A Penny for Your Thoughts

Michael C. Scanlon KitKat Club October 17, 2006

"Remembrance for a great man isthis. Thenewsiesare pitching pennies. And on the copper disc isthe man's toce.":

Abraham Lincoln was an American original. Hisplace in historyissecure.

And so ishisplace in our affections. Therewas something lofty, something different, something special about him. He emanated a kind of parochial grandeur. He had many contradictions-but they served him well. Hewas a politician in the noblest senseof the word. A man of moral structure, he had a strong intellect plus an uncommon street sense. Hewas a figure who would give heroic life to what the Unionwas and what it might become.

Thetragic order of Lincoln's life might have been the product of a playwright's imagination. Hishumble beginnings; basically self-taught; early failures; then a meteoric risein politics; hispresidency coinciding with a war; the climatic freeing of the slaves; and hisassassinationas the war ends. Hisdestiny was obliged to follow a most unusual script.

No historical figure has had more written about him in the English language with the exceptions of JesusChristand WilliamShakespeare. With so many books on Lincoln and more coming each year, it isnecessary for me to limit the time in hislife Iwill focus on tonight. If Idid not do this, you would "little note nor long remember what issaid here".2

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Thelast one year, four months, and four weeks of hislife comprise very little time. It began at the dedication of a military cemetery at Gettysburg on November 19, 1863. Asked to say a few appropriate remarks, Lincoln delivered what would become the most famous speech in American history.

"The enduring fame of the Gettysburg Address derives from several qualities: Itsmusical cadence reminiscent of the bible Lincoln knew sowell; its simple language; itsuse of repetition; itssuccinct expression of overarching

ideas; and itsgenerous spiritand soaring vision."3 Thestructure allowed Lincoln to linkthe country's past, present, and future in one sustained, abstract view. The problem facing Lincoln at Gettysburg was to accomplish two things: to commemorate the past and to prophesy the future. He took the theme dearest to hisaudience, to honor the heroic dead, and combined itwith the theme nearest to hisown heart, the preservation of dernocrocv.s "Out of this double theme grew hispoetic metaphor of birth, death, and spiritual rebirth of the life of man and the life of the nation."5

Democracy, as an active, living thing, meant to Lincoln the verification or the proving of the proposition to which its very existence was in the beginning dedicated. "Lincoln placed promise of equality at the heart of the American 3

experience and, anticipating the end of slavery in the republic, called for a new birth of freedom in the country to redeem the war's terrible COSt."6

Bydating the nation's birth back to 1776, with the Declaration of Independence, he meant to justify the transformation of the Unionwar aims during the short period remaining to include not just preservation of the Union, but the destruction of slavery, in order to fulfillthe ideals of the American Revolution.?

Lincoln well understood the power of rhetoric to delineate the aims of politics and war. Against those who wanted to return to the Union asit was and end the carnage, Lincoln argued forcefully why the war, with all of its revulsions, must be continued to a just and peaceful conclusion.s

He made use of down-to-earth words derived from Old Englishas opposed to elevated words derived from Latin and Greek. Most strikingishow "the sublime appears in the simplest dress."? Lincoln achieved hiseloquence by a remarkable blending of the humble and the lofty. Poet James RussellLowell, in early 1864, praised Lincoln's style as "familiar dignity."

Thevoice we hear in the Gettysburg Address is not an individual voice.

The address isfull of first-personreferences, but everyone isplural. Tentimes 4

Lincoln uses the plural we and three times us. At Gettysburg, Lincoln says nothing of himselt.!» "Hisvery reticence to speak about himself is what makes his voice by the end of the address so decisive."

Through the process of lonely meditation during hisrough and humble life, Lincoln had been particularly impressed by two different sources he read and re-read, the bible and the plays of William Shakespeare. Fromthe bible he absorbed the religious color inwhich he clothed histhoughts. The KingJames Biblewas called the Saxon Bible in Lincoln's time. Saxonwords are briefer. They bring more clout. "It might be that the highest potential for Saxon eloquence can be found in someone not educated to be a gentleman, someone with deep roots in rustic life. Some of the greatest romantic eloquence ever produced comes from one such person. Itisin the Civil War oratory of Abraham Lincoln that Saxon eloquence displayed all itspossibilities."12 FromShakespeare, he learned to study the passionsof humanity. Some oj the plays focused on power and politics, issuescentral to hisown life. He enjoyed the range of Shakespeare's characters from the sublime to the ridiculous and from profound pessimismto infinite hope. Thequality that set both the writer and the reader apart from others, was their degree of comprehension of humanity, and the scope of their relationship to their 5

tellowrnen.» It seemsappropriate that Lihcoln favored the tragedies of Shakespeare and that Macbeth was hisfavorite.

Emancipation was a dangerous subject for a politician to face. Lincoln understood that the Republican Partywas not a unified, coherent organization but a collection of rival interest groupS.16Lincoln retained a firm understanding As Lincoln returned from Gettysburg, the reality of the moment was that the war was progressing at a slow pace and losseson both sideswere horrific.

At the end of the conflict the final figureswould reveal that 623,000men died in the Civil War. With a population of 31 million, it would be the bloodiest war in our country's history.

Lincoln had moved earlier in 1863to end slaveryin a restricted way with hisEmancipation Proclamation. He presented it asan exercise of hiswar powers as commander in chief to weaken the Southand to provide manpower for the North. He had used legal language that one historian said had "the moral grandeur of a bill of lading."14 Whatever itslegal limitations, the Emancipation Proclamation had immense symbolic significance, a point the black abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, emphasized when he declared that its spirit had "a life and power beyond itsletter."1SIt left Lincoln to free all of the slaveswith the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment at a later time.

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of the line separating party loyalty and patriotism. Hesought partisan advantage without mercy when he could but Lincoln understood the opposition to him was not necessarily unpotriotic. v He had been trying to balance different factions in hisparty since he arrived in Washington. Theslave holding border-states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missourihad to be handled with care as he dealt with the problem of slavery. Themore radical Republicans had been attacking him for moving too slowly toward emancipation. Itwas a challenge for Lincoln to identify the moment when the country would accept an advance to new ground. "Not pushing mainstream sentiment toward emancipation faster than it wanted to go, meant turning a deaf ear to the appeals of antislavery radicals, while simultaneously nudging border-state conservatives toward greater realism."18 Bymaking freedom of the slaves another goal of the war, the Presidentriskedlosingthe political coalition which had supported him in the fight to preserve the Union. Any suggestion of a moral crusade or of equal rightswould have inflamed the conservative elements in the army and at home.

Lincoln learned when to seizethe initiative and when to let public opinion ripen. Hislaw background helped him to perfect thisottribute." Hewas able to analyze complex situations and to seek the least provocative way to neutralize the opposition while making hisposition crystor-cteor.» Butit was hispatience 7

and histiming that provided the presidenfialleadership that the nation needed at this time.

As he wrestled with problems presented by hispolitical party, he had to deal with similarfactions within hisown cabinet. Lincoln had appointed his Republican rivals, Seward, Chase, and Bates, as well as members of other parties to hiscabinet. He needed administrative talent and the best man available for each post. Byincluding these men in hiscabinet, Lincoln reflected great self-confidence and the fact that he intended to be the leader of his administration. Itwas a lessonseveral cabinet members would absorb only with difficulty.21 Lincoln was able to impresson this politically divergent cabinet his own purpose, perception and resolution at virtually every juncture.22 As 1863 drew to a close, Lincoln emerged as a stronger and more sure leader. Fumbling and uncertain at the beginning of histerm and plagued by problems of deficient military leadership, he grew in mind and character. He had an enormous capacity for personal growth. This enabled a man with very little formal education, no administrative experience, and poor preparation to eventually succeed in high office. "Lincoln instinctively understood the moral burdens he had to shoulder; he appreciated the high seriousnessof the crisis; he grasped itstragic proportions while never losing sight of the good that could somehow be made out of thisawful conflict. "23

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Theyear of 1864was entered into with doubt of being reelected or even being renominated by hisparty. Lincoln was being stridently criticized from all sides. One group that Lincoln could take comfort in was the Union army, which

was not only a staunchly loyal political force but one which would play itspart in energizing and mobilizing wider public support.s

In March, 1864,Lincoln appointed UlyssesS.Grant to take command of the Union army. Lincoln had gone through a listof generals-McClellan, Rosecrans, Burnside,Hooker and Meade. He did not simply need Grant to succeed; he needed to show the American people that a strategy of total war could defeat the South. Grant would utilize the vastly superior manpower and attack on all fronts.

Grant advanced against Lee in May and inched forward in Virginia with staggering losses. Fromall corners of the Unionwaves of indignation were directed at Lincoln. Hewas held responsible for the large numbers of dead and wounded under Grant's command.

Thewar and the lossof life increased the desire for peace on any terms.

Bylate June, an anti-Lincoln riptide was beginning to riseas a resultof the war news. Yet Lincoln had enough control over hisparty organization to win a

unanimous endorsement for a second term. He insisted that the party platform call for a constitutional amendment to bring about full emancipation for all slaves.

Regarding a negotiated peace settlement, Lincoln correctly understood that Jefferson Daviswould never agree to a restoration of the Union. Having come thisfar on emancipation he did not useit as a bargaining chip for peace on Southern terms. Lincoln would not give up on the nearly 200,000 black men who would eventually serve in the Unionranks. Hewas a model for presidential leadership in crisis. Moral visionand willingnessto act set him apart.

"Men friendly to the Unioncause remembered Julyand August of 1864as the darkest days of the war. Earliersetbacks had tried the nation's faith, but the reversesof thishot, dry summer fell with greater oppressivenessbecause high hopes had been dashed. Nojoyful tidings came from the army now. Confusion

reigned in politics. Peace appeared to be a distant dream."25

Toadd to the negative atmosphere, Lincolnwas visited by members of

Congresswho opposed him. InAugust, Senator Benjamin Wade told him, "You

are the father of every military blunder that has been made during the war. The
government ison the road to Hell,and you are not a mile from there this

minute." Lincoln responded, "Yes....that is just about the distance from here to the Capitol."26

Even Lincoln's most devoted supporters despaired of hisreelection.

Nicolay, hissecretary, wrote, "Everything isdarkness and doubt and discouragement."2? Lincoln reconciled himselfto losing the election and prepared to cooperate with hissuccessor.

Thenthe situation changed. InSeptember, Sherman took Atlanta.

Sheridan smashed Jubal Earlyin the Shenandoah Valley. Eventhe pressureof Grant on Lee took on a more positive look. The favorable turn of military events caused many to board the Lincoln bandwagon. The momentum had turned in favor of the North.

Crucial to the election outcome would be the vote of the Unionsoldiers.

Most of them voted in the field but Sherman granted furloughs to 29 Indiana regiments to vote at home. Lincoln won 78% of the vote of the troops and won a decisive victory over hisDemocratic opponent. He had met the test of being able to rally popular support in the middle of a devastating war.

Lincoln had been the imponderable factor that frustrated the South.

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Theirtroops had fought with courage under the inspired leadership of Robert E. Lee. Theirpeople had shown heroic fortitude. With a lessdetermined leader in the White House, they might have achieved their goal. But Lincoln, with his

unwavering faith in the nation's destiny, had infused hisown unconquerable spirit into the people of the North.28Thetrustand confidence of the people in

their President continued to grow stronger.

When Congress assembled in early December, in a lame duck session,
Lincoln reminded the Housethat the Senate had already approved the
Thirteenth Amendment, and he enjoined them to do so aswell. He had
travelled far on the road to emancipation from the loud silences in hisFirst
Inaugural to actively seeking freedom for the slaves. He set about using his
powers of persuasion and patronage to get the amendment approved. Slowly,
several votes changed sides. Thevote came on January 31, 1865, and the
amendment passed with just three votes more than the two-thirds majority
needed. Itwas sent on for ratification by the states.

One of Lincoln's most polished and sophisticated speeches was delivered March 4, 1865. Itwas hisSecond Inaugural Address. Lincoln knew the audience would have cheered him if he chose to demonize the South. Buthe chose a different path. Hewas to portray a path that North and South could now travel together.29

He noted that one eighth of the whole population were slaves, not distributed over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of the Nation.

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Lincoln intended to situate slavery as an inclusive problem that was the responsibility of the whole nation. He pointed out the irony that both sidesfailed to understand adequately both the cause and the resultof the civil strife.3D Many in the audience expected Lincoln to offer assurances that God was on the side of the North. He did not. What we hear isnot the legal Lincoln but the theological Lincoln and hismeaning isbuttressed by quotations from the bible. "More than any of hisother speeches, the Second Inaugural fused spiritual faith with politics."31

Thespeech was remarkable for its compassion, its humility, and its profound comprehension of the tragedy the nation had suttered.v Lincoln disassociated himself from the moral arrogance which military victory spawns.

He closed with an eloquent plea for a just peace and a better future. "With malice toward none; with charity for all."33

Barelya month after Lincoln's second inauguration, on April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House, in Virginia. Sixdays later Lincoln died on April 15, 1865.

Hisvoice was stilled forever but not hiswords. "If today' spoliticians are glued to their teleprompters because their speeches are written by others and 13

meant to be read, Lincolnwas attentive to the actual audience crowded before him as he delivered speeches written by himselfthat were meant to be heard."34 Lincolnwrote for the ear. He often spoke or whispered out loud before putting pen to paper. Hewas fascinated by the soundsof words. Not being a good extemporaneous speaker, he preferred to prepare well and choose hiswords carefully. TheGettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural remain as living proof of this.

One year, four months and four weeks is a thin slice of time. Yet, this is what Lincoln had prepared for his whole life, and in this brief period his accomplishments secured his place in history.

Lincoln struggled every day in the White Housewith turmoil, both inner and outer. Hewas not a saint. Do not mistake him for a saint. Hewas a good man in a bad time. A man of belief, he believed in the goodness of the American people. Heembraced the thought of continued national life for the country he loved. At Gettysburg Lincoln said, "That thisnation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom-and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shallnot perishfrom the earth."35

## **Footnotes**

1. Carl Sandburg, "In A Back Alley" 2. Abraham Lincoln 3. William E.Gienapp, 149 4. RoyP.Basler,94 5. Ibid 6. Gienapp, 149 7. Ibid 8. Ronald C. White, Jr..The Eloquent President, 254 9. Kenneth Cmiel, 95 10.lbid,116 11. White, 256 12. Ibid, 254 13. Basler,206 14. FrankJ. Williams,47 15. Gienapp, 125 16. Donald Herbert Donald, 262 17. Mark E.Neely, Jr., 154 18. Richard J.Carwardine, 193 19. FrankJ.

Williams,47 20. DorisKearnsGoodwin, 364 21. Gienapp,76 22. Goodwin, 701 23. Jay Winik,251 24. Carwardine, 280 25. Benjamin P.Thomas, 440 26. Williams, 113 27. Thomas, 443 28. Ibid,495 29. White, 287 30. Ibid,259-260 31. Goodwin, 699 32. Gienapp, 188 33. Abraham Lincoln 34. White, Pg.XX 35. Abraham Lincoln

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