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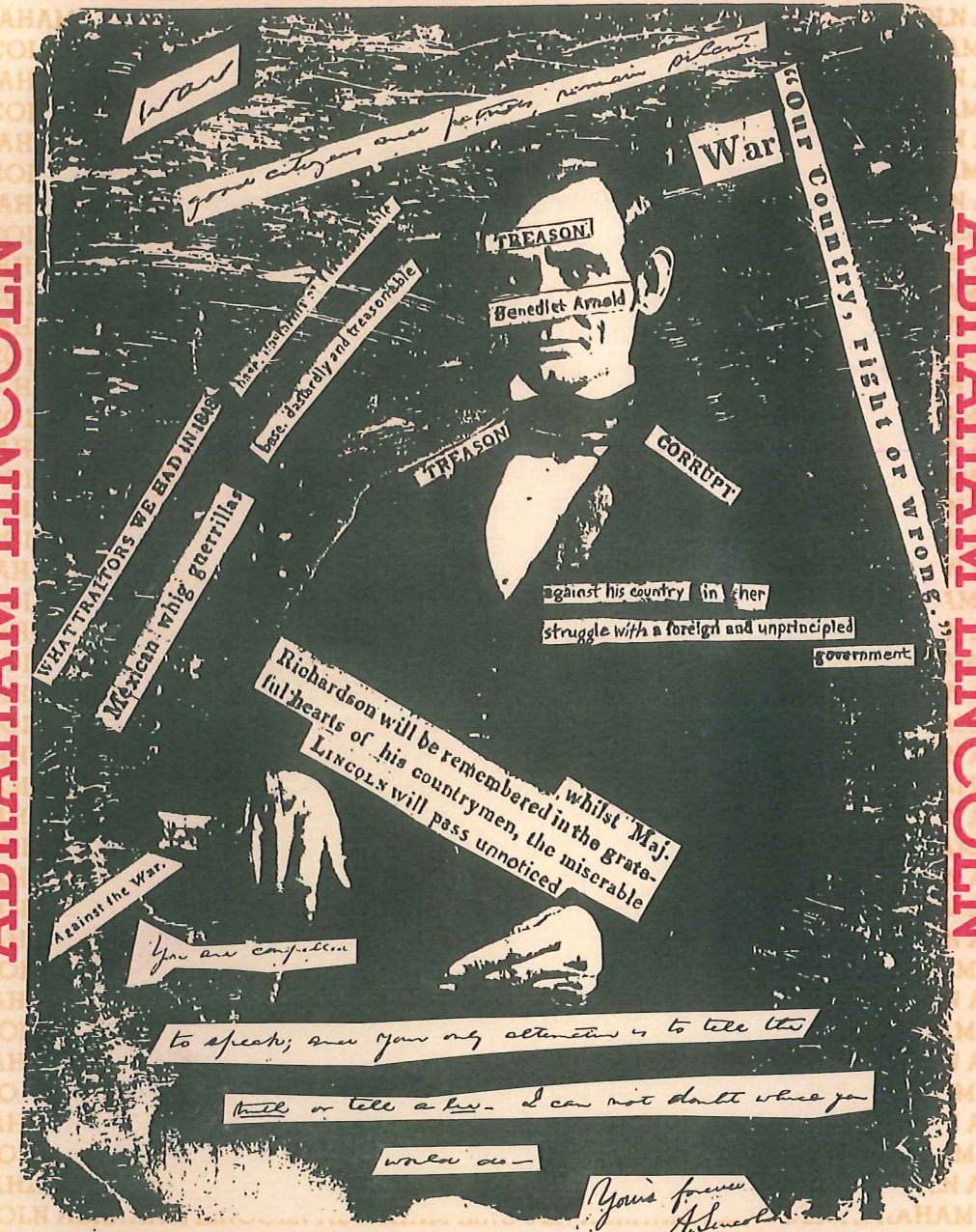
GETTYSBURG
COLLEGE

March 28, 1987

A lecture for the general public.



WAR OPPONENT

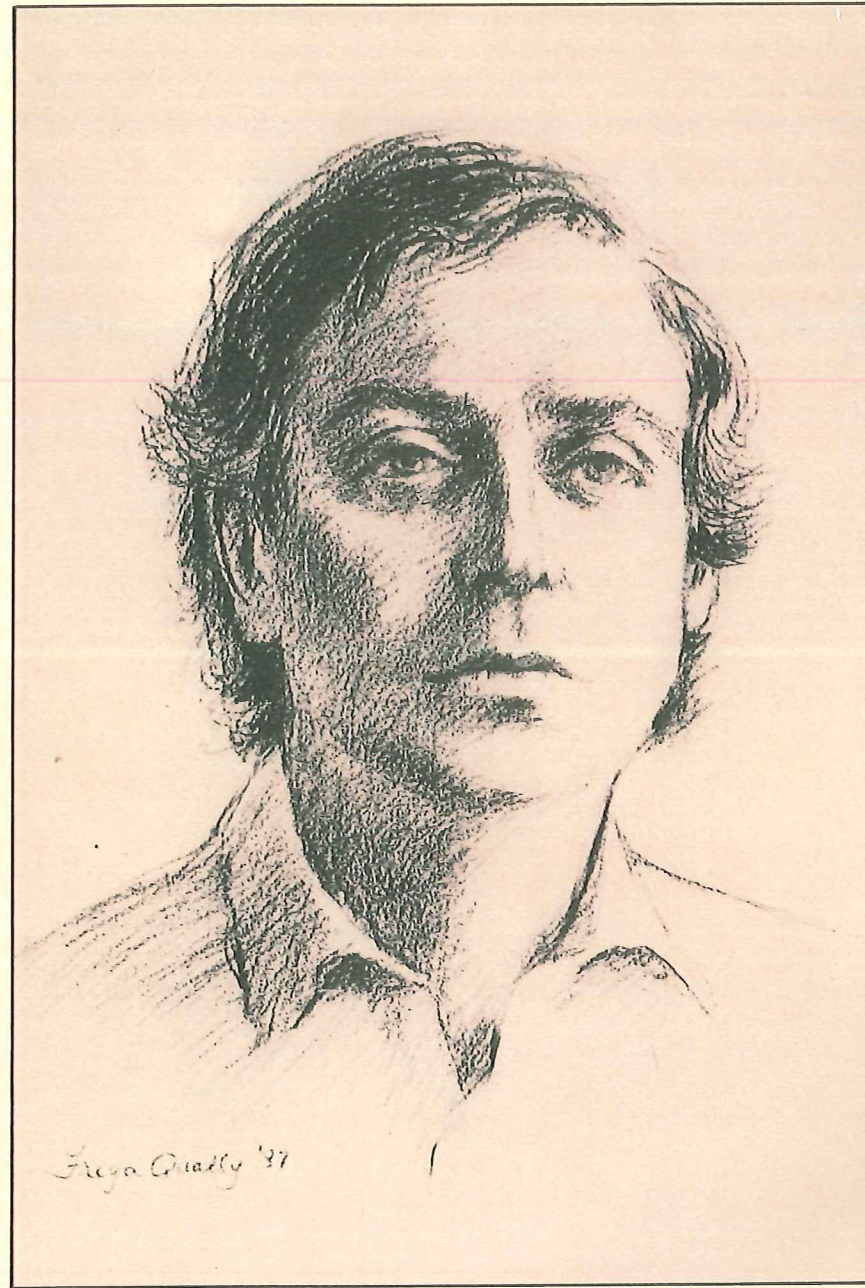


WAR PRESIDENT

GABOR S. BORITT

Abraham Lincoln:

War Opponent and War President



Photograph by Wayne Wolfe, Gettysburg College, 1987.

GABOR S. BORITT. Charcoal drawing by Freya Qually, 1987.

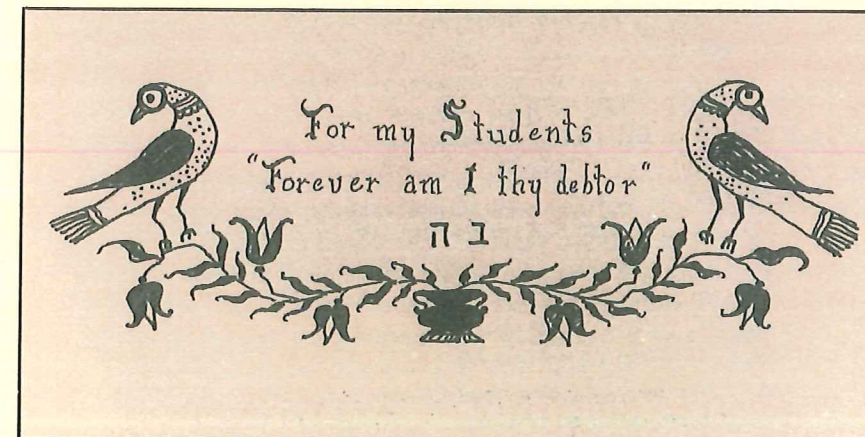
**Abraham Lincoln:
War Opponent and War President**

Gabor S. Boritt

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Gettysburg College



1987



Give me liberty, or give me death.
Patrick Henry, 1775

Here the truceless armies yet
Trample, rolled in blood and sweat;
They kill and kill and never die;
and I think that each is I.

A. E. Housman, "A Shropshire Lad" XXVIII (1895)

On a blood red morning the sun
rises behind the form of a wakeful
sentry guarding the crest of Cemetery
Ridge, knees bent, as if in prayer.
Likely dead before the next sun.
Behind this bronze statue, behind
the roar of these cannon and this gun,
a bearded farmer rises in the mind

Of his own battle and calls in
the animals of the field. He
bends to each and hand to hand
milks the placid bovine arsenal
which lows contentedly, further than eye can see,
apart from the killing grounds of his blessed land.

James A. Miller, "Amishman at the New World" (1986)

When one is given an honor not well deserved yet accepts -- and accepts therefore with a guilty conscience -- the need for escaping the sin of hypocrisy is compelling. One possible road of escape in the present circumstance is an attempt to address in this inaugural lecture a subject of consequence. Even if the resulting exercise is not of high quality, the choice of topic will ensure some benefits to the audience. So my topic today is war -- unfortunately a topic of potentially greater consequence than ever before in the history of humankind.

Year after year millions of Americans take the road to Gettysburg. In physical, moral, intellectual or emotional terms many millions more all over the globe take similar if often lesser pilgrimages. What for? The Gettysburg road leads to a peaceful, pastoral countryside -- peaceful but for those few days in the summer heat of 1863 -- fields of hay and corn; fields of wheat; peaches, woods, cattle, sheep, graceful barns, neat homes, working, peaceful people. The roadsides, the fields, and the woods are also spotted with countless monuments and markers forming what might be the most unusual outdoor art gallery in the world. And as we college folk and the like look at the milling pilgrims of Gettysburg, the question burns into our inwards: what do the monuments honor? Whom they honor we know: the soldiers who fought here and died here. That is, in part, why Lincoln, the first and still chief pilgrim, came to Gettysburg. But *what* do the monuments honor? A number of answers can be given to this question, but among them we do not usually count, perhaps do not want to know, that when we honor the warrior, to a degree, we honor war itself. So it is "altogether fitting and proper" that the Gettysburg Address is a funeral oration.¹

If Gettysburg is a place of monuments, so is in a different way its big neighbor, the capital city of Washington. There in recent years, after much deliberation, a monument designed by an American woman of Oriental descent was put up to those many sons and few daughters of this land who had died in Vietnam. This awesome granite wall stands between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial and close to the larger than life statue of a sitting, kindly Albert Einstein in sneakers, inviting children to sit in his lap, as my children did when we visited him. The black granite of the Vietnam monument, after a short time, was supplemented by a statue of three soldiers. The monument to the dead seems thus to have become a monument also to that majority of soldiers who had survived. Perhaps it would have been well to have also added -- in this age of abstract art where most people are still mundanely literal-minded -- the statue of a soldier-paraplegic in a wheelchair. One could make the argument that a wheelchair would have been "altogether fitting" next to the black of the Vietnam granite, in the shadow of the

Greek temple honoring the man under whose leadership one and a half million casualties piled up in a civil war, and not far from the Egyptian obelisque honoring the father of Americans, whose casualties in the war at the birth of the nation were more modest, and with the statue of the gentle immigrant scientist nearby whose letter to Franklin Delano Roosevelt (soon to be another great war president) helped start the scientific project which reached its first success at Hiroshima.²

These allusions to the monuments of Gettysburg and Washington attempt to set a mood here and to suggest the emotional roots of the present inquiry. Historians, like other mortals, are children of their own times. My inheritance is that of the Vietnam generation -- but with the shadow of the second World War heavily upon it.

The intellectual and religious roots of this inquiry, however, go back millenniums: Western civilization's concern about, and opposition to, war is ancient. The book of Isaiah -- that Lincoln liked so much -- and the book of Micah and Joel, too, prophesied a time when "they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." War in the Bible, at times, was punishment for the sins of an erring people. To teach a better way Jesus went up on the Mount and said "ye resist no evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." His message was "love your enemies." The ancient Hebrew religion, of course, was also, in part, a great warrior religion, as was Christianity for more than a millennium, after Rome became a Christian empire under Constantine. Rome, as Greece before it, also had thinkers and leaders who justified the shedding of blood in the defense of liberty. Much blood was indeed shed in its defense -- and much more otherwise.

St. Augustine of Hippo helped perfect the theological basis of the Christian Empire through the concept of the "just war," whereby the Christian soldier could smite the unjust enemy, but only with mercy in his heart. Augustine recognized the empire as the creator of "a bond of peace," but also grieved: "how many great wars, how much slaughter and bloodshed, have provided this unity!"³

A thousand years of wars ensued but western society changed, and the Dutch pacifist Erasmus took up the anti-war spirit, as did the French monk Emeric Crucé, the German writer Gimmelshausen, whom I delight in assigning to my students, and some others. But it was the eighteenth century Enlightenment that shaped the modern liberal conscience. Sir Michael Howard, the British historian, defines that conscience as "pacific if not actually pacifist. It regards war as an unnecessary aberration On the other hand it accepts that wars may have to be fought, either to



Photograph by Will Lane, Gettysburg, March 28, 1987.

LINCOLN SCHOLARS IN GETTYSBURG. From left to right, row 1: Jean H. Baker, Elizabeth Todd Professor of History, Goucher College (currently Visiting Professor of History, Harvard University); Charles B. Strozier, Executive Director, Center on Violence and Human Survival, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York; J. Rufus Fears, Chairman and Professor of Classics, Boston University; Gabor S. Boritt; Irwin H. Reiss. Row 2: Peter J. Parish, Director, Institute of United States Studies, University of London; Robert V. Bruce, Professor of History, Emeritus, Boston University; George Curtis, Professor of History, Hanover College; Thomas Schwartz, Curator, Lincoln Collection, Illinois State Historical Library. Row 3: Jacques Portes, Maitre de Conference, Université de Paris 1, Sorbonne; William Dennis; James M. McPherson, Edwards Professor of History, Princeton University; Harold Holzer, historian, New York City. Row 4: Charles H. Glatfelter, Franklin Professor of History, Gettysburg College; David Hein, Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Religion, Hood College; Richard N. Current, University Distinguished Professor of History, Emeritus, University of North Carolina, Greensboro; Glen E. Thurrow, Chairman and Professor, Department of Politics, University of Dallas; Mark E. Neely, Jr., Director, Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum.

ensure the liberation of groups suffering under alien oppression, or to ensure the survival of those societies in which the liberal ethic has achieved dominance." The present inquiry is rooted in this tradition. So was Abraham Lincoln's attitude toward war.⁴

Lincoln's first encounters with war were close to the mythical, a mixture of Biblical and American Revolutionary lore. The Bible has been touched on briefly, though it might be added that Lincoln knew the Good Book and its stories, including its many war stories, in a way and to an extent that is rare in our own times. As for the Revolution, he was born thirty-four years after the first shots at Lexington green, two decades after the establishment of the United States under the Constitution, a decade after the death of George Washington. In physical time the boy Lincoln was close to the Revolutionary War. In terms of understanding, however, by his day the War had already receded into fable. In contrast, what Americans like to call the War of 1812, and which Lincoln tended to refer to as "The British War," coincided with his early childhood.

One of his first memories came from this war. One day as a little boy he went fishing and made a catch. On his way home he met a soldier coming back from the war. The boy gave his fish to the veteran -- "having been always told at home that we must be good to soldiers." As if to explain, in later years his cousin Dennis Hanks remembered that the Lincoln home in Kentucky was a stop for the returning veterans of the war.⁵

There is no reason to doubt that such patriotic and in a limited sense pro-war sentiments surrounded Lincoln's youth and in later years on rare occasions he repeated, almost always in mild ways, such sentiments. But cousin Hanks remembered that it was Thomas Lincoln, the father, who hailed the soldiers of 1812. Somehow, whether via the influence of the mother, Nancy Hanks, Lincoln's own internal imperatives, or a combination of further elements, another more dominant aspect emerged in him early. When many years later the historian Francis Parkman spoke of America's two greatest presidents, he expressed a preference for Washington. Lincoln had too much "womanly tenderness" in him, the scholar explained thus repeating views expressed by men close to the Illinoisan. Whatever we may think of such sexual stereotyping today, what Parkman and the others meant was illustrated by Lincoln's attitude toward hunting.⁶

Hunting was a way of life on the frontier where he grew up, indeed the way to physical survival. But Lincoln refused to be very much of a hunter. On the eve of his presidency he still remembered the traumatic experience of his childhood when "A few days before the completion of his eighth [sic] year, in the absence of his father, a flock of wild turkeys

approached the new log-cabin [in which he lived], and A[braham]. 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."⁷

Lincoln's attitude toward hunting symbolized his rejection of the violence of the frontier in general. However much that frontier prized the use of physical prowess, the 6'4" wrestling champion of backwoods Illinois found that words, not violence, were the weapons acceptable to him. On the rare occasion he lapsed from his non-violent standard, he remembered it ever after with tremendous shame, as in the case of his own near duel in 1841, which involved his courtship of Mary Todd. Such shame may have had various sources but we cannot ignore at its core a fundamental repugnance to violence. It is not impossible that a seemingly apocryphal tale originated with a shamed Lincoln, who when challenged to the duel, chose for weapons cow dung at five paces. His actual choice of weapons, cavalry broadswords of the largest size, was only somewhat less ridiculous, and in the end helped avert the duel because the tall, long-armed Lincoln could have been reached only with the greatest difficulty by his much shorter challenger. Since Lincoln could never be called a coward physically, the choice of weapons allows only one interpretation.⁸

Yet if Lincoln detested violence, at age twenty-three he was ready to defend his home. He thus acquired his sole military experience, as a citizen soldier for some weeks, during an Indian rising in 1832. Whether economic necessity supplemented, as his autobiography suggests, a belief in self-defense combined with youthful patriotism to motivate him to volunteer, Lincoln saw no combat in what became known as the Black Hawk War. When he later referred to his "soldiering," he removed it as far as possible from a real war experience, speaking of it as consisting of "bloody struggles with the musketoes [sic]" and "charges upon the wild onions."⁹ As with so many of his public utterances, whether about war or other subjects, Lincoln had political purposes even in ridiculing himself as a warrior. But such purposes do not negate the significance of both anti-violence and anti-military sentiments he repeatedly expressed within the context of a dominant culture that could look on violence with approval and prized military glory. Indeed, the most notable event of Lincoln's soldiering experience was his saving the life of an old Indian who, having come into the whites' camp with a safe conduct, was about to be lynched by the soldiers. The story has the stuff of legends, but it is nonetheless true.¹⁰

If Lincoln's "war experience" carried elements of both the ridiculous and the noble, with himself stressing the former, his memory also hid horror that he forever after could associate with war. Though Lincoln saw

no action, he did see five dead, scalped men. As he came upon the men "the light of the morning sun was streaming upon them as they lay heads toward us on the ground. And every man had a round, red spot on the top of his head" The scalped men were "frightful" and "grotesque." Many years later he still remembered detail: "one man had on buckskin breeches." In those days Lincoln, too, wore buckskin breeches.¹¹



THE WAR DEAD. Photograph by T. O'Sullivan taken at Gettysburg on July 5, 1863. From the collection of William A. Frassanito. Until the pioneering work of Civil War photographers, Americans saw no realistic images of the war dead. The exceptions were those few with actual war experiences.

As his political career progressed, for a number of reasons Lincoln saw fit to cast votes against West Point -- both as an Illinois State Representative and as a Congressman.¹² While the country was at peace, however, his pacific outlook found its most forceful expression in condemnation of the civil violence that plagued Andrew Jackson's America. Lincoln's Lyceum Address of 1838, now famous at least among scholars, identified violence as the grave threat against democracy. Indeed if he erred, it was not in his diagnosis of the ill, but in his belief that a religious adherence to the law would be a cure -- an excessively optimistic liberal faith which held that peaceful solutions to the stressful problems of the nation could almost invariably be found. The degree of blindness in that faith, combined with his feelings about violence helps explain Lincoln's insistence during the last ante-bellum years that there would be no civil war in America.¹³

Perhaps Lincoln's optimism should have been tempered by the knowledge that in little more than four score years his countrymen had fought three wars. Nor did he disapprove of all those wars. The United States had been born in war and Lincoln had read histories of that war. His thoughts about the Revolution are noteworthy not for their praise of the sacrifice and courage of the founding generation, or the blessings these brought, but for showing few illusions about the means that brought the blessings. Fife and drum history so fashionable in his day and beyond held few charms for him.

Yet he did not share late twentieth century qualms about such fare and, when pressed, could make political use of it. He could also slip into occasional patriotic oratory. "Every American, every lover of liberty," he said in 1838, should "swear by the blood of the Revolution" But they were to swear to uphold the laws and oppose violence. He praised George Washington "the mightiest name of earth," but added "mightiest in the cause of civil liberty." Lincoln supported veterans' benefits, took pride in Americans having "permitted no hostile foot to desecrate [Washington's] resting place," but also understood "the powerful influence" the Revolution "had upon the *passions* of the people as distinguished from their judgement."¹⁴

Only once in a long career did Lincoln come demonstrably close to speaking of the *military* glories of the Revolution, by recalling a biography he had read "away back in my childhood" -- Parson Mason Weem's *Life of Washington*. In 1861, in Trenton, New Jersey, on his way to take up the presidency, Lincoln mentioned Weem's book.

I remember all the accounts there given of the battle fields and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, New-Jersey. The crossing of the river; the contest with the Hessians; the great hardships endured at that time, all fixed themselves on my memory...

So at last in February 1861, on a revolutionary battlefield, Lincoln alluded to Washington the warrior. The president-elect was thus paying his compliments to the local folks of Trenton, he was recalling his own faraway childhood and, perhaps unconsciously, he was getting ready for war.

But even in Trenton, and in Philadelphia in Independence Hall, he emphasized a cause that for him, was much bigger than war: "I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that those men struggled for." The war had been for more than "National Independence ... this Union, the Constitution" and the ordinary "liberties of the people." The war was for "the original idea" of America "which gave promise that in due time

the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that *all* should have an equal chance."¹⁵

Lincoln also suggested, as early as 1838, that the Revolution, for all its achievements, inevitably employed the "basest principles" of human nature. He listed "hate" and lust for "revenge" as examples. Yet Lincoln thought that a war could also put to sleep such peacetime vices as "the jealousy, envy, and avarice, incident to our nature." Since baseness was present in peacetime, too, he thus almost ended praising, in the abstract, war.¹⁶ By the early forties, however, Lincoln's words left no ambiguity. Even as he gave his broadest and most thoughtful praise to the Revolution, the holiest of the American holies, speaking of it as the event that created unprecedented political freedom, proved man's capacity to "govern himself," and planted the germ destined to grow into "the universal liberty of mankind," he also identified the terrible nature of that and all war. "It breathed forth famine, swam in blood and rode on fire; and long, long after, the orphan's cry, and the widow's wail, continued to break the sad silence that ensued."¹⁷

Lincoln's strongest words, and stand, against war, however, emerged while serving his only term in Congress during the Mexican War. This was the first war of his adult life and Lincoln became its leading Illinois opponent, overcoming his initial, conventionally patriotic reaction to the outbreak of hostilities. By this time he had developed his own robust version of a Whig outlook that wished to build up the nation internally and open the door of advancement to the many. He had read liberal economists who opposed war from the perspective of political economy. Politics of course also intertwined with Lincoln's moral revulsion to the Mexican War, as opposition to it became largely a party matter. Yet it is difficult to miss the fundamental anti-war meaning of his 1848 stand. He denounced the president of the United States, James K. Polk, for provoking the conflict. "The blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him," Lincoln cried out. He made no apologies for attacking the commander-in-chief, for throughout history rulers "had always been ... impoverishing their people in wars, pretending ... that the good of the people was the object." This, he argued, was "the most oppressive of all Kingly oppressions." "Military glory," Lincoln defined as "that attractive rainbow, that rises in showers of blood -- that serpent's eye, that charms to destroy." To his young friend and law partner, Billy Herndon, who wrote from Illinois complaining vehemently about Lincoln's stand, the Congressman replied with eloquence: "You are compelled to speak; and your only alternative is to tell the *truth* or tell a *lie*. I can not doubt which you would do." "Yours forever A. Lincoln."¹⁸

Most Whigs in Illinois appeared to follow him. One leader who did not,

and who had earlier protested the War of 1812, explained: "No, by God, I opposed one war, and it ruined me, and hence forth I am for *War, Pestilence, and Famine*."¹⁹ Lincoln based his passionately moral anti-war stand on the conviction that the United States had begun the war both unnecessarily and unconstitutionally. But he did not, perhaps dared not vote against the prosecution of the war. With American troops deep in Mexico, like most anti-war congressmen, he dared not abandon the troops. He voted for supplies and veterans' benefits, recognized the bravery of the soldiers, and was even willing to accept some acquisition of land from Mexico. To "toast the *men*, but not the cause," was no easy stance to take, specially while attempting to uphold a moral standard. However the denunciation of the war was aimed at moving the President toward peace. In this it was partly successful. In many ways an ordinary human and also a politician, Lincoln hoped to "distinguish" himself, too, with his Mexican War stand. In this he failed, and the Democrats in his state condemned bitterly the "corruption" and "treason" of this new "Benedict Arnold."²⁰

One might suppose that the War helped Lincoln develop something of a view of history which, like the hopes of the pacifists of his time, held that as civilization progressed war might be eliminated. In 1859 he explained that "stranger" and "enemy" need not be synonymous though they have been mostly that since the beginning of history, "down to very recent times." If people would get to know each other a brighter future would be waiting. "To correct the evils," he thought, "great and small, which spring from want of sympathy, and from positive enmity, among *strangers*, as nations, or as individuals, is one of the highest functions of civilization."²¹

If the Mexican War influenced thoughtful people's understanding of history, it also produced war heroes, many of whom hurried home to run for political office. Lincoln put a good face on it but did not much like it. It gave him a foretaste of what was to come. As president he would be threatened more directly than ever before with the use of military glory as a route to political station. In 1864 he beat off the challenge of both Republican general John C. Fremont and Democratic general George B. McClellan. Being by then, paradoxically, a war leader himself -- and feeling both the war's justice and terror -- he could not arraign his military opponents as military men *per se*. Yet long before 1864 Lincoln sensed that the use of the military route to political power, even in its American variety through the electoral process, was not the best for democracy.

He himself had been elected captain of volunteers in 1832, and that first election -- not its military connotation -- produced an unforgettable elation in him.²² All the same, even at the start of his political life, and unlike

myriad compatriots around him, he refused to capitalize on his military title and never ran for office as Captain Lincoln.

In some part his prejudice against the use of military glory in politics stemmed from the practical problem of his Whig Party having had to contend with the fame of the hero of New Orleans, Andrew Jackson. *Vis-a-vis* that general, Lincoln indeed let slip uncharacteristic words of bitterness, the feelings of a politician whose party had been trounced again and again by candidates sheltered by "the ample military coat tail of Gen. Jackson." Lincoln's humor does not disguise the bile in his 1848 denunciation:

Yes sir, that coat tail was used, not only for Gen. Jackson himself; but has been clung to, with the gripe of death, by every democratic candidate since ... Like a horde of hungry ticks you have stuck to the tail of the Hermitage lion to the end of his life; and you are still sticking to it, and drawing a loathsome sustenance from it, after he is dead. A fellow once advertised that he had made a discovery by which he could make a new man out of an old one, and have enough of the stuff left to make a little yellow dog. Just such a discovery has Gen. Jackson's popularity been to you. You not only twice made President of him out of it, but you have had enough of the stuff left, to make Presidents of several comparatively small men since ...²³

A measure of Lincoln's bitterness may have come from the fact that in response to Jackson the Whigs themselves had been forced to resort to military men. In 1836 they ran several candidates, General William Henry Harrison being one, though Lincoln voted for Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee. In 1840 Lincoln supported Harrison, the Whig nominee, in a "hurrah" campaign in which he mostly, but not entirely, ignored military credentials and tried to talk sense, above all economics. Eight years later, supporting yet another military candidate, Lincoln was still quite ready to say almost nothing in his campaign speeches about the martial fame of his party's general.

In 1848 Lincoln nonetheless supported Zachary Taylor because of the "General availability" of the hero of Buena Vista. Lincoln conceded in private that Taylor was not the best man for the job but a way to turn "the war thunder" against the Democrats who made the war, gloried in it, and stood to benefit from it. By supporting the war hero, Lincoln also tried fending off the charges of treason that were leveled against him for his Mexican War stand. And by the time the Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott to oppose General Franklin Pierce in the 1852 presidential campaign, Lincoln had nearly stopped campaigning, though not without noting that the "attempt" to set up Pierce as a "great General, is simply ludicrous and laughable."²⁴

Nothing demonstrates the ambivalence of Lincoln's support for the Whig generals better than his combining such support with the bitter condemnation of military coat tails. Forgetting Washington, not totally without justification, Lincoln thus suggested that the Whigs had been forced to have their generals because of what the Democrats had started in 1824 with Jackson. Lincoln harbored a bitter contempt for "fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory." Such glory created from "showers of blood," he explained earlier, was a "serpent's eye." It corrupted his love: politics. Thus we have another dimension of Lincoln's anti-military feelings.²⁵

That feeling received one of its best outlets in Lincoln's humor. "By the way, Mr. Speaker," Lincoln said in the House of Representatives in 1848, "did you know I am a military hero? Yes sir; in the days of the Black Hawk war, I fought, bled, and came away ... It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion." This was the speech in which Lincoln spoke of his brave "charges upon the wild onions" and his "good many bloody struggles with the musquetoos [sic]."²⁶

If he ridiculed his own soldiering, he ridiculed the military pretensions of others with equal gusto. When Mexican War brigadier Pierce was eulogized for his heroism, Lincoln picked out parts of the praise to emphasize their absurdity. Here is an example Lincoln cited from a "heroic" account:

As we approached the enemy's position, directly under his fire, we encountered a deep ditch, or rather a deep narrow, slimy canal, which had been previously used for the purpose of irrigation. It was no time to hesitate, so we both plunged in. The horse I happened to ride that day was a light active Mexican horse. This circumstance operated in my favor, and enabled me to extricate myself and horse after considerable difficulty. Pierce, on the contrary, was mounted on a large, heavy American horse, and man and horse both sank down and rolled over in the ditch. There I was compelled to leave him ... After struggling there, I cannot say how long, he extricated himself from his horse, and hurried on foot to join his command, & c.

"Now," asked Lincoln, "what right had a brigadier general, when approaching the enemy's position, and directly under his fire, to sink down and roll over in a deep slimy canal and struggle there before he got out, how long, another brigadier general cannot tell, when the whole of both their brigades got across that same 'slimy canal,' without any difficulty worth mentioning."²⁷

Or there is Lincoln's burlesque of the militia. After a particularly pompous military funeral he appears to have remarked: "If General _____

had known how big a funeral he would have had, he would have died long ago."²⁸ Some saw the militia as the nation's chief protection: citizens bearing arms proudly, ready to defend freedom. Others could make jokes of it, and Lincoln among them once described with much relish a "fantastic" parade in his Illinois home town:

We remember one of these parades ... at the head of which, on horse-back, figured our old friend Gordon Abrams with a pine wood sword, about nine feet long, and a paste-board cocked hat, from front to rear about the length of an ox yoke, and very much the shape of one turned bottom upwards...

"Flags they had too," Lincoln went on, and humorous signs, one of which he cited: "We'll fight till we run, and we'll run till we die." "That," Lincoln announced with satisfaction, "was the last militia muster" in his home town.²⁹

TWO VIEWS OF THE MILITIA. Top: Balmer & Weber, "St. Louis National Guard," Lithographed sheet music cover, St. Louis, 1854. From the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University. Bottom: Endicott & Swett, "The Grand Fantastical Parade," Lithograph by "Hassan Strightshanks," New York, 1833. From the Collection of Edward W.C. Arnold, Museum of the City of New York.



Lincoln's frequent association of humor with matters military was -- as with much of his humor -- more than the addition of a light touch to a serious subject. It rather seems he was trying to ridicule violence and war out of existence, at least out of his own reality. From his choice of the longest broadswords against his opponent in the duel he never fought, the trail goes to his admission (which prefaces his sketch of the Illinois military parade) that he knew "how the institution of chivalry was ridiculed out of existence by its fictitious votary Don Quixote."³⁰

Stephen A. Douglas summed up matters during the Great Debates of 1858 revealingly, if less than accurately, even as he tried to make political capital out of his rival's old opposition to the Mexican War. Referring to the "war" being made upon him, Douglas, the incumbant senator, proclaimed that "There is something really refreshing in the thought that Mr. Lincoln is in favor of prosecuting one war vigorously. It is the first war I ever knew him to be in favor of prosecuting. It is the first war that I ever knew him to believe to be just or constitutional."³¹

Abraham Lincoln: war opponent. Fair enough. But this brief sketch is incomplete. Lincoln had not merely opposed violence and war but had also a measure of acceptance, of all that he opposed, as facts of American life. Lincoln did after all support the Whig generals for the presidency and on rare occasion dutifully praised their heroism. The mockery of his own military experience or his description of the ludicrous military parade in his hometown were part of replies to Democratic criticism of Whig nominations of generals. Still, Lincoln's defense, made relatively easy by Democratic candidates themselves having been praised as war heroes, thus amounted to the caricaturing of matters military in general.

Once in a while Lincoln could use militarist sounding language in his speeches. In 1840 he berated political opponents who did not fight with "powder and balls, because the smell of sulphur offends their nostrils." "We rose each fighting," he said in 1854, "grasping whatever he could first reach -- a scythe -- a pitchfork -- a chopping axe, or a butcher's cleaver" But we should not make too much of such linguistic examples, for he was really talking politics, the workings of democracy, in short talking about what he saw as the best substitute for war and violence. During the Civil War he made the implications of his metaphors explicit when he explained that the war was to decide whether in a democracy there can be an appeal from the "ballot to the bullet."³²

But there are other bits and pieces in Lincoln's record that we must not ignore. While campaigning for William Henry Harrison, he condemned Democratic candidate Martin Van Buren's "Janus-faced policy in relation to the war." That meant the War of 1812, which Lincoln appears to have claimed Van Buren both opposed and supported. The

charge is particularly ironic in view of Lincoln's own stand on the Mexican War. But, as Mark E. Neely, Jr., has noted, if Lincoln needed any lessons concerning how dangerous war opposition could be to a politician, he supplied these lessons himself. Such opposition could be used against a presidential candidate, for example, twenty-eight years after the fact.³³

Not surprisingly the two most pro-war statements of his ante-bellum career came from the immediate period after the Mexican War. Both instances came in local addresses, in eulogies occasioned by the deaths of Zachary Taylor and Henry Clay.³⁴

In the case of Clay, Lincoln saw fit to single out the Kentuckian's part in leading the United States into the War of 1812 and so standing up to "aggravated" "British aggressions." Lincoln even gave a brief imitation of a stirring war speech by Clay. From 1852, indeed from any point in Lincoln's life, the historian is tempted to look ahead, to the Civil War. Lincoln's words are important chiefly because of that war. But in 1852 Lincoln was looking backward to the Mexican War, making amends for his own opposition to it before a people who increasingly accepted the war and assimilated it into their rose-hued nationalistic memory.³⁵

Two years earlier, in a somewhat wooden eulogy for President Taylor, Lincoln had outdone his speech on Clay. While reviewing Taylor's career and extolling his virtues, Lincoln inevitably extolled military virtues, too. Even then he presented two sides to war, "victory and blood," "glory and grief," "pride and sorrow." But speaking of the brave dead he declared "I think of all these ... as Americans, in whose proud fame, as an American, I too have a share." And by giving a rousing description of battle he went further than any place in his nine volumes of collected works to present war in a positive light.³⁶

He described the feelings of American soldiers in a besieged fort. The defenders heard the approach of a relief column and the sounds of battle. Their apprehension grew, the outcome meant life or death to them. Orated Lincoln:

And now the din of battle nears the fort and sweeps obliquely by;
a gleam of hope flies through the half imprisoned few; they fly to
the wall; every eye is strained -- it is -- it is -- the stars and stripes
are still aloft! Anon the anxious brethren meet; and while hand strikes
hand, the heavens are rent with a loud, long, glorious, gushing cry
of victory! victory!! victory!!!

The leader of the relief column was Zachary Taylor. The war was with Mexico; the spot where the war began. Lincoln the war opponent indeed knew how to defend himself before the bar of the American public. War opponent? he asked about himself, and political friends, in 1848. "The declaration ... is true or false, accordingly as one may understand the term 'opposing the war.'" ³⁷

The man who took the oath of the presidential office in the spring of 1861 was not a pacifist but he was a pacific man. The above flourish notwithstanding, he abhorred violence. He prized the "Reign of Reason," the "mind, all conquering mind."³⁸ He tried to hold on to anti-militaristic feelings, succeeding most of the time, and he harbored a resentment of military intrusion into political life. He felt the dread of war. Ballots and bullets he saw as hostile alternatives, war and violence as failures of democracy.

Yet such failures came. It was a paradox of the liberal faith, that the lover of peace had to be ready to fight wars to defend the survival of that faith. Lincoln's ante-bellum stance on the wars of his nation's history make clear, as indeed do his views on such wars as the European revolutions of 1848 or the liberation movements in Latin America,³⁹ that for him war was an acceptable mean. Sometimes war was the only means to overthrow alien oppression and attain national independence. So it had been, he suggested, in the American Revolution. War at times was also the only means to defend one's home from hostile forces. So it had been, Lincoln indicated, in 1812. He may have thus misjudged history, but he helped clarify his notions of what was a just war. Surely a fair share of the pacific aspect of his outlook stemmed from his widely held faith that "all the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest; with a Buonaparte for a commander, could not by force, take a drink from the Ohio, or make a track on the Blue Ridge, in a trial of a thousand years."⁴⁰ The above also suggests that for all of Lincoln's ridicule of his own soldiering, militarism, and military pretensions, his thought encompassed authentic heroes. Soldiers who fought in liberal wars deserved both honor and special privileges. And war could play an important part in history. The Revolutionary War, he seemed to believe, was the most fundamental fact of American history.

Lincoln's contradictions then -- if they were that -- stemmed, in part, from his liberal faith. In part they came from inside himself. He rather recoiled from hunting, but could write a poem about the excitement of a bear hunt -- if, in the end, only to mock human folly. He was, it is often said, a supreme realist. He knew how to curb within himself extreme manifestations of tendencies that ran counter to the dominant cultural values of his people. This, too, was part and parcel of his success in life. However unimportant his poem about the bear hunt, and empty as his eulogizing of General Taylor, each carried something of the authentic Lincoln. Together with his liberal faith, they help explain why, when his time came, "dreaded" as war was to him, he could "accept war" rather than let the nation, and, as he believed, liberty, perish.⁴¹



GO IT, YE CRIPPLES!

The Real President of the U.S. :- "OH! HAVE ANOTHER ROUND, DO; JIST TO SEE WHO'S VICTOR."

DEATH MASQUERADES AS THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT. The man who attacked a war-making president in the 1840's suffered similar if harsher attacks in the 1860's, both at home and abroad. The cartoon by Matt Morgan appeared in the *London Fun*, October 11, 1862. From the Cambridge University Library.

How Lincoln's attitude toward war affected his leadership, and how the Civil War may have altered his attitudes, needs detailed inquiry. But a few cursory outlines can be suggested here. That much changed in him we need not doubt. Almost immediately upon the commencement of hostilities, his personal interest in peaceful discoveries and inventions turned into a like interest in "the tools of war," as Robert V. Bruce had shown three decades ago.⁴² Lincoln "accepted" a short, little war it seems, he first called for 75,000 militia whose term of service was three months. We do not know whether he, or the nation, would have been able to "accept" in early 1861 the war they actually got, the greatest in American history which would claim one and a half million casualties. I think not. But Lincoln learned. Though the Radicals around him forever claimed that he was too soft and too weak, it is fair to say that Lincoln grew into a great war leader who, to quote T. Harry Williams, "acted as commander in chief and frequently as general in chief."⁴³ He even contemplated taking to the field of battle. "Destroy the rebel army," he ordered his reluctant generals in the East. He made ever more terrible war, a people's war, a "total" war. After the horrifying battle of Fredericksburg, while the North mourned during the Christmas of 1862, one of his secretaries mused:

We lost fifty percent more men than did the enemy, [in fact he sharply understated the loss], and yet there is a sense in the awful arithmetic propounded by Mr. Lincoln. He says that if the same battle were to be fought over again, every day, through a week of days, with the same relative results, the army under Lee would be wiped out to its last man, the Army of the Potomac would still be a mighty host, the war would be over, the Confederacy gone ...

The message was kill and destroy, if necessary use a bullet that exploded inside the flesh. It was this new Abraham Lincoln who, to borrow James M. McPherson's words, adopted a "national strategy" demanding something close to "unconditional surrender:" the overthrow of the social and political system of the South.⁴⁴

The president was not allowed to forget that emancipation decrees have always been shrouded in violence or its threat.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the ending of slavery, Lincoln argued, would end the only thing that could have caused war among Americans. Peace with freedom would be thus both just and lasting. Lincoln's ideas of *peace* would benefit from fresh study, too, but from the beginning of the war he maintained that "a great lesson of peace" should be "teaching all, the folly of being beginners of a war."⁴⁶

So the exploding bullets. By 1864 Lincoln unleashed Sherman in Georgia, Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley, and made war, some said, again barbaric. And this bloody war he won. What happened to the little

boy who had shot the turkey in the Indiana wilderness and whose heart ached so? Did he remember in the White House that little boy when his own son, Tad, made a pet of the family's holiday turkey and then when the time came for butchering recoiled with horror and pleaded with his father for the life of the bird?⁴⁷

The reprieve was given to the turkey by the father; and it was given to so many human beings who needed mercy that Lincoln's pardons grew legendary. But he suffered, his photographs show a face that changed in four years from vigorous middle age to old. When my friend Michael Shaara, sitting here with us, shuts his eyes, he can see Pickett's men, "Killer Angels," charging up Cemetery Ridge.⁴⁸ I cannot match his eloquence, but when I shut my eyes I see a descendant of Quakers, with so much of a Quaker heart in him, standing on the parapet at Fort Stevens in the summer of 1864, in the midst of Confederate General Jubal Early's raid on Washington. My professional colleagues in the audience must forgive me because the conclusion this passage leads to is not subject to proof. But I see this tall thin man, 6'4", with a top hat on to exaggerate his height further, recognizable to all on both sides. He stands there, bullets whistle by, an officer falls close to him, but he just stands there, looking at the enemy -- the man who in a few months, after Appomattox, upon hearing his wife use the word "enemy," would retort: "Enemies, never again must we repeat that word."⁴⁹ But now it is summer, 1864, and the tall so very weary man is standing on the parapet. Why? Again, numerous explanations can be suggested but I see a man standing there looking not at the Confederates, but God, saying silently: if I am wrong, God, strike me down.



WITH THE ARMY. The President and officers of the Army of the Potomac at Antietam, 1862. Detail from photograph by Alexander Gardner. From James Mellon, *The Face of Lincoln* (1978).

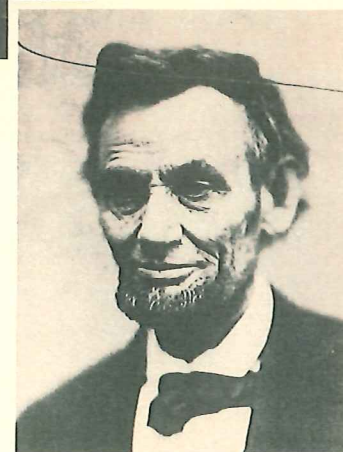
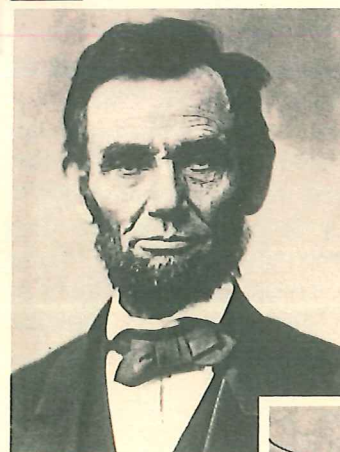
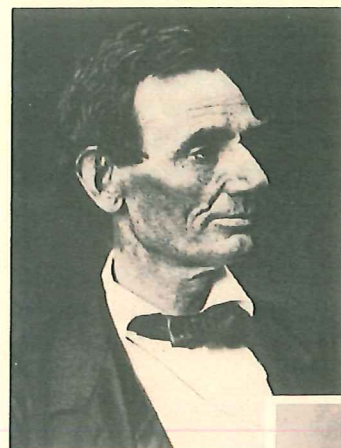
Derilections of duty, one might say; what business does the president have to expose himself thus? Indeed, a junior officer, later to become a justice of the Supreme Court, supposedly shouted at him "Get down you fool" -- and he did.⁵⁰ War leader though Lincoln became, much of the war opponent remained in him. Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty, or give me death" was on people's lips, but in the White House the President seems to have told the story of the soldier of the War of 1812. During that war, it was fashionable for sweethearts of soldiers to make belts with mottoes sewn into them, and one young lady asked her man if he wanted his belt emblazoned with "Liberty or Death!" To which the soldier replied: that was a little strong, how about just "Liberty or be Crippled"?

"What do I want with war? I am no war man; I want peace more than any man in this country ...," Lincoln said in 1861, repeating the sentiment every year of his presidency.⁵¹ He could still describe, at least guerrilla war, in terms that reminds one of his comment about the American Revolution having given a stage to the "basest principles" of human nature. Said Lincoln now: "Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled ... Deception breeds and thrives ... Every foul bird comes abroad, and every dirty reptile rises up."⁵² Lincoln respected his fellow human beings and, as far as I know, in no other context did he deride them so bitterly. And since now he had to be the chief recruiting master of the Union Armies, and chief officer of morale, the above words he confined to a private letter written in 1863. But even in public, a year later, he said this much:

War, at the best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in its magnitude and in its duration, is one of the most terrible. It has deranged business, totally in many localities, and partially in all localities. It has destroyed property, and ruined homes; it has produced a national debt and taxation unprecedented, at least in this country. It has carried mourning to almost every home, until it can almost be said that the "heavens are hung in black."

Yet Lincoln added to what was a denunciation of the war, all war (as he always added to his comments that "No man desires peace more ardently than I") a harsh qualifier: "We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it never will until that time."⁵³ And so Lincoln's life and work, his thought on war, is a poignant testimony to the liberal dilemma.

With the war, his presidency, and his life nearly over, Lincoln gave a brief, moral history of that war, as he saw it. In the second inaugural address it was again the war opponent speaking -- mingled with a Biblical prophet still summoning war. In 1861, he said, "all dreaded" war, "all sought to avert it," yet "the war came." Each side "looked for an easier



TOLL OF WAR. Lincoln in 1860, 1863, and 1865. Photographs by Alexander Hesler, left, and Alexander Gardner, middle and right. From James Mellon, *The Face of Lincoln* (1978).

triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding." "The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes." Was the war punishment for the sin of slavery? he asked and then went on.

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 bond-man'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 judgements of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

"With malice toward none:" St. Augustine would have approved. So have so many in the world since that windy spring day in the March of 1865. Should *we* do so, too, as the twentieth century moves towards its end, and so approve of Lincoln's love of peace and fighting of war?

"But I have reached the end of my time, and have hardly come to the beginning of my task," Lord Acton once said on the occasion of a lecture, and I hope Rufus Fears, the expert on Acton, will excuse my appropriating the great historian's lament for my poor labors.⁵⁵ This lecture began with the monuments of Gettysburg, in our time, and it needs end with our time. We think that history shines a light not only into the darkness of the past but also into the present and future. Some say the light is bright, some that it flickers. But when we look at war in our time, some also say that 1945 was the year one, as atomic scientists used to refer to it, or as a generation of Germans called it, *Jahr Null*, Year Zero. The past before that holds few lessons, if any.

The atom bomb, it is reasonably clear, has helped save our planet from a major conflagration for more than four decades because we do not dare use it.⁵⁶ It has served us rather like the choice of the largest of swords had served the young Lincoln when he averted his duel. But what if we do use the weapon? Historian Richard N. Current asked about Lincoln nearly thirty years ago: "If, in the 1860s, Yankee ingenuity had been equal to producing such a weapon would he have withheld the atom bomb? Or if, in the 1940s, he had been in Harry Truman's place, would he have spared Hiroshima?" What if Lincoln saw the bomb as the last weapon to defend liberty not merely "for today" but, to quote his words, "for a vast future also?"⁵⁷ Now, in 1987, we must multiply the ahistorical question by megatons even as we ask: can this nation, or any nation, hope for a better, more decent leader? And so what useable lessons does Abraham Lincoln, the good man of good faith, war opponent and war president, have for us today? You, the audience, must decide.

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison.

NOTES

1. Surely voicing the thoughts of many others who have lived at Gettysburg, the above notions were triggered in my mind by Robert Inman's novel, *Home Fires Burning*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1987), p. 208. In it Jake Tibbetts, the editor of a Southern weekly newspaper, writes: "No monument can honor warriors without honoring war itself."
2. A convenient place to read Einstein's letter is in Daniel Boorstin, ed., *An American Primer* (New York: Mentor, 1968), 884-886. Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), 314-15, 332, notes that no evidence indicates that Roosevelt ever read the Einstein letter though the President did learn of its contents. The sculptors of the Vietnam memorial are Maya Ying Lin and Frederick Hart. The Washington, Lincoln, and Einstein monuments were created, respectively by Robert Mills, Daniel Chester French, and Robert Berks.
3. Augustine's writing on war can be readily found in Albert Marrin, ed., *War and the Christian Conscience* (Chicago:Henry Regnery, 1971), 52-67. The quotation is from p. 55. This volume also provides a glimpse of the thought of St. Thomas Aquinas. For a recent attempt to summarize changing attitudes toward war see Bernard Brodie, *War and Politics* (London: Cassell, 1974), 223-75. For a focus on the ancients see Gerardo Zampaglione, *The Idea of Peace in Antiquity*, trs. Richard Dunn (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1973).
4. Michael Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 3. Cf. Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic, 1977). Another fundamental assumption of this lecture is best expressed in the words of J.G.A. Pocock, provided the word "just" is moderated in the following sentence: "What people claim to be doing and how they justify it is just as revealing as what they finally do." *Virtue, Commerce, and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 218.
5. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History* (10 vols., New York: Century, 1890), 1:27; Dennis Hanks to William Herndon, June 13, 1865, Herndon-Weik Papers, Library of Congress.
6. Parkman as quoted in Henry Dwight Sedgwick, *Francis Parkman* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904), 311.
7. Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953-55), 4:62. Something of a controversy exists about the import of the above quoted passage. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Lincoln in Text and Context: Collected Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 224-26, questions the oedipal meanings given to the story in Charles B. Strozier, *Lincoln's Quest for Union: Public and Private Meanings* (New York: Basic, 1982), 25-6. The central fact, that Lincoln was not much of a hunter, remains.
8. Justin G. Turner and Linda Levitt Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters* (New York: Knopf, 1972), 293, 296, 299; Basler, *Collected Works*, 1:299-303. There is a substantial literature on both frontier violence and dueling.

9. Ibid., 4:64, 1:510.
10. The story appears untouched in W. D. Howell's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960), 38-9, which Lincoln corrected. See also Benjamin P. Thomas, *Lincoln's New Salem* (Springfield: The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1934), 55.
11. Ibid., 56.
12. *Illinois House Journal*, 1840-41, 353; *Congressional Globe*, April 11, 1848, 30:1, 616. Lincoln's stance probably contained both anti-military and non-military elements. Of the varied works that touch on American attitudes toward matters military during this period, the most useful is Marcus Cunliffe, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775-1865* (Macmillan: New York, 1973).
13. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:108-15, 3:316. Lincoln's unrealistic attitude during the secession crisis is traced in David M. Potter, *Lincoln and his Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942). During the past generation a substantial discussion of the Lyceum Address has taken place with contributions from Edmund Wilson, Harry V. Jaffa, Glen E. Thurow, Laurence Berns, George B. Forgie, Dwight G. Anderson, Major L. Wilson, Marcus Cunliffe, Robert V. Bruce, Kenneth M. Stampp, and Richard N. Current. To avoid making the footnotes longer than the text, readers are asked to turn for a guide to the recent literature: Gabor S. Boritt, ed., Norman O. Forness, assoc. ed., *The Historians' Lincoln: Pseudohistory, Psychohistory, and History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988, forthcoming).
14. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:112, 279, 115, 114.
15. Ibid., 4:235, 240.
16. Ibid., 1:114.
17. Ibid., 1:278. For American views of the Revolution, including in Lincoln's time, see Michael Kammen, *A Season of Youth, The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Knopf, 1978).
18. Ibid., 1:439, 451-2, 447.
19. Quoted in Usher F. Linder, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar in Illinois* (Chicago: Chicago Legal News, 1879), 87. See also Joseph Gillespie's postscript in Ibid., 404-5; Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1939), 80; *Illinois Register* (Springfield), Oct. 1, 1847, June 21, 1849.
20. The above quotations are identified and the literature on Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican War is examined in G. S. Boritt "A Question of Political Suicide? Lincoln's Opposition to the Mexican War," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 57 (February, 1974), 79-100. See also Mark E. Neely, Jr., "Lincoln and the Mexican War: An Argument by Analogy," *Civil War History*, 24 (March, 1978), 5-24. Mid-nineteenth-century American attitudes toward this war are examined in Robert W. Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York: Oxford, 1985).

21. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 3:471-72. See also Charles De Benedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980). For the literature of peace studies see Charles F. Howlett and Glen Zeitzer, *The American Peace Movement: History and Historiography* (Washington: American Historical Association, 1985).
22. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:64.
23. Ibid., 1:508.
24. The quotations are from Ibid., 1:507, 477, 2:137.
25. Ibid., 1:439.
26. Ibid., 1:509-10.
27. Ibid., 2:149.
28. David R. Locke in Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (New York: North American Review, 1888), 442.
29. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 2:149-50.
30. Ibid., 149. It is possible to interpret the above materials differently. If students have not already done so they surely will. For example, Lincoln's recognition of the horrors of the American Revolution can be tied to his jealousy toward George Washington's fame. Lincoln's denunciation of the Mexican War can be seen as little more than playing politics. Opposition to Democratic generals while supporting Whig ones can be characterized as hypocrisy. Making fun of matters military might be little more than making fun. Ultimately, then, a historian's interpretation of Lincoln, or any subject, depends to a fair degree on one's overall judgment and understanding of that subject.
31. Ibid., 3:318-19.
32. Ibid., 1:205, 2:282, 6:410.
33. Ibid., 1:184, 209-10; Mark E. Neely, Jr., "Some Curiosities of a Congressional Career," *Lincoln Lore*, 1688 (February, 1977).
34. For a discussion of the genre of eulogies, as well as Lincoln in particular, see Mark E. Neely, Jr., "American Nationalism in the Image of Henry Clay: Abraham Lincoln's Eulogy of Henry Clay in Context," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, 73 (Jan., 1975), 31-60.
35. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 2:127.
36. Ibid., 2:86, 85, 89.
37. Ibid., 85; 1:514.
38. Ibid., 279.
39. For revolutions see Thomas J. Pressly, "Bullets and Ballots: Lincoln and the 'Right of Revolution,'" *American Historical Review*, 67 (1962), 647-62.
40. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:109.
41. Ibid., 1:386-9, 8:332.
42. Robert V. Bruce, *Lincoln and the Tools of War* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956).
43. T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals* (New York: Knopf, 1952), viii.

44. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 5:426; William O. Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Time* (New York: Webster, 1890), 178-9; James M. McPherson, *Lincoln and the Strategy of Unconditional Surrender*, 23rd Annual Fortenbaugh Memorial Lecture (Gettysburg: Gettysburg College, 1984), passim; cf. Charles B. Strozier, *Unconditional Surrender and the Rhetoric of Total War: From Truman to Lincoln* (New York: Center of Violence and Human Survival, CUNY, 1987); and Herman Hattaway and Archer Jones, "Lincoln as a Military Strategist," *Civil War History*, 26 (1980), 293-303.
45. David Brion Davis, *The Emancipation Moment*, 22nd Annual Fortenbaugh Memorial Lecture (Gettysburg: Gettysburg College, 1983), 24.
46. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:439.
47. Noah Brooks, "A Boy in the White House," *St. Nicholas*, 10 (Nov. 1882), 59; and Washington D. C. In *Lincoln's Time*, Herbert Mitgang, ed. (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971), 196.
48. Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels. A Novel* (New York: McKay, 1974).
49. Marquis Adolphe de Chambrun, *Impressions of Lincoln and the Civil War: A Foreigner's Account* (New York: Random House, 1952), 84. Cf. Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:271.
50. John Henry Cramer, *Lincoln Under Enemy Fire: The Complete Account of His Experiences During Early's Attack on Washington* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948).
51. John Minor Botts, *The Great Rebellion* (New York: Harper, 1866), 196. See also James R. Gilmore, *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War* (Boston: Page, 1898), 157; Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:237, 243; 5:165; 8:1.
52. *Ibid.*, 6:500.
53. *Ibid.*, 7:394; 8:1; 7:395.
54. *Ibid.*, 8:333.
55. J. Rufus Fears, ed., *Selected Writings of Lord Acton* (3 vols., Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985-), 1:50. The present lecture provides only a bare outline of Lincoln's views on war. I hope that all its parts as well as the whole will be reexamined and challenged by future scholars.
56. For an argument against the bomb see John Finnis, Joseph M. Boyle, Jr., and Germain Grisez, *Nuclear Deterrence, Morality and Realism* (New York: Oxford, 1987).
57. Richard N. Current, *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), 186; Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 5:53.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The center collage on the front cover, hideous, some might think, titled "The War Opponent," created by Gabor S. Boritt, is composed of the earliest Lincoln photograph (probably taken during the Mexican War by N.C. Shepherd); statements about the war in Lincoln's hand, and comments about Lincoln and the war from the Illinois press. The materials for the collage were supplied by the Library of Congress, the Illinois State Historical Library, and the Lilly Library, Indiana University. The photograph is from James Mellon, *The Face of Lincoln* (1978).

The drawing on the back cover is by Thomas Nast. It appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, on April 15, 1865, on the day Lincoln died.

The charcoal drawing on the frontispiece is by Freya Qually, Gettysburg College, Class of 1980.

James A. Miller and *Bellowing Ark* gave their permission to quote from his poem "Amishman at the New World."

The dedication design is by Virginia Jacobs McLaughlin and the lettering by Norse Boritt.

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Mr. Boritt and his wife, Elizabeth Lincoln Norseen Boritt, make their home with their sons, Norse, 17, Jake, 12, and Daniel, 7, at the Farm by the Ford, on the banks of Marsh Creek, close to the Eisenhower Farm, and about a crow's mile from where Pickett's Charge began.