

“That All Mankind Should Be Free”:
Abraham Lincoln and African Americans
By Dr. Thomas Mackey

On Wednesday, September 7, 1864, Major General William Tecumseh Sherman ordered the civilians of Atlanta, Georgia, evacuated. His army had captured the city a week earlier and Sherman concluded that he could not maintain his army in Atlanta and control the civilian population; thus, the civilians had to leave. Sherman brushed aside pleas to rescind his order saying, “War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it. . . . You might as well appeal against the thunder storm as against these terrible hardships of war.”¹

On the same day in Washington, D.C., the social fruits of civil war could be witnessed in the White House of Kentucky-born Illinoisan, Abraham Lincoln. On an otherwise routine day, a delegation of five free Blacks from Baltimore met with President Lincoln to present him a Bible. Reverend S.W. Chase stated, “. . . Since our incorporation into the American family we have been true and loyal, and we are now ready to aid in the defending the country, to be armed and trained in military matters, in order to assist in protecting and defending the star-spangled banner.”² He continued, “. . . We come to present to you this copy of the Holy Scriptures, as a token of respect for your active participation in furtherance of the cause of emancipation of our race. . . .”

Lincoln responded saying that the occasion was worthy of a lengthy address, but that he did not have one. Nevertheless, he told the delegation, “I can only now say, as I have often before said, it has always been a sentiment with me that all mankind should be free.”³

This Bible presentation encapsulated Lincoln’s personal sentiments towards Blacks and against slavery; it also suggests the tenuous relationship between Lincoln and African-Americans. Many scholars agree “that all mankind should be free” constituted Abraham Lincoln’s guiding principle through his adult life, but how to implement and reach that principle, to make that principle a reality constituted one of the most difficult tasks undertaken by Lincoln.⁴ This essay examines the ambiguous relationship between Abraham Lincoln and African-Americans: on one hand hailed as the Great Emancipator and anti-slavery advocate; on the other, the political leader of the white majority. Given the historical context of his era, it is not surprising that Lincoln did not meet the expectations of African-American leaders such as Frederick Douglass; it is surprising how much Lincoln got done. Therefore, on the day that the Major General Sherman ordered white Georgians out of their Atlanta homes, Lincoln made room in the Executive Mansion for African-Americans.

Before the Presidency

As a politician, Lincoln walked the tight-rope between his own feelings about what southerners called “the peculiar institution” and the race consciousness of his Illinois constituents. While he never descended into the race-baiting so common among his peers, Lincoln was also not a race egalitarian. It is difficult for moderns to appreciate how white Antebellum Northerners and Midwesterners could be both anti-slavery and anti-Black. Many opposed the spread of slavery into the western territories because they believed that the West should not be developed by slave labor, but by free white labor. They believed that free labor allowed the individual to rise or fall on the strength of his or

her own abilities. Slavery contradicted that vision of labor; it denied the individual laborer the fruits of her or his own labor and robbed the laborer of incentive since their labor did not enrich themselves, only the master.

At the same time, most Northerners subscribed to the racial stereotypes. Thus, one could oppose slavery so the individual could earn a living and, at the same time, be glad that Blacks could not move into free states. This understanding of the dynamic between labor and slavery was antislavery, not abolitionism. Abolitionists, like William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass, argued for the legal and even social equality of the races -- a position far ahead of Northern and Midwestern public sentiment. For white majorities, it was possible to be both anti-slavery and anti-Black. In this mix of racial and labor assumptions, Abraham Lincoln grew up.⁵

Scholars have long searched for and debated the origins of Lincoln's opposition to slavery and its spread. He recalled that his father, Thomas Lincoln, moved out of Kentucky because of the uncertain land title to his farm at Knob Creek, a threat of lawsuits, and something about moving away from slavery. Lincoln encountered slavery in the Deep South first-hand in 1828 and 1831 when he floated a load of goods down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. In New Orleans, they saw the sights of the city including its slave markets before returning to Indiana.

Ten years later, when Lincoln's suit of Mary Todd in Springfield, Illinois, came to a stand-still, Lincoln decided he needed a holiday. Suffering from melancholia, he traveled to Louisville, Kentucky to visit his friend, Joshua Speed. He stayed at Speed's house and hemp farm, Farmington, where he encountered slavery once again. On September 27, 1841, after his visit, Lincoln wrote back to Speed's half-sister, Mary Speed, and recounted his trip home. He said that other than delays occasioned by sand bars little occurred on the trip. He then added, "By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effort of *condition* upon human happiness." On board he witnessed twelve Blacks who had been purchased in Kentucky and were being taken to a farm in the South. As Lincoln word-painted the scene: "They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one at a convenient distance from, the others; so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line."⁶

He continued in this famous letter: "In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them, from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where." But instead of deep sadness, these people presented to the world a cheerier face. "[Y]et amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board."⁷ As biographer Stephen B. Oates points out, these images remained fresh in Lincoln's mind and that the scene "was a continual torment to me." "Slavery," Lincoln said, "had the power of making me miserable."⁸

As a young man with enormous ambition, it was not slavery or the expansion of slavery into the western territories that first motivated him, but economic development. As a member of the Whig Party in the mold of his hero, Kentuckian Henry Clay, Lincoln believed that economic development was what Illinois and his constituents most needed.

As a lawyer, much of his income came from clearing land titles and securing debts. But as a politician, it was internal improvements such as river clearance and development, canal investments, a stable national financial system, and a stable national currency overseen and funded by the federal government, Clay's "American Plan," that motivated the political Lincoln.

Still, his personal commitment to economic development dovetailed with his growing antislavery sentiments because the West represented opportunity for white free labor. As a rising young man in Springfield, the people of his congressional district elected him to Congress in 1846. Washington, D.C. was a southern city and slavery existed in the nation's capital. The issue of slavery arose in every session of Congress and, in 1849, Lincoln voted against the expansion of slavery into the federal territories. On January 10, 1849, Lincoln submitted a bill to the House that failed proposing the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia through compensated emancipation.⁹ But what the failed bill suggests is that as committed to economic development as Lincoln was, the issue of slavery could not be avoided and by the late 1840s, Lincoln opposed its expansion and its presence in the nation's capital.

Slavery lurked in the background of Lincoln's world from the end of his service in Congress in 1849 until 1854. He had a growing family to support and his legal practice consumed his attention for about five years. National politics brought Lincoln back into the political arena. On May 22, 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act effectively removing the restrictions on slavery moving into the western federal territories. Proposed by Stephen Douglas of Illinois, he hoped that the slavery issue could be settled through the idea of "popular sovereignty" whereby the people in the localities in the territories could decide for themselves whether to admit or restrict slavery in the territory. But, as Lincoln suspected, and as later historical events demonstrated, the Kansas-Nebraska Act opened the door for the expansion of slavery. Kansas-Nebraska caused other ripple effects one of which was the collapse of the Whig Party. It forced the Whigs into having to choose to support or oppose slavery's expansion; a choice most Whigs would not make. Thus, the Whig Party came undone and in its place arose a sectional political party, the Republicans. And Lincoln re-entered the political stage.

Here lies one of the ambiguities between Lincoln and the African-American community. Lincoln had to work within an Illinois context that, while antislavery, was also anti-Black. Lincoln opposed slavery and its extension into the federal territories but, he had to court the votes and support of an Illinois population (and in 1860, a Northern and Midwestern populations) who would not support any politician who favored Blacks. So, Lincoln the politician walked a tight-rope of not alienating potential voters while educating them about the dangers of the spread of slavery all the while maintaining his own personal dislike, even hatred, of slavery. Lincoln's public face showed a northern politician interested only in the concerns of white voters which led many African-American leaders, such as Frederick Douglass, to be suspicious of him.

On October 16, 1854, in Peoria, Illinois, Lincoln followed Stephen Douglas to the podium and weighed in against the Douglas authored Kansas-Nebraska Act. Like a lawyer, Lincoln countered every point made by Douglas. He developed his public face of opposition to Kansas-Nebraska taking umbrage at the implication of the act that slavery was a legitimate institution. As Lincoln put it, "I particularly object to the NEW position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I

object to it because it assumes that there CAN be MORAL RIGHT in the enslaving of one man by another.” Warming to his own rhetoric, Lincoln continued, “I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a free people . . . that liberty, as a principle, we have ceased to revere.”¹⁰ And forgetting that liberty underlay the American experiment in self-government Lincoln could not stomach. Douglas expressed surprise that anyone opposed his Kansas-Nebraska Act. Lincoln fired back, “[Douglas] should remember that he took us by surprise –astounded us – by this measure. We were thunderstruck and stunned; and we reeled and fell in utter confusion. But we rose each fighting, grasping whatever he could first reach – a scythe – a pitchfork – a chapping axe, or a butchers’ cleaver. We struck in the direction of the sound; and we are rapidly closing upon him.”¹¹ By stressing the threat to the Union posed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act and not speaking to the morality of slavery, Lincoln appealed to his audiences and, obliquely, pursued his own goal of opposing slavery.

Four years later, on June 16, 1858, at the conclusion of the Illinois Republican nominating convention that chose Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate, Lincoln delivered the “House Divided” speech. In its beginning, Lincoln clarified his thoughts on where the nation was tending. Lincoln argued that the growing tensions in the country would not cease until a crisis had been reached and confronted. Quoting scripture he started:

“A house divided against itself cannot stand.”

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

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

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

Either the *opponents* of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its *advocates* will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in *all* the States, *old* as well as *new* –*North* as well as *South*.¹²

Lincoln warned his Illinois audience and the nation about the problem slavery presented and how that problem might be resolved.

A few weeks later on Saturday, July 10, 1858, speaking in Chicago before a friendly audience, but before the famous debates with Douglas, Lincoln spoke more openly about his personal opinions. He told his audience that he was “unaware that this Government has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free,” because “during all that time, until the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, the public mind did rest, all the time, in the belief that slavery was in the course of ultimate extinction.” Lincoln then dropped his political guard and spoke from his heart saying, “I have always hated slavery, I think as much as any Abolitionist. [Applause] I have been an Old Line Whig. I have always hated it, but I have always been quiet about it until this new era of the introduction of the Nebraska Bill began.”¹³ He argued that he believed that the “great mass of the nation” believed that the institution was dying until Stephen Douglas gave it a new lease on life with its expansion into the western territories. But what is remarkable is his public admission that “I have always hated slavery.” Here lay his inward personal preference as opposed to his outward political persona.

In Ottawa, Illinois, during the first of the famous 1858 senatorial debates, Lincoln responded to Douglas' charge that he was a race equalitarian. On August 21, 1858, Lincoln read part of one his earlier speeches opposing the expansion of slavery into the western territories. He called the previous speech "the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery and the black race." "This is the whole part of it," said Lincoln using humor, "and anything that argues me into [Douglas's] idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro, is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse chestnut to be a chestnut horse."¹⁴

Lincoln continued saying that he did not wish to interfere with slavery where it existed. "I have not purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races," Lincoln explained. Playing to his white audiences' racial biases in order to reassure them, Lincoln claimed that physical differences between the races prevented them from living together and that, like Douglas, he was "in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position." Having come close to condemning Blacks as inferiors, Lincoln shifted arguing, "there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." "I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man," Lincoln lectured Douglas. He agreed with Douglas that Blacks were not his equal "in many respects, . . . But, in the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, his is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man." Without pushing the "hot-button issues" of the social and legal equality of Blacks, Lincoln stood his ground that slavery was wrong because it denied the laborer the fruits of his own labors and that in these terms, Blacks were the equal of Whites. Lincoln balanced on the tight-rope of his personal hatred of slavery and his public persona of not favoring Blacks over Whites.

Lincoln's efforts to win a Senate seat in 1858 failed; yet, the debates had made Lincoln one of several rising men in the Republican Party. Having lost his race for the Senate, Lincoln decided to test the political waters beyond Illinois and for the political plum in the United States, the presidency. In early 1860, Lincoln made an east coast trip allegedly to visit his oldest boy, Robert, who was a college student at Harvard. On February 27, 1860, at the Cooper Institute in New York City, Lincoln delivered what historian Harold Holzer has called "The Speech that made Abraham Lincoln President,"¹⁵ In a tightly argued presentation, Lincoln spoke about the vision of the Republican Party and his opposition to the spread of slavery. He built towards his crescendo asking rhetorically, "Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States." He concluded to waves of applause, "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."¹⁶ Here the master politician opposed slavery's expansion and took a stand against the institution of slavery without raising white fears about the social or political equality of Blacks. Lincoln cultivated the ambiguous middle political ground while listening to his personal political inner voice and pursuing his public political voice as far as it would take him.

And it took him into the Executive Mansion.

The Presidency

Charting Abraham Lincoln's attitudes towards African-Americans prior to the presidency is a challenging task because he needed white votes to win office in order to assist Blacks. But, charting Lincoln's relationship with the African-American community during the years of his presidency could be a listing of the major public policy achievements of his administration. On such a list would be: the First Confiscation Act of 1861, Second Confiscation Act of 1862, the 1862 Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia Act, and the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.¹⁷

Historian James Oakes charts another course to understanding the ambiguous relationship between Lincoln and the Black community by analyzing the relationship between Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. Oakes argues that Lincoln shifted his ground during the presidency away from defending slavery as a constitutionally protected institution to supporting its extinction. Similarly, Douglass shifted his ground to understand that a pragmatic white politician could not cater to the abolitionist fringe and had to lead and follow the political majority. Over time Douglass, states Oakes, "had come to appreciate the power of mainstream politics" and the political mastery of Lincoln.¹⁸

At first, like most abolitionists, Douglass possessed grave doubts about Lincoln. What he did know came from Lincoln's public speeches and Douglass cared not for the public face of Lincoln. Worse, although it was clear to Douglass that the cause of the Civil War was slavery, Lincoln's administration did not make the Civil War a war against slavery. In August 1861, when the Union General John C. Frémont issued an emancipation order without White House approval, Lincoln forced him rescind the order and reassigned Fremont. Lincoln's "go-slow" policy on slavery frustrated Douglass even though Lincoln rescinded Frémont's order in order to maintain the Border States, particularly Kentucky, in the Union – a larger and military political goal that Douglass did not appreciate.

In Philadelphia, on January 14, 1862, Douglass' frustrations with Lincoln can be heard where he criticized the slowness of the administration. Douglass dismissed the argument that the plight of the country lay at the feet of Lincoln saying, "this rebellion was planned and prepared long before the name of Abraham Lincoln was mentioned in connection with the office he now holds, and that though the catastrophe might have been postponed, it could not have been prevented, nor long delayed."¹⁹ For Douglass, the presence of slavery in the Republic caused the war and pre-dated the Lincoln administration.

But, he did not let Lincoln off the hook. "We are fighting the rebels with only one hand," Douglass argued, "when we ought to be fighting them with both." Instead of recruiting only whites to fight the war, the Union ought to be recruiting men from the plantations of the South. Warming to his rhetoric, "We are striking the guilty rebels with our soft, white hand, when we should be striking with the iron hand of the black man, which we keep chained behind us." For Douglass, the southern armies were not the target, slavery was; "We have been endeavoring to heal over the rotten cancer of slavery, instead of cutting out its death-dealing roots and fibers," he argued. Failure of the Lincoln administration to strike at slavery prolonged the war and, if the Union lost, then it was not for a lack of men or money or courage, but because of "the want of moral courage and wise statesmanship in dealing with slavery, the *cause* and motive of the

rebellion.”²⁰ Douglass’ frustrations boiled over again in his July 4, 1862 speech wherein he stated that while Lincoln came into office with an antislavery agenda, yet he had not demonstrated those values. Douglas listed a parade of horrors of what Lincoln had and had not done: he had not armed the slaves, he had not moved to emancipation, he had assigned pro-slavery generals to positions of power in the military, he permitted rebels to recapture runaways in the District of Columbia, and he permitted the army to return runaways.²¹

What Douglass could not know was that Lincoln’s drift toward emancipation was further along than he knew. Over the course of the first half of 1862, after discussions with his Secretary of State William Seward and Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner, Lincoln’s personal opinion grew that something had to be done about slavery. In public, on July 12, 1862, Lincoln met with a delegation of Border State men and he floated the idea of gradual emancipation and colonization.²² But, behind the scenes, Lincoln moved toward Douglass. During a carriage ride the next day, Lincoln revealed to his astonished Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, that, as historian Stephen B. Oates put it, “southerners could not throw off the Constitution and the same time invoke it to protect slavery. They had started the war and must now face its consequences.”²³ On July 21, Lincoln informed his cabinet that he intended to move against slavery directly. After a heated discussion, the cabinet urged Lincoln to wait until Union fortunes on the battlefield had improved before making such a political leap. Grudgingly, Lincoln agreed, and waited for a military victory.

But not being privileged to these shifts was Douglass whose rhetoric, reputation, and criticism had reached Lincoln. As a result, on August 10, 1863, Lincoln invited Douglass to the White House for a meeting.

In a speech delivered on December 4, 1863, Douglass described his experience of meeting Lincoln. After sending in his card and expecting to wait “at least half a day,” a messenger came back and ushered him into the President. After preliminaries, Douglass and Lincoln talked on a wide-range of issues. Lincoln impressed Douglass as “an honest man. I never met with a man, who, on the first blush, impressed me more entirely with his sincerity, with his devotion to country, and with his determination to save it at all hazards.” At one point in the conversation, Lincoln mentioned a speech that Douglass had given criticizing Lincoln for being slow to move against slavery. Lincoln defended himself saying, “I do not think that charge can be sustained; I think it cannot be shown that when I have once taken a position, I have ever retreated from it.”²⁴ Douglass called that statement, “the most significant point in what he said during our interview.” Douglass had gotten a glimpse past the public ambiguous persona of Lincoln and experienced the character and values of the private Lincoln.

Douglass defended his calling Lincoln slow to provide protection for Black soldiers and prisoners; Lincoln responded that “the country needed talking up to that point.” Lincoln felt that the “country was not ready for it.” He knew that if he went too fast, then “all the hatred which is poured on the head of the negro race would be visited on his Administration.” But, the preparatory work had been done and given events such as the military contributions of Blacks at Milliken’s Bend and Fort Wagner, then those events prepared “the way for this very proclamation of mine.”²⁵ Reflecting on this pragmatic statement, Douglass conceded that Lincoln’s explanation was reasonable. Yet still suspicious, Douglass reminded his audience that “we are not saved by the captain

this time, but by the crew.” It would not be Abraham Lincoln who would save Blacks, but “that power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself. You and I and all of us have this matter in hand.”²⁶ Only the people supporting this administration led by Lincoln could save the country and end slavery. Douglass had started to become a Lincoln man.

But Douglass was always an advocate for Black Americans. While Douglass admired Lincoln, he understood the ambiguities of Lincoln’s relationships with Blacks. This ambiguity can be understood in a famous speech Douglass delivered eleven years after Lincoln’s assassination. On April 14, 1876, in Washington, D.C., at the unveiling of the Freedman’s Memorial Monument in Lincoln Park to Abraham Lincoln, Douglass delivered the keynote address.²⁷ He spoke as the national leader of the Black population addressing his overwhelmingly white audience including President Ulysses S. Grant in the second-person “you” and he and Blacks as “us.” Douglass confronted his distinguished audience with some “truths” as he saw them. “Abraham Lincoln was not . . . either our man or our model,” Douglass alleged. In his behaviors and actions and thoughts and “prejudices,” “he was a white man. He was preeminently the white man’s President, entirely devoted to the welfare of the white men.”²⁸

Recently, scholars have re-emphasized Douglass’ larger point in the speech which was not to belittle Lincoln, but to celebrate his contribution to the African-American community.²⁹ Yes, conceded Douglass, Lincoln was “ready and willing at any time during the last years of his administration to deny, postpone and sacrifice the rights of humanity in the colored people, to promote the welfare of the white people of his country.” Lincoln entered the Executive Mansion on “one principle alone, namely, opposition to the extension of slavery” and he pursued that policy to that end throughout his administration. “You and yours,” Douglass said pointing to his audience, “were the object of his deepest affection and his most earnest solicitude.” Thus, he continued, “We are at best only his step-children, children by adoption, children by force of circumstances and necessity.”³⁰ Douglass then shifted his argument; he urged the assembled audience to accept the monument, “for while Abraham Lincoln saved for you a country, he delivered us from a bondage, according to Jefferson, one hour of which was worse than ages of the oppression your fathers rose in rebellion to oppose.” And on the behalf of Black Americans, Douglass pointed out, “Abraham Lincoln was NEAR AND DEAR TO OUR HEARTS.”

As Douglass saw it, Lincoln’s “great mission was to accomplish two things: first, to save his country from dismemberment and ruin, and second, to free his country from the great crime of slavery.” Defending Lincoln’s actions and timing, Douglass continued, “Had he put the abolition of slavery before the salvation of the Union, he would have inevitably driven from him a powerful class of the American people, and rendered resistance to rebellion impossible.” Though Lincoln shared “the prejudices of his white fellow countrymen against the negro,” in his “heart of hearts,” knew Douglass, “HE LOATHED AND HATED SLAVERY.”³¹ Douglass’ insight into Lincoln’s actions constituted an epiphany for Douglass. In the words of historian James Oakes, Douglass “did not claim that the abolitionist perspective was invalid, only that it was partial and therefore inadequate. Lincoln was an elected official, a politician, not a reformer; he was responsible to a broad public that no abolitionist crusader had to worry about.”³² The greatest politician,” stated Oakes analyzing Douglass, “was the one who could sustain the

highest principles of the reformer and acknowledge the legitimate grievances of minorities – without losing the trust of the whole population.” Oakes continued, “The finest statesman could hold the people’s trust without becoming a cynic or a demagogue” and, judged by that standard for Douglass, “Lincoln was one of the great politicians of all time.”³³

Thus a speech that many have taken to be a criticism of Lincoln was, in fact, a subtle celebration of the man and his policies. Douglass told his audience, “We have been fastening ourselves to a name and fame imperishable and immortal,” thundered Douglass.³⁴ Douglass’s speech summed up his relation with Lincoln and analyzed the ambiguous and, in the end, positive relationship between Lincoln and the African-American community.

“I can only now say,” Lincoln told the delegation of free Black Baltimoreans on September 7, 1864, “as I have often before said, it has always been a sentiment with me that all mankind should be free.”³⁵ Lincoln left a history of an ambiguous relationship between himself and the Black community. Lincoln was, as his admirers have said, the Great Emancipator. On the other hand, as Douglass realized, Abraham Lincoln was first and foremost a pragmatic politician of the mainstream. Of course Lincoln was an extraordinarily capable and eloquent politician, operating in an extraordinary time of crisis. But he was also a political statesman who transformed American race relations from master and slave toward liberty and freedom, and he did so while pursuing the conservative goal of preserving the nation against insurrection. Managing to personify both emancipator and preserver, Lincoln’s policies can be debated; his personal belief that “all mankind shall be free” can not.

References

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- ² Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VII* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 543.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 542. The Bible is now housed at the Fisk University Library, Nashville, Tennessee.
- ⁴ For example see just a sampling of the Lincoln historiography, Richard Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006); LaWanda Cox, *Lincoln and Black Freedom: A Study in Presidential Leadership* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981); David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995); Michael Lind, *What Lincoln Believed: The Values and Convictions of America's Greatest President* (New York: Doubleday, 2005); Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: A Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977); Phillip S. Paludan, *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994); Richard Striner, *Father Abraham: Lincoln's Relentless Struggle to End Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- ⁵ For a thorough analysis of these ideas of free labor and anti-slavery see the classic book, Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- ⁶ Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: Speeches and Writings, 1832-1858* (New York: Library of America, 1989), 74.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.
- ⁸ Oates, *With Malice Toward None*, 60.
- ⁹ Fehrenbacher, *Abraham Lincoln*, 227-29.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 337.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 346-347.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 426. Lincoln drew the "house divided" image from *Matthew* 12:25.
- ¹³ Fehrenbacher *Abraham Lincoln*, 446.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 511.
- ¹⁵ Harold Holzer, *Lincoln at the Cooper Union: The Speech That Made Abraham Lincoln President* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004).
- ¹⁶ Fehrenbacher, *Abraham Lincoln*, 129-130.
- ¹⁷ On the Emancipation Proclamation see, Allen C. Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004).
- ¹⁸ James Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007), xix. Also on Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass see, David M. Blight, *Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln: A Relationship in Language, Politics, and Memory* (Milwaukee, WI.: Marquette University Press, 2001).
- ¹⁹ "Fighting the rebels with one hand: An address delivered in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 14 January 1862," in John W. Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick*

Douglass Papers: Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews, Volume 3: 1855-63 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 477.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 482-483.

²¹ “The Slaveholders’ Rebellion: An address delivered in Himrod’s, New York, on 4 July 1862,” 539.

²² Fehrenbacher, *Abraham Lincoln*, 340.

²³ Oates, *With Malice Toward None*, 308.

²⁴ “Emancipation, racism, and the work before us: An address delivered in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 4 December 1863,” 607.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 608.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Douglass visited Lincoln in the White House one other time, on August 19, 1864 although Douglass did not record the details of his second visit with the same fervor as his first visit.

²⁷ “The Freedman’s Monument to Abraham Lincoln: An address delivered in Washington, D.C., on 14 April 1876,” John W. Blassingame and John R. McKivigan, eds., *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews; Volume 4: 1864-80* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 427-440.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 431.

²⁹ See Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican*, 266-275.

³⁰ “The Freedman’s Monument to Abraham Lincoln,” 432.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 436-437.

³² Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican*, 272.

³³ *Ibid.*, 272-273.

³⁴ “The Freedman’s Monument to Abraham Lincoln,” 440.

³⁵ Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VII*, 543.