DIPLOMACY DRAWER 10 EXECUTIVE ROUTINE

Abraham Lincoln's Executive Routine

Diplomacy

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the

Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

Gov. Hicks and the President's Policy.

WASHINGTON, April 11.

Gov. Hicks, of Maryland, has been in consultation with the President for several hours to-day. He came here with feelings of regret at the course the administration was taking in its seeming coercive policy; but when the Governor heard the reasons for the present course of the President and his advisers, and understood the record by which they had been guided, he modified his opinion to a very great extent. The government claims that it is not coercing any State or community. It is endeavoring to protect the property of the United States; and, if I am not very much mistaken in what I see and hear, the government will do it at all hazards and at whatever cost. There is a steady, cool and deliberate intention to show the world one or two things—either that we have a government worth preserving, or that it is so imbecile that a few slaveholders on this continent can set themselves up as superior to it and more powerful.

When the facts upon which the Administration has acted in this emergency are all known to the people of this country, not one in ten will withhold his support from the government.

From Washington.

WASHINGTON, July 15.—By direction of President Lincoln, the order calling for the services of the militia was recinded, and they are accordingly mustered out.

The President has recognized Giovanni Dingi Avezzanas Vice Consul of Italy at New York, and H. Clanssenius as Consul of Prussia at Chicago.

How Lincoln Won Men Over.

Just after a defeat in the field during the civil war the governors of several northern states consulted and decided that the president must change his plans. They sent the Hon. Nathan F. Dickson as their representative to impress their decision upon the president, who was personally acquainted with his caller, a most cordial greeting. "Well, Dickson," said Lincoln, "what can I do for you?" Dickson explained; a change of plan was wanted. Looking out from under the shading hand that rested on his forehead, Abe, with a most friendly glance at his visitor, responded with unexpected cordiality and frankness: "Dickson, you are a friend of mine and I would like to please you. I am president and have the highest power. I can do what I please. I am president." Several times he repeated this declaration in varying words, impressing the responsibility of his office upon his hearer, and then continued: "Dickson, you go home, think it over, and come to-morrow and tell me what to do." 1886

Dickson went home; he thought it over—and he didn't come near the president for six weeks. Then he accidently met him at a reception. Lincoln's long arm reached out from the crowd and grasping his buttonhole, drew him to his side. "Dickson" he said, and there was a shy twinkle in his eye as he spoke, "you didn't come round to tell me what to do. Why not?" It may be added that Mr. Dickson ever afterward maintained that Abe Lincoln was the greatest man America possessed. And the northern governors, by the shrewd absence of affront or refusal to accept any view they might proffer, were held in friendly allegiance to the chieftain of the time.—*Boston Journal.*

A STUDY OF LINCOLN.

THE MASTER IN DIPLOMACY, DEBATE AND POLITICS.

Genius In Cowhide Boots—Something That Charles A. Dana Will Remember—Lincoln In Action and In Fitness of Speech. A Man of Many Sorrows.

THE Lincoln bibliography comprises thousands of volumes, and each year adds to the catalogue. Yet the world, not only American, but foreign, never tires of reading his life and studying its cipher. Lincoln was always something of an enigma, and there is a feeling not yet dead that the last word has not yet been said concerning the man, unique and complex above all his compeers. He belonged to the "plain people," whom he loved, and who were ever in his mouth. He was their voice, one with them in the limitations of taste and in the elemental forces of temperament. Like them, he wasted but little thought on the graces of culture. It was not, one may fancy, that he did not esteem the things which decorate social and intellectual life. But these had not been mother's milk to him, and when gigantic issues clutched him in their grip they so minimized lesser ideals as to make them worthless.

So he remained to the last, genius in cowhide boots, a man of the backwoods in outer seeming, but with the delicate tenderness of a Bayard under the skin, which needed but a pin prick to escape and transform him into the noblest of gentlemen. The one statesman of his period whose grasp on the logic of the history then being worked out in battlefield and forum and council chamber was infallible, he could also be at need the craftiest of wire pullers, with a skill in jerking the puppets which would have shamed the shrewdest modern politician in his own game. The poetic elevation of the prophet, which so often burned in his utterances of tongue and pen, was linked with homespun sagacity, and the melancholy so ingrained in the substance of his being would often burst at the mere twist of a suggestion into the wildest fooling of the buffoon. Such were some of the antitheses of the immortal whose name pairs that of Washington to make the Dioscuri of American history. Today no less than at that time, when he filled the whole foreground of national life, the essential quality of the man shines through so many and so diverse facets that their cross lights dazzle perception. Yet he should dictate. The putative reason assigned by the great financial secretary was Mr. Seward's resignation and his unwillingness to serve in an administration with that strong right arm lopped off. The two papers were shown to Morton, Wade and others of the astonished coterie, and rather than have Chase go they expressed their willingness to yield the point as to Seward. So Mr. Lincoln's craft disarmed their obstinacy and saved the integrity of his cabinet without giving offense to the "conscript fathers," so suavely hoodwinked by this master hand.

The presidential campaign of 1864 affords an illustration of the cunning in practical politics which supplemented the loftier aspects of the statesman and the patriot. To make sure of Pennsylvania, which was the native state of McClellan, and which seemed very doubtful, was a grave problem. At a conclave held in Washington the president ended discussion with the following dictum: "Let the right men, soldiers hot from the battlefield and full of enthusiasm, be furloughed home by the thousands for the week preceding election. One of these missionaries will make more votes than a score of stump speakers. But the president," he continued, "must not be known as privy to it, nor must it be an order from the war department." Assistant War Secretary Charles A. Dana was sent to General Meade's headquarters to negotiate this piece of finesse, and that general was very unwillingly persuaded to spare his battalions. But Pennsylvania went "Lincoln" by an overwhelming majority. The versatility of Lincoln, master in power and mental resource even as political juggler, astonishes the mind. One is interested in such incidents mainly as they blazon his complex makeup and wonders that a man so equipped on the noblest side of statesmanship should have had these lesser gifts of the working politician, an endowment rarely united in the same man.

Whatever credit may be justly given to the staff of great lieutenants in council and camp who held up the hands of Abraham Lincoln, his genius overshadows them all. His was the initiative of all great measures, his the power to see things dissociated from party or temporary bias in luminous perspective. Stanton, Seward, Chase, great men as they were and of domineering wills, recognized the master, who had them bitted and bridled, yet never let them feel the gall of the curb, so firmly gentle was his touch. It was not really till the last year of Lincoln's life, the year of his renomination, that there was a fully adequate notion abroad in the land, however, of just what measure of greatness there was in him. But that was the year when the nation made a stock taking of the four years, posted the ledger and struck the balance. The sharp cut, salient bigness of him, cleaving upward like an Alpine peak, stood out monumental. All cloud of misconception had blown away. Men could look back and see in true proportion the president's management of the slavery question as in its threefold relation, a military, political and international weapon. The emancipation proclamation probably saved the country. Had it not been for that downright step, which stiffened the backbone of English liberation, Earl Russell would probably have had free hand to have smashed the blockade. So, too, Lincoln's treatment of the "Trent" incident, of the Mexican imbroglio and of the other great exigen- which rose with repeated threat, in its true light. Men felt that as "a man sent of God" when

"One War at a Time."

BINNS, the British biographer of Lincoln, gives the following account of the famous Trent imbroglio, when Lincoln's astonishing display of diplomacy averted war with England: An impetuous naval captain in the West Indies stopped the British mail packet Trent, taking from her two southern commissioners, who had run the blockade, and were proceeding to England in the hope of obtaining European support for the confederacy. The prisoners were carried to Boston amid the applause of the nation, and Capt. Wilkes received the thanks of the house of representatives. But Lincoln saw that Wilkes had put him in a false position, which might have the most serious consequences.

Already the relations with Great Britain had been severely strained, owing partly to national prejudice, the bad inheritance of two wars, partly to the economic results of the blockade of the cotton ports and the consequent crippling of the Lancashire mills, and partly to the late president's halting attitude toward secession. Her majesty's government had come too hastily to the conclusion that the union was actually, if not formally dissolved, and had inclined to recognize the rebels too promptly as belligerents.

Let us consider the relations existing between the two countries in 1861. When the prince of Wales had planted a tree by Washington's tomb in the autumn of the preceding year, the Times had described the incident as the "burying of the last faint trace of discord between us and our great brethren in the west." But now, in the space of twelve months, all seemed changed. On the 14th of May, 1861, just a month after the fall of Sumter, her majesty's government issued a royal proclamation of neutrality as between the parties in the American war.

Bright Is Justified.

Lincoln's blockading proclamation had been published less than four weeks, and John Bright seems to have been justified when, four years later, he spoke of this action as having been done with "unfriendly haste." But it was not in itself an unfriendly act. In the previous year Lord John Russell had assisted the unification of Italy by a similar policy of nonintervention; and it has been argued that English vessels would not have respected the blockade of the cotton ports unless a state of war had been promptly recognized. The recognition had, however, the serious result of giving an international status to the southern privateers, which would otherwise have been regarded as mere pirate vessels and outlaws.

The queen's proclamation was received with bitter feeling in the north and inflamed the anglophobia of Seward. It was fortunate for international relations throughout this year of stress that Charles Sumner, a man of strong English sympathies and a statesman of high standing, was chairman of the senate's committee on foreign relations. The chief cause of anxiety in the north was the fear lest England should recognize the independence of the southern confederacy. No clear indication of her intentions was given at the time, but the tendency of public opinion, as mirrored in the press, seemed at first to be in favor of such action.

Spelled Cotton Famine.

This was largely due to the obvious commercial advantages which would be gained by free trade with the cotton states. The blockade spelled a Lancashire cotton famine; the maintenance of the union meant the continuance of a tariff hostile to English manufactures. The temptation, therefore, to recognize the confederacy was considerable, and, owing to her larger commercial interests, was greater in the case of England than of any other European power. It must always be remembered in considering the action of England at this time, that the house of commons was not then elected by any democratic suffrage, but by some 370,000 voters, and that, upon the whole, the press only represented the views of the commercial and official classes.

Lord Palmerston, the prime minister, a disant Liberal, was in reality an opportunist jingo, while John Bright, Richard Cobden, and William Edward Forster, the leaders of the radical party, the champions of parliamentary reform, and the friends of America, were outside the cabinet. Within the government, however, there were men like the duke of Argyle and Mr. Milner Gibson, who were stanch friends of the union cause.

Although the articles of W. H. Russell in The Times were favorable to the north, that powerful journal, with the great majority of its contemporaries, supported the cause of the confederacy. The Daily News, and The Spectator were the only two prominent papers on the other side.

Prospect of War.

In July the disaster of Bull's Run had greatly discouraged many northern sympathizers. The sophism of the Times that "the people of the southern states may be wrong, but they are ten millions," began to pass current; and even John Bright was perplexed by it. Men like Darwin and Cobden were unhappy at the prospect of a war of reconquest; while the foreign secretary declared, in October, that the struggle was on the one hand for empire, and on the other for independence. Lincoln's actions began to be compared in hostile English journals with the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon.

Meanwhile the French emperor was endeavoring to seduce Great Britain from her passive neutrality, to take the initiative in an offer of mediation, which would obviously involve the recognition of the president's failure. While Lord John, now Earl Russell, seems to have played with the idea, Palmerston, for that time, determined to keep clear of the whole prickly problem. But the garrison in Canada was considerably strengthened, and by way of rejoinder the New England states were warned by Seward to put their ports and harbors into the best possible condition for defense.

Mr. Seward Protests.

It was into this delicate political situation that the news of Wilkes' seizure of the Trent fell like a bomb.

As early as the preceding May Seward had prepared a long dispatch to the new minister to England in which he had forcibly protested against the attitude of the British government and had indicated that any official reception of the confederate commissioners must be treated as an act of war. Lincoln had modified the dispatch in such a manner as to eliminate from it the element of exasperation which might reduce its dignity and evoke anger on the part of Great Britain. Now, six months later, he met the indignation of Earl Russell in the same spirit of strength and equanimity. Lord Palmerston's ultimatum had been so far modified by Prince Albert, then upon his death bed, that the American government was allowed seven days for satisfactory reparation. This was further extended by the instructions of Earl Russell and the courtesy of the British minister at Washington.

An unworthy bluster and discourtesy marked the attitude of a section of the English press. But Lincoln had learned something from the old affair with Shields. He was not now to be dragged, against his judgment, into a national duel. Wilkes had done wrong; he had acted wholly without authority, and the president repudiated his subordinate's action with frankness and dignity.

The British ultimatum reached Washington on the 18th of December. Lord Lyons communicated its contents to Seward on the following day, but delayed its formal presentation till the 23d. Earl Russell had advised the British minister that England did not want war; but the terms of his demand for immediate restitution and apology were stern enough to threaten it.

When Lincoln Acted.

Lincoln called his cabinet together on Christmas morning. Sumner also attended the sitting, bringing with him urgent letters from Cobden and Bright. The latter had written of the extreme gravity of the situation, but had added, "a courageous stroke—great country, the great hope of humanity." There was a message also from the French government urging America to accede to Great Britain's government. The president seems to have hesitated. He wished to have the matter decided by arbitration, but Seward and Sumner recognized that a direct answer must be returned to the British demands. After prolonged discussion, their view became general, and Lincoln acted upon it. His action was accepted by the American people and was heartily welcomed in England.

Its sobering effect even upon the Times was seen in that journal's contemptuous reference to the arrival of the southern emissaries. The English people were advised by it to take no notice of their advent. As for the active indignation caused by their arrest—"we should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes."

Earl Derby, indeed, taunted America for yielding to threats of superior force, but the whole country had shuddered at the prospect of such a war.

On Dec. 28 the flags in New York harbor and throughout the city hung at half mast on receipt of the news that the prince consort had passed away. One of his last public acts had been the revision of Palmerston's American message, and in him both countries lost one of the forces that made for peace. Though the Trent incident was honorably and wisely closed by Lincoln's action, it undoubtedly left a residuum of bad feeling behind it. It had increased irritation and anxiety on both sides; and on both sides it was felt that the decision had been brought about by fear of war rather than by the moral power of justice. Lincoln probably had foreseen this when he argued for arbitration. Yet undoubtedly the decision of the cabinet had coincided with his own.

J. WRIGHT

In the Meshes of Diplomacy.

THE connection between Lincoln and England is thus described by an English biographer of Lincoln, Mr. H. B. Binns:

"Meanwhile Lincoln, the greatest of American liberals, looked eagerly over sea to the liberals of the old world for some recognition of his action.

"The middle class in England had been trying hard to believe that the war did not after all turn upon the question of slavery. Against the arguments of Prof. Cairns and John Stuart Mill it still clung to that belief. In April Mr. Gladstone, then chancellor of the exchequer, had sophistically declared he 'had no faith in the propagation of free institutions at the point of the sword.' As the summer advanced and McClellan's campaign before Richmond proved a failure, proposals of mediation were again discussed in the English cabinet, and a resolution on the subject was introduced into the house of commons, but withdrawn on the advice of Palmerston.

"At this point occurred an incident even more serious than the affair of the Trent—the sailing from Liverpool of the privateer afterwards known as the Alabama. In spite of all the evidence accumulated by the American minister, and the advice of Lord Monkswell, the decision to prevent the vessel sailing was made too late, and the delays of 'the circumlocution office' served only too well the hostile purpose of certain Liverpool shipbuilders. Lord Russell seems to have realized that he was to blame in the matter and discovered angrily enough that he had been misled by his subordinates. The sailing of the Alabama was bitterly regretted by other members of the cabinet—the duke of Argyll, Sir G. Cornwall-Lewis, and Mr. Milner Gibson. It greatly imbittered the feeling of suspicion which was then almost traditional between the two peoples.

Intolerance on Both Sides.

"This feeling was not improved by the attitude of British and American newspapers, nor by the indiscretions of British ministers.

"Early in October Mr. Gladstone declared that Jefferson Davis had made a nation, and spoke with assurance of southern success. This was regarded at the time as an avowal of government policy, and the immediate recognition of the southern confederacy was consequently anticipated. But by the end of the month—partly owing perhaps to a knowledge of the tenor of Seward's instructions to the American minister in London, but partly, as one may suppose, as a result of the preliminary proclamation of emancipation—the policy of intervention was abandoned, and Mr. Gladstone's ingenuity was employed in explaining away his mischievous words. In later years he referred to them as to a mistake of 'incredible grossness.'

"The Times—'bad times,' as Lincoln called it, to distinguish it from 'good times' in the Times of New York—received the proclamation with infamous insinuations. It described it as an incitation to servile insurrection, and pictured the president gloating over a prospect of rapine and midnight murder. The Saturday Review followed in the same strain. With the perverse ingenuity of a special pleader it characterized the edict as 'a crime.'

Our English Friends.

"But, on the other hand, English radicalism, led by Cobden, Bright, and Forster, was finding a voice. On New Year's eve great public meetings to greet the edict were held in London and Sheffield, and a third and notable one of 6,000 Lancashire men assembled in the Free Trade hall, Manchester, proclaiming the English and Americans to be truly one people, though locally separate, speaking of slavery as the only cause of dissension between them, and urging the president to destroy it.

"In acknowledging the address from Manchester, Lincoln, after explaining that his whole purpose and duty as president had been to preserve the republic, added, somewhat didactically, as though still excusing his action to his own conscience, 'It is not always in the power of governments to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary for the public welfare from time to time to adopt.' He had counted on the forbearance of nations, and he now acknowledged this message to him as, under the circumstances of distress prevailing in Lancashire through the war, 'an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity, and freedom.' And he concluded by seeing in this interchange of sentiment 'an augury that, whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exists between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual.'

"It is curious to observe that even here Lincoln will not appeal for support to the abolition sentiment of his correspondents. He is too honest to profess motives which were not strictly those that impelled him to action. He appeals rather to the sentiments of universal justice, humanity, and freedom, which always are the actual motive power behind his decisions. He wrote a few days later in the same strain to 'the workingmen of London' in acknowledgment of another address.

Cheered Lincoln's Name.

"At the London meeting of January 29, held in Exeter hall, the attendance was so great that a second room was filled, and many still remained in the street. The vast audience rose and cheered, waving hats and handkerchiefs on the mention of Lincoln's name. A similar meeting, evincing similar enthusiasm, was held the same night in Bradford; and through February and March great meetings continued to send congratulations to the president from various towns in the provinces and in Scotland. The most notable of all was that of the trade unions, which crowded St. James' hall on March 26. This was of special importance, because it was not a meeting called by the emancipation society, but the recognition on the part of organized labor in Great Britain of the degrading influence of slavery upon labor throughout the world. Sir W. R. Cremer, the veteran advocate of arbitration, then a working carpenter, moved one of the resolutions, and the meeting was addressed by John Stuart Mill, Prof. Beesly, John Bright, and others.

'The address to President Lincoln contained this remarable sentence, in which the real feeling of English radicalism found expression: 'Though we have felt proud of our country—yet have we ever turned with glowing admiration to your great republic, where a higher political and social freedom has been established.'

"The sentiment is in accordance with John Bright's dictum, 'I am persuaded that the more perfect the friendship that is established between the people of England and the free people of America, the more you will find your path of progress here made easy for you, and the more will social and political liberty advance among us.'

"Lincoln and Bright knew as well as did Mazzini that however governments might disagree, throughout the world the cause of the people was one. Walt Whitman perhaps at this time was inditing his 'Years of the Modern' to the growing consciousness of solidarity among the nations:

"Are all nations communing? Is there going to be but one heart to the globe?

With Frank Hostility.

"But if a number of the English people sympathized with the president and recognized that it was their battle he was fighting we hardly need be reminded that many of their leaders treated him and his proclamation with frank hostility. Earl Russell, not content with his previous criticism, went so far as to declare, in February, 1863, that northern success would be calamitous to the world—a singular utterance, considering his position as her majesty's foreign secretary, and calculated to intensify the bitter feeling already entertained by the American secretary of state. Lord Palmerston ridiculed the mere notion that the union any longer existed. The marquis of Hartington, during a visit to America, gave open evidence of his sympathy with the southern party. It is said that Lincoln contrived to express a good natured contempt for his attitude by studiously addressing him as 'Mr. Partington.'

"The frank sympathy of the official classes, both in Great Britain and in France, with the confederate cause, had serious consequences. The most disastrous was the building and equipping of privateers in English and French yards for the destruction of American commerce. We have seen how Great Britain had delayed acting upon the urgent representations of the American minister until the notorious Alabama had sailed.

"British responsibility for the ravages of this vessel was steadily brought before the attention of her majesty's government by the American minister and as steadily disclaimed by Earl Russell. In the spring of 1863 three more ships of the same character were being built in Liverpool, and Forster and Bright called attention to them in the house of commons. The builder, Mr. Laird, justified his action by 'patriotic' bluster, while Palmerston flippantly defended the inaction of the government. But Earl Russell had learned his lesson, and first the Alexandra and afterwards two ironclad rams were prevented from sailing.

Great Injustice Done.

"A great deal has been said, and said justly, against the coldness of Great Britain at this hour of America's crisis. But there has been injustice in some of the accusations leveled against the English people. It was the English advisers of Queen Victoria who frustrated the designs of Napoleon III. for effecting the recognition of the confederacy. It is true they wavered, but it is also true that they delayed action till action became impossible.

"As to the English people, and especially the people most affected by the war, the thousands of cotton operatives in the very grip and terror of famine, John Bright declared "there has been every effort that money and malice could use to stimulate in Lancashire, among the suffering population, an expression of opinion in favor of the slave states. They have not been able to get it.' John Bright and the men and women of Lancashire understood the struggle and were faithful in spite of their personal interests to the cause of a common humanity.

"'As for me,' said the great Quaker orator, in words worthy of Abraham Lincoln, 'as for me, I have but this to say—if all other tongues are silent mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondsmen of the south, and which tends to generous thoughts and generous words and generous deeds between the two great nations who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name.'

Talk of Intervention.

"The talk of intervention in foreign cabinets had been encouraged even by some Republican leaders and notably by Greeley, who seems to have been cast into the depths of despair by the Republican reverses at the November elections which followed the preliminary proclamation. At this time Lord Lyons, the British minister, was in close relations with many of the so-called 'Conservative' (Democratic) leaders in New York, and his dispatch upon the subject, dated Nov. 17, 1862, is of great interest. While these Democrats were eager for foreign intervention they were wiser than Greeley, and politic enough to see that as actual offer would produce such national indignation as must greatly strengthen the hands of the radicals, with whom they considered that the president was at that time more and more closely identifying himself. What they desired was such military success for the union as might lead to an armistice, to

be followed by a national convention, in which the southern as well as the northern states should participate, which should propose such amendments to the constitution as would satisfy the slavery party and reëstablish the union without really settling the points at issue.

"Lord Lyons himself opined that they had little real hope of effecting this, and were ready in their hearts to purchase peace at the price of separation. But he added that if any offer of mediation were to be made by the European powers it would be inadvisable for Great Britain to make it. In this, as in the Trent affair, Lyons proved himself a real, if a cautious, friend of the American nation, and a wise observer of their moods. And thus we may note how it was the attitude of the American people themselves which rendered foreign intervention impossible, just as it was their will which supported the president in his determination to continue the struggle even through its darkest hours."

J [illegible] IGHT

FRIDAY MORNING.

LINCOLN AS EDITOR ACCORDED ACCLAIM

Corrections in Letter Today Called Diplomatic Masterpiece by Officials

BY WILLIAM C. McCLOY

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11. (Exclusive)—Abraham Lincoln is least remembered, probably, as an editor. Yet his blue penciling of the letter drafted by Secretary of State Seward to Charles Francis Adams, United States Minister to Great Britain, at the beginning of the Civil War, is a masterpiece of diplomacy.

The background of the situation is not so clear to us now as it was to the American people seventy-five years ago. Briefly, Mr. Seward was the leader of a group of men who long sought to prevent the war between the States by forcing a quarrel with either Great Britain or Mexico, thus uniting the country against a foreign foe.

GLADSTONE OUTSPOKEN

In addition to that, the inability of the Manchester cotton mills to get cotton from the United States created a sentiment in Great Britain favorable to the newly formed southern Confederacy. Leading English politicians were eager to profit by this condition. The great Liberal statesman, William E. Gladstone, was so outspoken on the subject that the British Cabinet was forced publicly to disavow a speech he made.

There were, however, a number of influential people in Great Britain who earnestly sympathized with President Lincoln in his views on slavery. These were led by the celebrated Quaker, John Bright, whose speech on the evils that would result from the dismemberment of the United States is one of the greatest in American history.

PROTEST DANGEROUS

The danger at the moment was that an unwise protest from the American State Department would nullify the efforts of Bright's followers and enable Lord John Russell, British Foreign Minister, to turn a serious international question into an exchange of briefs between two political lawyers—himself and Seward.

Lincoln forestalled this and, at the same time, cleverly ignored Fernando Wood's proposal that New York City secede from the United States and declare itself a free port. Lincoln summed up his views on this complicated situation in the terse sentence, "One war is enough at a time."

KNOWLEDGE OF WORDS

A study of the erasures, substitutions and amendments to Secretary Seward's letter made by Lincoln conveys a finer sense of the meaning of words, a more comprehensive knowledge of the situation and a more thorough appreciation of the grave results that might follow than the original draft by the scholarly Seward.

To compare the first and final drafts of this letter to Minister Adams, now treasured in the archives of the State Department at Washington, is to realize that Lincoln's corrections prevented Lord John Russell from rallying the distressed cotton spinners of Manchester in favor of a dismemberment of the United States.

THE LETTER

Department of State,
Washington,
May 21, 1861.

Sir:

This government considers that our relations to Europe have reached a crisis in which it is necessary for it to take a decided stand on which not only its immediate measures but its ultimate policy can be determined and defined . . . You will base no proceedings on parliamentary debates farther than to seek explanations when necessary and communicate them to this department."

LINCOLN'S CORRECTION

As originally written by Seward, the phrase, "to this department' was followed by: "We intend to have a clear and simple record of whatever issues may arise between us and Great Britain." Around this sentence, the President drew a line and wrote the words: "Leave out."

THE LETTER

"The President regrets that Mr. Dallas (charge d'affaires) did not protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British government and the missionaries of the insurgents . . . intercourse of any kind with the co-called commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such intercourse would be nonetheless hurtful to us for being called unofficial and it might even be more injurious because we should then have no means of knowing what points might be received by it."

LINCOLN'S CORRECTIONS

After the phrase "missionaries of the insurgents," Seward had added "as well as against the demand for explanations made by the British government." Against this clause, the President wrote: "Leave out, because it does not appear that explanations were demanded," in the last sentence, Seward had written, "such intercourse would be none the less wrongful to us." The President substituted "hurtful."

THE LETTER

. . . "As to the blockade, you will say that by our own laws and the laws of nations, this government has a clear right to suppress insurrections. An exclusion of commerce from national ports which have been seized by the insurgents in the equitable form of blockade is a proper means to that end."

LINCOLN'S CORRECTIONS

In Mr. Seward's version, the above read: "As to closing the blockade, you will say that by the laws of nature and the laws of nations, this government has a clear right to suppress insurrection" . . . in place of "the laws of nature," Lincoln substituted "our own laws."

THE LETTER

"British recognition (of the Confederacy) would be British intervention to create within our territory, a hostile state by overthrowing this republic itself . . . As to the treatment of privateers in the insurgent service, you will say that this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens or persons employed by our citizens preying on the commerce of our country. If Great Britain shall

choose to recognize them as lawful belligerents and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the law of nations affords an adequate and proper remedy."

LINCOLN'S CORRECTIONS

After the words "overthrowing this republic itself," the original Seward draft went on to say, "We, from that hour, shall cease to be friends and once more—as we have been twice before—shall be forced to be enemies of Great Britain." Here, Lincoln erased the entire sentence . . . after the words, "proper remedy" (closing the above quotation from the letter) Seward had written: "and we shall avail ourselves of it. And while you need not say this in advance, be sure that you say nothing inconsistent with it" . . . "out." wrote the President.

THE LETTER

" . . . We see how, upon the results of the debate to which we are engaged, a war may ensue between the United States and one, two or even more European nations. War, in any case, is as exceptionable from our habits as it is revolting from the sentiments of the American people. But if it come, it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own; that Great Britain will then have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy either without waiting to hear from you our remonstrances and our warnings, or after having heard them.

"War in defense of national life is not immoral and war in defense of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations . . . The dispute will be between the European and the American branches of the British race. All who belong to that race will especially deprecate it, as they ought. It may well be believed that men of every race and kindred will deplore it. A war not unlike it between the same parties occurred at the close of the last century. Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the error that Great Britain made in provoking that contest."

LINCOLN'S CORRECTIONS

Seward's version read: "Our remonstrances and our wrongs." Lincoln substituted—"Our remonstrances and our warnings." . . . "Europe atoned for forty years of suffering for the crime" was Seward's way of putting it. Lincoln wrote: "Forty years of suffering for the error."

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor,
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 489 FORT WAYNE, INDIANA August 22, 1938

LINCOLN'S DIPLOMACY

At no time in the history of the nation were diplomatic relations under such strain as during the Civil War. The nation went safely through the struggle without foreign intervention, largely because there was a diplomat in the president's chair. The following excerpts give some idea of Abraham Lincoln's tact and skill in handling even the minor difficulties which confronted him.

Please do not ruin us on punctilio.

I name none lest I wrong others by omission.

In a word, in every locality we should look beyond our noses.

Let all be so quiet that the adversary shall not be notified.

Be careful to give no offense, and keep cool under all circumstances.

Such exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become a new entanglement.

It is a case, as appears to me, in which I could do nothing without doing harm.

While so much may seem rather large, any thing less is too small—I think it better be done.

As Solomon says, there is a time for all things, and I think the present is a time for silence.

I intend keeping my eye upon these gentlemen, and to not unnecessarily put any weapons in their hands.

Please say to these gentlemen that if they do not work quickly I will make quick work with them.

It is bad faith in the government to force new terms upon such as have kept faith with it—at least so it seems to me.

Drop past differences, and so conduct yourselves that, if you cannot be at peace with them, the fault shall be wholly theirs.

It is not entirely safe when one is misrepresented under his very nose to allow the misrepresentation to go uncontradicted.

I cannot, by giving my consent to a publication of whose details I know nothing, assume the responsibility of whatever you may write.

I wish this letter to not be made public; but no man representing me as I herein represent myself will be in any danger of contradiction by me.

In this, the true sense of my proposition, I deny that there is any thing censurable in it—anything but a spirit of mutual concession, for harmony's sake.

It is fixing for the President the unjust and ruinous character of being a mere man of straw. This must be arrested, or it will damm us all inevitably.

Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only what it should be, as the egg to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.

I venture to hope it will appear that we have practiced prudence and liberality toward foreign powers, averting causes of irritation, and with firmness maintaining our own rights and honor.

I do not know whether you are Dr. Blades or not. If you are Dr. Blades, you may use my name; if you are not Dr. Blades, if Dr. Blades says you may use my name, you may do so.

I wish you and Lane would make a sincere effort to get out of the mood you are in. It does neither of you any good. It gives you the means of tormenting my life out of me, and nothing else.

A public expose, however, though it might confound the guilty, I fear might also injure some who are innocent; to some extent, disparage a good cause; reflect no credit upon me, and result in no advantage to you.

The gifts will be placed among the archives of the government where they will remain perpetually as tokens of mutual esteem and pacific disposition more honorable to both nations than any trophies of conquest could be.

I think it is safer, when a practical question arises, to decide that question directly, and not indirectly by deciding a general abstraction supposed to include it, and also including a great deal more.

While it might embrace the practical question mentioned, it might also be the nest in which forty other troublesome questions would be hatched. I would rather meet them as they come than before they come, trusting that some of them may not come at all.

We had better have him a friend than an enemy. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him, then restore him, and now if we relieve him again the public will ask, "Why all this vacillation?"

I pray God to have your country in His holy keeping, and to vouchsafe to crown with success her noble aspirations to renew, under the auspices of her present enlightened government, her ancient career, so wonderfully illustrated in the achievements of art, science, and freedom.

A drop of honey catches more flies than a gallon of gall. So with men. If you would win a man to your cause, first convince him that you are his sincere friend. Therein is a drop of honey which catches his heart which, say what he will, is the great highroad to his reason.

In this unusual agitation we have forborne from taking part in any controversy between foreign states, and between parties of factions in such states. We have attempted no propagandism, and acknowledged no revolution. But we have left to every nation the exclusive conduct and management of its own affairs.

The offer of condolence in such cases is a customary ceremony, which has its good uses, though it is conventional, and may sometimes be even insincere. But I would fain have Your Majesty apprehend on this occasion that real sympathy can exist, as real truthfulness can be practiced in the intercourse of nations.

If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

The News-Gazette
February 12, 1959

Lincoln Never Let Crusading Zeal Blur Goals: Graebner

SPEAKER CITES LINCOLN ROLE AT UI PROGRAM

By FRAN MYERS
News-Gazette University Editor

Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1865, "An Immortal Sign," and a "Conservative Statesman"----

The several pictures of the "Enduring Lincoln," born 150 years ago Thursday, were dramatically described in the University of Illinois' opening programs on the Lincoln Sesquicentennial observance.

"Lincoln's contribution to the nation was immeasureable," Prof. Norman A. Graebner, UI history department, and Sesquicentennial committee chairman, said Thursday afternoon following a luncheon given by President and Mrs. David D. Henry in the Illini Union.

'Conservative Statesman'

"Despite the emotions of great crisis, he (Lincoln) never permitted a crusading zeal to blur his goals or force him to accept obligations beyond the power which he wielded," Prof. Graebner continued, talking on Lincoln as the "Conservative Statesman."

"His deep conservatism forbade any concession to the demands of the ideologues around him."

The Lincoln program continues with Prof. David Donald, Columbia University, speaking at 8 p.m. Thursday in Lincoln Hall Theater on "Lincoln: Whig in the White House." At 4 p.m. Prof. T. Harry Williams, history department, Louisiana State University, was scheduled to speak on Lincoln as a "Pragmatic Democrat."

Lincoln scholars, newspaper editors, reporters, book editors and others were guests of Dr. and Mrs. Henry at luncheon.

"Lincoln's life to him was a quest for identity and a creation of identity, sparked by ambition so intense that no immediate failure could put it off and no success could satisfy its craving," according to Director Roy P. Basler, reference department, the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

'An Immortal Sign'

His Wednesday afternoon lecture was devoted to "Lincoln: An Immortal Sign."

"This creative impulse, as with all men in some degree perhaps, took various channels, but two main currents — the political and the literary — run throughout his life and frequently blend into one. Lincoln seems never to have begun and never to have ceased to love to play with people and to play with words.

"The essential effort of his life was to identify himself, by words and in relationships to his contemporaries, as a representative, symbolic hero. He sought to play a role the action and words of which he would create for himself as circumstance and opportunity arose, but always with his mind's eye on the ultimate scene of the ultimate act, in which he would achieve his symbolic identity."

Basler said Lincoln "had no pat solution to the problem of slavery, he sought to lead no crusade, but he hoped that in time the terrible ambiguity of human freedom and equality would gradually, in increasing measure, be resolved of necessity by new laws expressing the will of the majority, not of one state or one section, but of the United States."

Traces The 'Myth'

Basler traced the "myth, from the log cabin to the White House, and lacking only the tragic denouement which Lincoln was further to live and create for himself down to the last scene in Ford's Theater on a Good Friday night, to a large extent made probable, if not indeed inevitable, by every choice of action which led up to it — such is the myth which Lincoln created, in his quest for identity, out of the ambiguity of his human nature. It is his story, it is our story, it is the world's story."

As a "Statesman," Lincoln "accepted as the great object of his career the preservation of the remarkable legacy which the Founding Fathers had bequeathed to the nation," Prof. Graebner said. "No generation, he said, "could escape the responsibility of transmitting to the next the national edifice untrammeled and uninjured by usurpation."

Graebner also said, "If Lincoln believed slavery wrong in practice and principle, he did not sha the fanaticism of the abolitionists. He was critical of slavery as an institution, but never of the South as a section . . . Refused to condemn the South for its unwillingness to face its moral dilemma . . .

'Deep-Seated Realism'

. . . Lincoln's response to the Southern Independence movement reflected a deep-seated realism . . . Lincoln accepted the war imposed upon him by the bombardment of Fort Sumter, for he was now convinced that only through struggle could America be restored to its own traditions . . . War for Lincoln was always a means, not an end . . . For Republican Radicals, stimulated by abolitionism and the bitter emotions of war, Lincoln's goals were far too restrained . . . Lincoln recognized the limited efficacy of men to create a heaven on earth . . . Harbored a pessimistic view of man and society . . . Doubted that the world would be made much better because he had once occupied a position of great authority . . . Accepted emancipation only when it appeared the necessary price for Union. Liberation, he knew, was no panacea . . . Nowhere did he reveal his conservative instincts more clearly than in his foreign relations . . . Anchored his foreign policy to a realistic judgment of power."

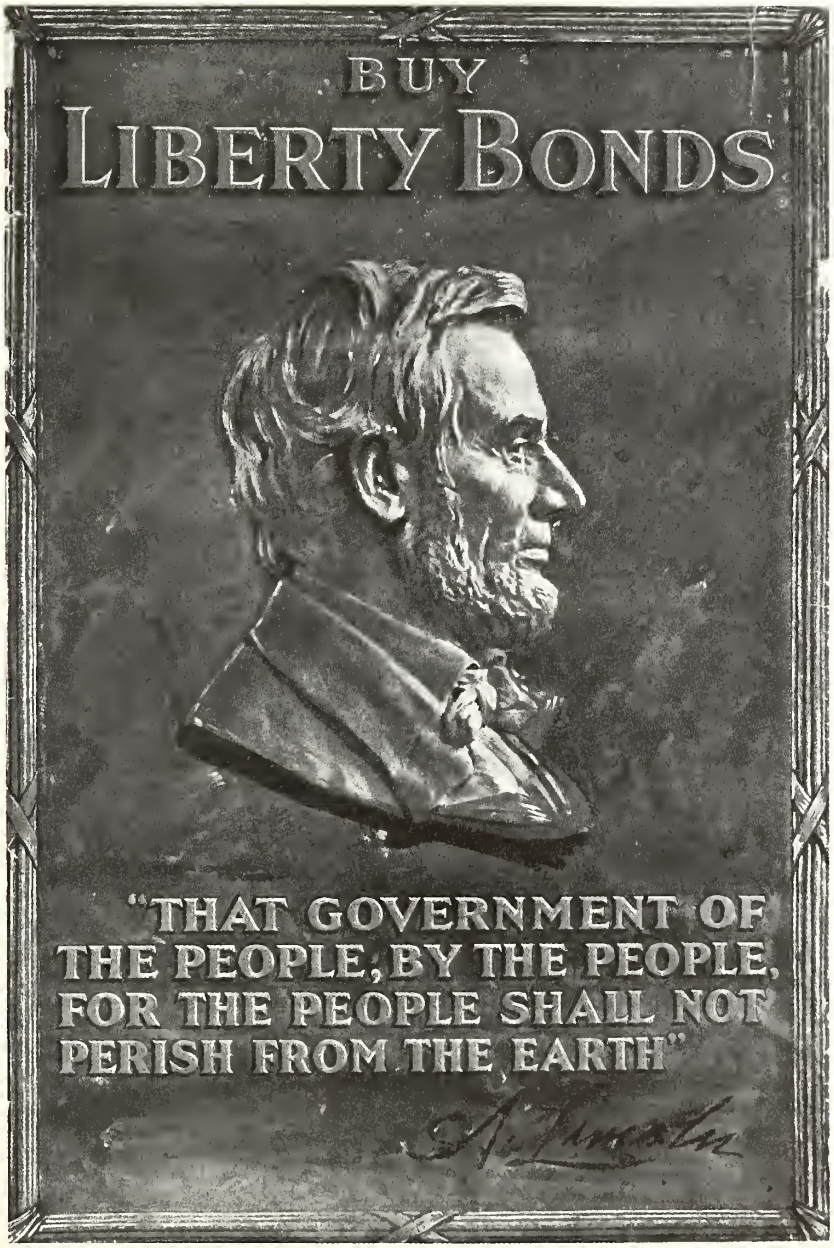
Lincoln Lore

February, 1981

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1716

Of Tangled Stories and Charnwood's *Lincoln*



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. The centennial celebration of Lincoln's birth in 1909 helped make Lincoln's image a powerful national symbol. By the time of World War I, Lincoln's face appeared frequently in war propaganda. In the same era, Charnwood's *Lincoln* helped make him an international figure.

Godfrey Rathbone Benson, Lord Charnwood, was an unlikely Lincoln biographer. The British upper classes were notoriously pro-Southern during the American Civil War, and he was born in that station in life in 1864. He did well at Oxford University, where he was later a tutor. He became a Member of Parliament and the Mayor of Lichfield.

After his graduation from Oxford in 1887, Charnwood made a tour of the United States. He returned briefly—to Boston and New York—in 1894. In politics, he was a Liberal. He was obviously interested in the United States, and, as a boy, he had read Charles G. Leland's *Abraham Lincoln*, a book memorable enough to be mentioned in the brief bibliographical note at the end of Charnwood's biography of Lincoln.

Charnwood's *Abraham Lincoln* was published in England in 1916. Available evidence suggests that his boyhood interest in Lincoln, his acquaintance with and admiration for the United States, and his liberal political leanings helped lead him to writing the book. The date of its publication, however, more strongly suggests that the atmosphere of co-operation between the United States and England, which grew up at the time of the First World War, must have played a large role in molding a sympathetic interest into the drive to write a substantial book on Abraham Lincoln.

The result, as all Lincoln students are aware, was wonderful. George Bernard Shaw told Lincoln collector Judd Stewart that Charnwood's "very penetrating biography" created "a cult of Lincoln in England." Its reception in America, following its publication there in 1917, was equally enthusiastic. The enthusiasm, as Paul M. Angle later noted, was lasting and pointed to merits in the work beyond its timeliness for the period of the final thaw in Anglo-American relations. In 1935 Roy P. Basler thought that Carl Sandburg and Nathaniel Wright Stephenson presented "the best version of the private Lincoln," but Charnwood's was still "the best of the public Lincoln." As late as 1947, Benjamin P. Thomas, an excellent judge of such matters, called Charnwood's book "the best one-volume life of Lincoln ever written."

Lincoln students may be a little unclear in regard to the precise reason Charnwood wrote his book, but they are unanimous on the reasons for its high reputation and popularity. David M. Potter's *The Lincoln Theme and American National Historiography* identified these clearly. No Lincoln biography before

Courtesy Adams National Historic Site (from the *Dictionary of American Portraits*, published by Dover Publications, Inc., in 1967)

FIGURE 2. Henry Adams.

Charnwood's was "genuinely contemplative." Charnwood's *Lincoln*, as it is usually called, was. Paul M. Angle's *A Shelf of Lincoln Books* put it this way: "... it is not primarily factual, as for example, Nicolay's *Short Life* is factual. The emphasis is rather upon interpretation and analysis." Potter also pointed to the book's "notable literary excellence." Angle credited Charnwood with bringing "literary skill to the Lincoln theme," far exceeding the prosaic Nicolay and Hay or the hasty journalistic style of Ida Tarbell. Potter found "especial merit" in Charnwood's ability "to grasp the universality of Lincoln's significance." Angle also noted the Englishman's "conviction that Lincoln was one of the world's truly great men." Though critics did not say so explicitly, this trait set the book apart from the narrow nationalism even of contemporary biographers as talented as Stephenson and Albert Beveridge.

Charnwood was sympathetic, but he wrote from a cultural distance that Midwesterners like William Herndon, Jesse Weik, John Nicolay, and John Hay lacked perforce. This exempted Charnwood from a kind of partisanship that no American at the time seemed able to escape. Potter saw in this the root of Charnwood's unembarrassed ability to ask the "hard" questions about Lincoln:

> Did Lincoln temporize too much on slavery? Was there a quality of "cheap opportunism" in his political record? Did his policy at Fort Sumter differ from Buchanan's enough to justify the customary practice of gibbeting the silly old man while leaving Lincoln free from criticism? Was he, in the last analysis, responsible for precipitating the Civil War?

Lord Charnwood admitted that he did not "shrink ... from the display of a partisanship" that led him to state frankly that the South's cause was wrong. What made his book exceptional was, as Potter stated, that Charnwood at least asked the questions. What also made the book good was Charnwood's view—as accurate today as it was in 1916—that the "true obligation of impartiality is that he [the author] should conceal no fact which, in his own mind, tells against his views." His was not the advocate's effort to pile up all the facts that help his argument but the fair-minded historian's attempt to answer those arguments which seem most telling against his own case.

Charnwood, therefore, was never afraid to criticize Lincoln. Relying on the inaccurate literature available at the time, for example, Charnwood pictured Lincoln's father as "a migrant" and claimed that the "unseemliness in talk of rough, rustic boys flavoured the great President's conversation through life." (He saw, more accurately, that Lincoln was "void of romantic fondness for vanished joys of youth.") He labeled Lincoln's use of martial law in the North a usurpation of power.

Charnwood did no original research for the book and relied for facts on a small number of standard works, but he was a well-read man who used his generally cultured background to good effect. In a passage of marvelous irony, the learned Englishman criticized one of America's own great critics of democracy, Henry Adams, by saying, "It is a contemptible trait in books like that able novel 'Democracy,' that they treat the sentiment which attached to the 'Rail-splitter' as anything but honourable." Less accurate in the long run but appealing in the period of the book's greatest popularity was the viewpoint Charnwood derived from reading James Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. That critique of American politics made Charnwood hostile to political parties and the spoils system that Lincoln used so well. Charnwood saw American party politics as avoiding serious issues and largely incapable of producing great leaders. Of Lincoln's election in 1860, he said that "the fit man was chosen on the very ground of his supposed unfitness."

Lord Charnwood appreciated Lincoln's common origins, but he dwelled particularly on Lincoln's statesmanship. Secession, to Charnwood, was a broadly popular movement in the South aimed at saving slavery, and Lincoln's efforts to counter it were noble, progressive, and somehow Christian. Following a current of British military opinion at the time, he praised Lincoln's abilities as a commander in chief. He did not belittle the Emancipation Proclamation. It could be interpreted as a narrowly military measure only in law, Charnwood argued. Given the limited research he did for the biography, one is not surprised to learn that Charnwood repeated some spurious quotations and anecdotes. He often handled these well. Of the apocryphal story of Lincoln's clemency for the sleeping sentinel William Scott, Charnwood concluded: "If the story is not true—and there is no reason whatever to doubt it—still it is a remarkable man of whom

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. Jesse Weik.

people spin yarns of that kind." A man of deep religious interests himself, Charnwood noted Lincoln's growth in that realm to the "language of intense religious feeling" in the Second Inaugural Address.

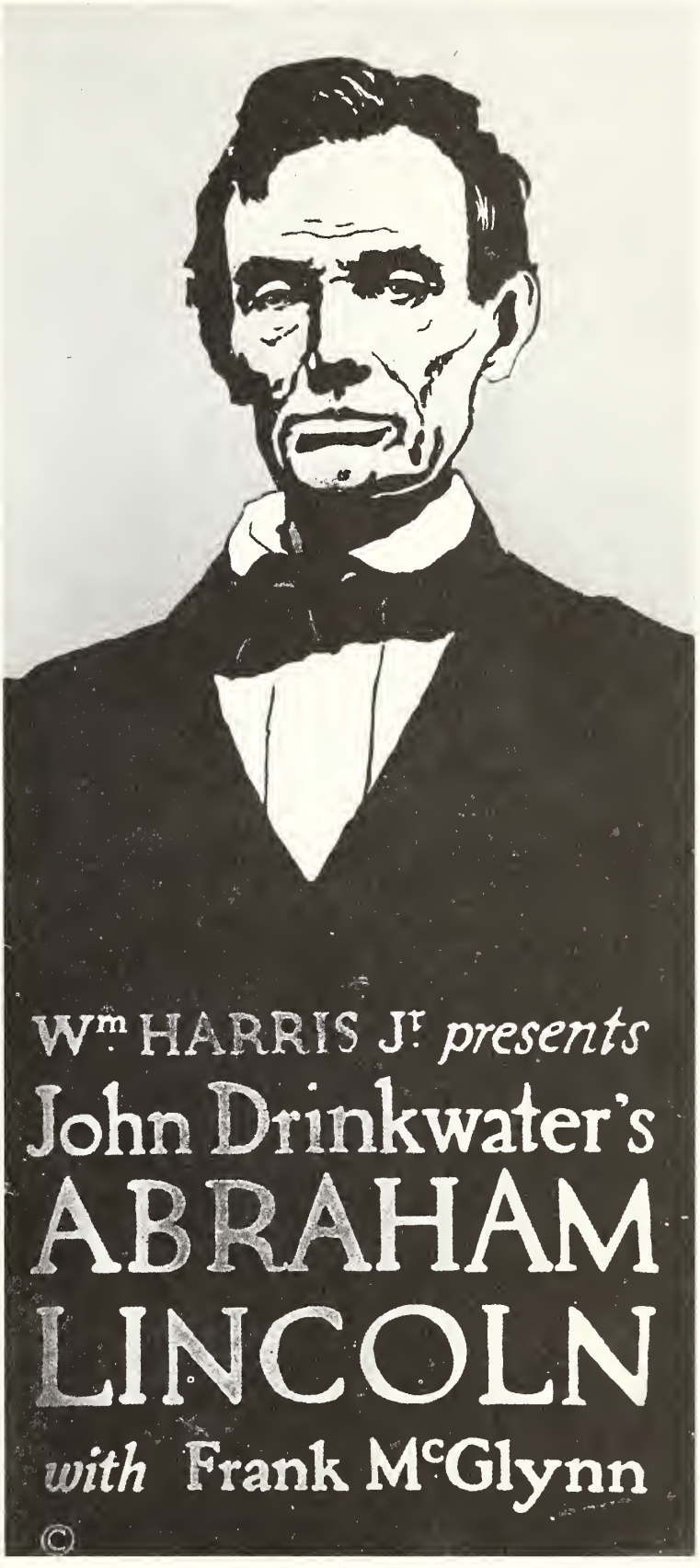
Charnwood kept his focus on the meaning of Lincoln's efforts to save the Union. These, he thought, were attempts to save democratic government for the whole world. He properly stressed Lincoln's praise for Henry Clay as a patriot who "loved his country, partly because it was his own country, and mostly because it was a free country."

Maintaining focus in a Lincoln biography was a real achievement, and focusing it on the truly important questions was Charnwood's greatest achievement. It is difficult to discover the means by which he did this because Charnwood letters are rather scarce in this country. This institution, though it seeks the letters of Lincoln's biographers, has not a single Charnwood letter. The Illinois State Historical Library has less than half a dozen. Among the later, however, there is one illuminating letter to Jesse W. Weik.

Written on May 17, 1919, just after Charnwood's triumphant lecture tour of the United States, the letter acknowledged Weik's gift of two Lincoln autographs for Lady Charnwood's autograph collection. Echoing a phrase from a famous Lincoln letter, Lord Charnwood characterized the gift as "such an addition . . . as she had never hoped to obtain, knowing that indeed Lincoln autographs are not plenty as blackberries." He apologized for the delay in writing. His younger son, eight years old, had been killed in a fall from a pony. He told Weik that the United States appeared much changed since his first visit thirty-one years before, "mainly . . . for the good."

Naturally, the letter soon got around to the subject of Abraham Lincoln. On his recent tour of the United States, Lord Charnwood wrote, "I came across, & indeed have been coming across ever since I published my book, many signs of the tendency, which had been active, to make a sort of stained-glass-window figure of Lincoln, quite removed from genuine human sympathy & impossible really to revere." He noted, tactfully, that Weik's own book, written with William Herndon, "made it impossible that such a tendency should lastingly prevail." In writing Weik, Charnwood diplomatically avoided commenting directly on the overall accuracy of the Herdon-Weik book. He said only that he had studied it carefully or that it prevented uncritical hero worship. Charnwood was careful thus to pay his "respects to one of the pioneer writers on the subject of which" Charnwood was "a junior student."

Charnwood's tour had brought him into contact with the controversies over Lincoln's ancestry, then raging in America. "The question," Charnwood commented, "is of little interest in itself,—not that heredity is an unimportant influence (for of course it is vastly important) but that its working is generally too subtle to be traced, that when we have the correct names of a great man's grand-parents & great-grand-parents (& how few of us can name all our great-grand-parents!) they generally remain mere names, and finally that nothing in his or any man's ancestry adds anything or detracts anything to or from his individual worth." Here again was Lord Charnwood at his tactful and ironic best—an Englishman, who did "not care two pence, or a cent (which is less) about the authority of this or any other pedigree (my own for example)," giving lessons on individualism to an American whose book had made rather a sensation for what it said about Lincoln's ancestry.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 4. British playwright John Drinkwater drew inspiration for his popular play about Lincoln from Lord Charnwood's biography. The play was first performed in America in 1919.

"So," Charnwood said, "this question thoroughly bores me." Then, remembering the letter's recipient, he added a hasty parenthetical comment—"except that Lincoln's own interest in the subject is an interesting trait in him as Herndon & Weik record it." Still, having written a book about Lincoln, Charnwood felt that he might be "bound to know what there is to be known about it." Several questions followed for the sake of "antiquarian accuracy."

Charnwood had known of the questions surrounding Lincoln's Hanks ancestry when he wrote his book, and he queried Weik about new theories on the legitimacy of Lincoln's mother. In America, Charnwood had been astonished to learn that some raised questions about Lincoln's own legitimacy. "My time at Springfield," Charnwood said, "(in which I met some delightful people of the older generation who gave me, though without much detail a vivid impression of old times) was a little too much taken up with hearing tangled stories in which this question [of Lincoln's legitimacy] got mixed up with the other which I have spoken of [the question of Lincoln's mother's legitimacy]." One man in particular had been much taken with the notion that Lincoln was descended from John Marshall. "I think my friend," Charnwood went on, "is merely suffering from a variety of the same disease which makes others desire to derive Lincoln from wholly respectable people of [as] good standing as possible. He can not suffer it that a great man should have arisen without some ancestor of manifest intellectual eminence." Charnwood was "inclined to treat the idea as rubbish," but he still wanted to know whether there was anything to it.

Lord Charnwood concluded his letter thus:

> I feel almost ashamed to have filled up my letter with questions which are of no importance in comparison with the actual life & work & character of the man who was any way Abraham Lincoln whoever his ancestors were.

Never afraid to ask questions or hear answers that might change his mind, Lord Charnwood nevertheless kept his focus always on the essentials of Lincoln's greatness.

Lloyd Ostendorf Joins Bibliography Committee

Lloyd Ostendorf of Dayton, Ohio, will join the Bibliography Committee which passes judgment on the inclusion of items in *Lincoln Lore*'s Cumulative Bibliography. Born in Dayton on June 23, 1921, Mr. Ostendorf graduated from Stivers High School in his home town in 1939. He began studying art after his graduation. He attended the Dayton Art Institute from 1939 to 1941. He spent the summer of 1940 in New York City, studying with cartoonist Milton Caniff and his associates. In 1941 Mr. Ostendorf enlisted in the Army Air Corps, with which he served until 1945.

The war interrupted Mr. Ostendorf's career in illustration and portrait work which began in 1939. He has furnished art work for many different publications and projects, and much of it has focused on Abraham Lincoln. Fascinated by the "oddly balanced ruggedness and beauty" of Lincoln's face, he began drawing pictures of Lincoln when he was twelve years old. His attention naturally turned to the photographs of Lincoln which he copied and adapted. Mr. Ostendorf got special encouragement in his work from Louis A. Warren, one of the few Lincoln authorities at the time interested in encouraging work with Lincoln pictures. As he sought photographs from which to work, Mr. Ostendorf also came into contact with Frederick Hill Meserve, the first great student and collector of Lincoln photographs. Meserve was "as nice as an old man could be to a young man" who shared his interest, Mr. Ostendorf remembers.

Mr. Ostendorf's first book *A Picture Story of Abraham Lincoln* (1962), a biography for young readers, was so popular that it has been reissued by Lamplight Publishing, Inc., as *Abraham Lincoln: The Boy and the Man.* His next work was *Lincoln in Photographs: An Album of Every Known Pose* (1963), which he wrote with Charles Hamilton. This book, essential to even the smallest Lincoln library, is still available from the University of Oklahoma Press. Hardly a week passes in which the staff of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum fails to consult this fine book to answer questions about Lincoln photographs and the many lithographs and engravings inspired by them, and this is surely true of every other Lincoln institution as well.

Mr. Ostendorf's expertise in this very specialized but popular area of Lincolniana has been widely recognized. Lincoln Memorial University awarded him the Lincoln Diploma of Honor in 1966. Lincoln College awarded him an honorary degree (Litt. D.) in 1968, and Lincoln Memorial University added another (Art. D.) in 1974. He has been the art editor of the *Lincoln Herald* since 1957, and all Lincoln students are familiar with the wonderfully varied covers he provides for that quarterly journal. He was also an honorary member of the National Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission.

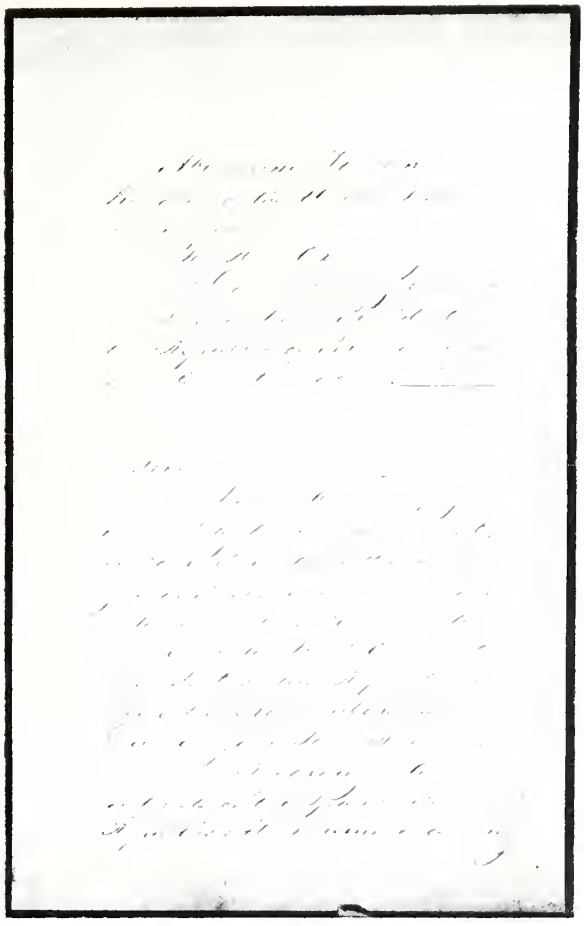
Mr. Ostendorf, in addition to illustrating greeting cards and religious materials, maintains his interest in Lincolniana. He recently completed a painting of Lincoln's stepmother for the Sarah Bush Lincoln Health Center in Mattoon, Illinois. Another recent portrait of Mary Todd Lincoln as a young woman hangs in the restored Todd home in Lexington, Kentucky. Studying photographs in order to determine what historical figures looked like in periods when no photographs of them are available is a special interest. Mr. Ostendorf has also been working on three books: a study of Lincoln portraits from life (with Harold Holzer); the recollections of Mariah Vance, a Lincoln family maid in Springfield (with David Balsiger); and a Lincoln family photograph album (with James T. Hickey).

Over the years, Mr. Ostendorf's interests have grown from Lincoln's physical appearance to all aspects of his life. His general knowledge and his special expertise make him a most welcome addition to the advisory board.

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 5. Lloyd Ostendorf

The Presidents March 1992



Abraham Lincoln Offers "My Sincere Sympathy and Condolence"

to the Peruvian Nation Upon the Death of its President

A Remarkable Letter on Black Bordered Mourning Stationery

38 **Abraham Lincoln** - 3 pg folio LS official "Head of State" letter Washington, D.C. May 13, 1863, **on black bordered mourning stationery to the provisional President of Peru, offering his condolences to the Peruvian nation** upon the death of their President and reassuring him of American support **"for a brilliant future in the development of a wise and sagacious policy" (democracy).** Beautifully written and endorsed by Secretary of State William H. Seward as follows:

"Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America,
To His Excellency Senor Don Pedro Diez Canseco, Second Vice President of the Republic of Peru,
charged with Executive Power.

Sir: **I have been deeply touched by the announcement,** contained in the letter which you addressed to me under date of the eleventh ultimo, **of the decease of the Most Excellent President of the Republic of Peru,** the Grand Marshal, Don Miguel San Roman.

Regarding the interests of the Spanish American Republics with no common concern, I have not failed to observe the incidents of the brief administration of the Grand Marshal, Senor San Roman, with admiration and respect, **and to anticipate for the Republic a most prosperous and brilliant future in the development of his wise and sagacious policy.**

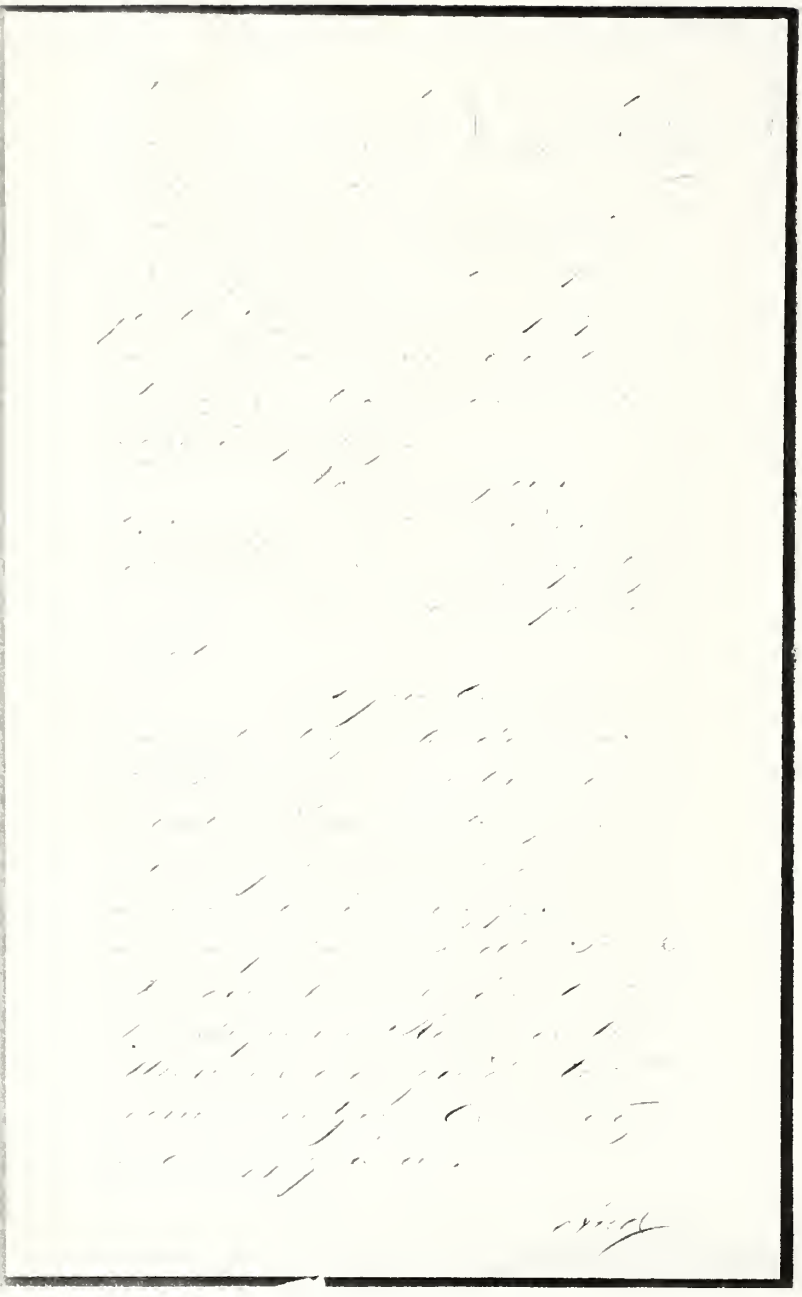
I offer to your Excellency and to the Peruvian Nation my sincere sympathy and condolence in this painful event.

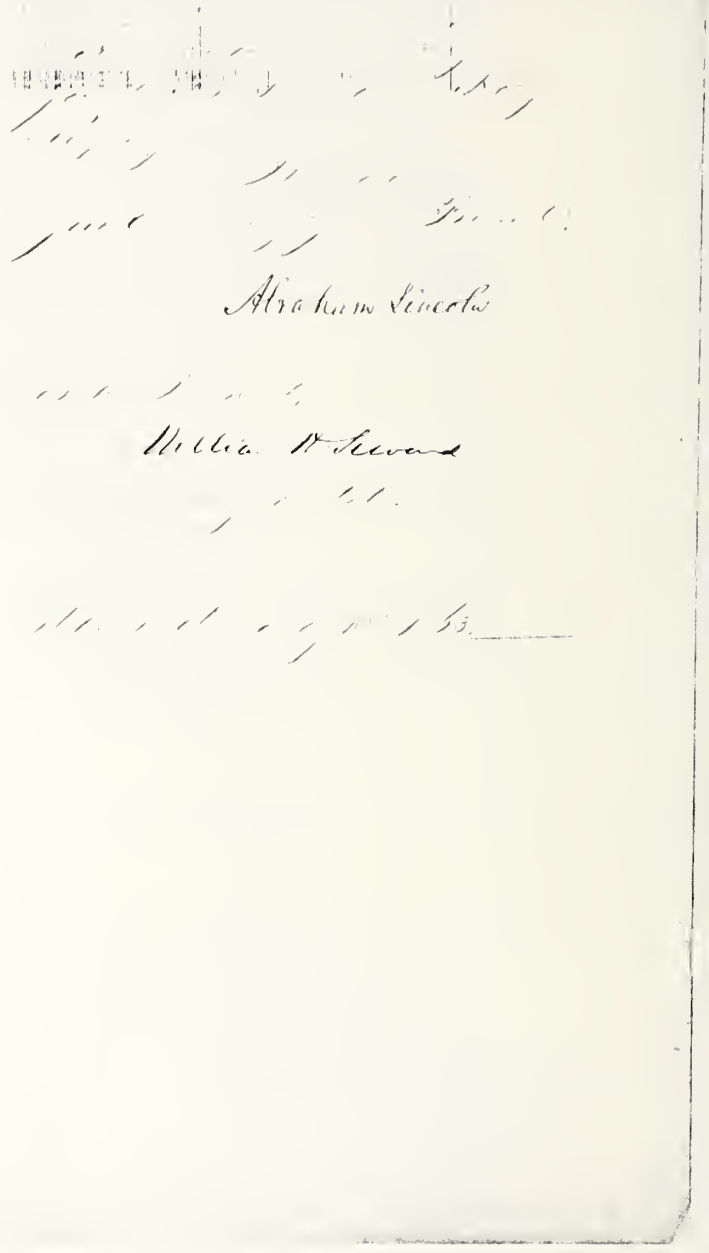
As your Excellency has entered upon the duties of Presidency, ad interim, under Constitutional sanction, prescribing to yourself such a course as must invite the approval and cooperation of other Powers, **I cannot but believe that the Supreme Ruler of the Universe will guide the counsels of Your Excellency to a happy issue.**

And so commending you to His safe and Holy Keeping. **I remain, Your Excellency's Good Friend,**

Abraham Lincoln."

GARY HENDERSHOTT • P.O. BOX 22520 • LITTLE ROCK, AR 72221, USA • PHONE (501) 224-7555





President Lincoln to the President of Peru

While both Country's were Struggling through a Civil War
"I cannot but believe that the Supreme Ruler of the Universe will guide your Excellency to a happy issue Abraham Lincoln"

Peru had been through a flurry of military dictatorships, the deceased President San Roman who had previously been Minister of War apparently died of natural causes on April 3, 1863 - **his predecessor and Vice-President to whom this letter is addressed was soon overthrown by yet another military dictator,** although he eventually regained control of his country through a series of revolutions, **that brought about democracy and ended Spain's aggression in the Western Hemisphere.**

A historically and autographically important letter in that it is a "official" letter by the President of the United States Abraham Lincoln to another head of state in a country which was also simultaneously ravaged by Civil War and offers a keen insight to Lincoln's international diplomacy of which little is known, as **well it is written on black bordered mourning stationery** of which I can find no other known example. A Unique and Historical letter, beautifully signed in bold dark ink, perfect for display and Superb condition ..... **37,500.**

GARY HENDERSHOTT • P.O. BOX 22520 • LITTLE ROCK, AR 72221, USA • PHONE (501) 224-7555