of the Court, by Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, and the separate opinions of all the concurring Judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a Territorial legislature to exclude slavery from any United States territory, they all omit to declare whether or not the same Constitution permits a state, or the people of a State, to exclude it.

Possibly, this was a mere omission; but who can be quite sure, if McLean or Curtis had sought to get into the opinion a declaration of unlimited power in the people of a state to exclude slavery

from their limits, just as Chase and Macy sought to get such declaration, in behalf of the people of a territory, into the Nebraska bill- I ask, who can be quite sure that it would not have been voted down, in the one case, as it had been in the other. The nearest approach to the point of declaring the power of a State over slavery, is made by Judge Nelson. He approaches it more than once, using the precise idea, and almost the language too, of the Nebraska act. On one occasion his exact language is, except in cases where the power is restrained by the Constitution of the United States, the law of the State is supreme over the subject of slavery within its jurisdiction.

In what cases the power of the states is so restrained by the U.S. Constitution, is left an open question, precisely as the same question, as to the restraint on the power of the territories was left open in the Nebraska act. Put that and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a state to exclude slavery from its limits.

And this may especially be expected if the doctrine of care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up, shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.

Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States. Welcome or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown.

We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free, and we shall awake to the reality, instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave State.

To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty, is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation.

That is what we have to do. But how can we best do it?

There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper us softly, that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is, with which to effect that object. They do not tell us, nor has he told us, that he wishes any such object to be effected. They wish us to infer all, from the facts, that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty; and that he has regularly voted with us, on a single point, upon which, he and we, have never differed.

They remind us that he is a very great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But a living dog is better than a dead lion. Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery? He don't care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the public heart to care nothing about it. A leading Douglas Democratic newspaper thinks Douglas' superior talent will be needed to resist the revival of the African slave trade.

Does Douglas believe an effort to revive that trade is approaching? He has not said so. Does he really think so? But if it is, how can he resist it? For years he has labored to prove of white men to

take negro slaves into the new territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? And unquestionably they can be bought cheaper in Africa than in Virginia.

He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property, and as such, how can he oppose the foreign slave trade -- how can he refuse that trade in that property shall be perfectly free -unless he does it as a protection to the home production? And as the home producers will probably not ask the protection, he will be wholly without a ground of opposition.

Senator Douglas holds, we know, that a man may rightfully be wiser to-day than he was yesterday -- that he may rightfully change when he finds himself wrong. But, can we for that reason, run ahead, and infer that he will make any particular change, of which he, himself, has given no intimation? Can we safely base our action upon any such vague inference?

Now, as ever, I wish to not misrepresent Judge Douglas' position, question his motives, or do ought that can be personally offensive to him.

Whenever, if ever, he and we can come together on principle so that our great cause may have assistance from his great ability, I hope to have interposed no adventitious obstacle. But clearly, he is not now with us- he does not pretend to be- he does not promise to ever be. Our cause, then, must be intrusted to, and conducted by its own undoubted friends -- those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work -- who do care for the result.

Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong.

We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us.

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

The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail -- if we stand firm, we shall not fail.

Wise councils may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but, sooner or later the victory is sure to come.

--A. Lincoln

Inauguration: Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, Monday, March 4, 1861

The national upheaval of secession was a grim reality at Abraham Lincoln's inauguration. Jefferson Davis had been inaugurated as the President of the Confederacy two weeks earlier. The former Illinois Congressman had arrived in Washington by a secret route to avoid danger, and his movements were guarded by General Winfield Scott's soldiers. Ignoring advice to the contrary, the President-elect rode with President Buchanan in an open carriage to the Capitol, where he took the oath of office on the East Portico. Chief Justice Roger Taney administered the executive oath for the seventh time. The Capitol itself was sheathed in scaffolding because the copper and wood "Bulfinch" dome was being replaced with a cast iron dome designed by Thomas U. Walter.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of this office."

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension.

Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that--I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read: Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is

susceptible that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause--as cheerfully to one section as to another. There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions: No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution--to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause "shall be delivered up" their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath? There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should anyone in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again: In any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly

distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again: If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it--break it, so to speak--but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect Union." But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable unless my

rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak? Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from, will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily, the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the

Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view justify revolution; certainly would if such right were a vital one.

But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative, for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession? Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the

Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to

dismember or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution--which amendment, however, I have not seen--has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have referred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this if also they choose, but the Executive as such has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the Government under which we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance no Administration by any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years. My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be

frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

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Emancipation Proclamation. In addition to Lincoln's autobiographies, Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation provides insight into his character and historic events of the day.

"The character of the war has very much changed within the last year. There is now no possible hope of a reconciliation with the rebels. . . . There can be no peace but that which is enforced by the sword. We must conquer the rebels, or be conquered by them."—Gen. Henry Halleck to Gen. U. S. Grant, March 31, 1863.

As the sun set over the bloody fields of Antietam, the Civil War became a different war. Five days after the battle, armed with pen and paper, Abraham Lincoln changed the nature of the war when he issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

The proclamation reflected Lincoln's new way of thinking about the conflict. Until this time, it was seen as a rebellion, a fight to preserve the Union without touching slavery. Now Lincoln was threatening to crush the Confederacy by destroying slavery, the basis of its economy and society. Now the North was waging a moral crusade to free the slaves.

While the Emancipation Proclamation reflected Lincoln's high-minded morality, the president was under great pressure to act. Congress was urging emancipation. Escaped slaves were fleeing to the Union army as it advanced in the South, complicating military operations. And the enlistment of black Americans as soldiers could give the Union's ailing war machine a much-needed boost.

Black soldiers lead a celebration among South Carolina slaves for the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. Lincoln's measure inspired euphoric joy among blacks in North and South, and for decades after the Civil War African-Americans celebrated Emancipation Day.

Forever Free, but When?

Lincoln's preliminary proclamation, issued on September 22, 1862, declared that on New Year's Day, 1863, slaves in areas then "in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." For areas not deemed to be in rebellion, slavery would be unchanged.

The final proclamation, issued January 1, 1863, identified those areas "in rebellion." They included virtually all of the Confederacy, except areas controlled by the Union army. The document notably excluded the so-called border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, where slavery existed side by side with Unionist sentiment. In areas where the U.S. government had authority, such as Maryland and much of Tennessee, slavery went untouched. In areas where slaves were declared free—most of the South—the federal government had no effective authority.

By the summer of 1862, Congress was pushing hard for emancipation. Now Lincoln's proclamation, a vital step on the gradual path to freedom for American slaves, articulated emancipation as the government's new policy.

Although his famous proclamation did not immediately free a single slave, black Americans saw Lincoln as a savior. Official legal freedom for the slaves came in December 1865 with the ratification of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery.

Like everything else in Lincoln's administration, the slavery issue was fraught with political pitfalls. On one hand, Lincoln was under pressure to attack slavery from Congress and from some of his own generals.

But Lincoln was beholden to the Union border states of Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, where some slaveowners were loyal Union men. Lincoln was afraid to seize their private property (their slaves) and lose those states to the Confederacy, so he exempted them from his Emancipation Proclamation.

The timing of the proclamation was also political. Lincoln penned his first copy in July 1862, when Union armies were losing one battle after another. But Secretary of State William Seward persuaded Lincoln that emancipation then would look like the "last measure of an exhausted government . . . stretching forth its hands to . . . Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government." (In the mid-19th century, black Americans were sometimes called Ethiopians.)

So Lincoln decided to wait for a victory on the battlefield. Antietam gave him his opportunity.

A copy of the final Emancipation Proclamation is in the National Archives and is a photograph of the original, which burned in the Chicago Fire of 1871. The original, handwritten by Lincoln, was auctioned during the Civil War to raise money for wounded soldiers. The original copy of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which was also auctioned, is now in the New York State Library in Albany.

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