

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.**

---

**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

---

**OA/ID Number:** 13700  
**Folder ID Number:** 13700-002

---

**Folder Title:**  
Presidential Lecture Series 1/7/90 [OA 8309]

---

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>

---

Harvard

(617) 495-1000

Prof David Donald

(617) 495-2500

259-8190

How many books  
Line number p. 2

Silly x 2957  
The City and the  
people who live in it

map from Ill. - Lincoln library

Sect. Cheney  
Mrs Cheney  
B. Livingston }  
Boorstein }  
(LCC?)



box  
Susan Barker Rose  
395 - c/198

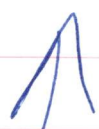
12:05

David Donald

|||||

(617) 259-8190

|||||



|||||

~~SB~~

|||||

|||||

|||||

Campaign Speeches  
of American  
Presidential Candidates  
1948-1984

— ☆ —

*Edited and introduced by Gregory Bush*



FREDERICK UNGAR PUBLISHING CO.

NEW YORK

C

A

C

Pre  
tin  
ove  
ma  
pac  
the  
pul  
les:  
sor  
TV  
T  
the  
car  
in:  
tin  
Ha  
I  
did  
no:  
one  
edi  
pal  
of:  
pro  
for  
ge

## DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

*Acceptance Speech*

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

*July 11, 1952*

*Mr. Chairman, my Fellow Republicans:*

May I first thank you on behalf of Mrs. Eisenhower and myself for the warmth of your welcome. For us both this is our first entry into a political convention and it is a heartwarming one. Thank you very much.

And before I proceed with the thoughts that I should like to address briefly to you, may I have the temerity to congratulate this convention on the selection of their nominee for Vice-President. A man who has shown statesmanlike qualities in many ways, but as a special talent an ability to ferret out any kind of subversive influence wherever it may be found and the strength and persistence to get rid of it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you have summoned me on behalf of millions of your fellow Americans to lead a great crusade—for Freedom in America and Freedom in the world. I know something of the solemn responsibility of leading a crusade. I have led one. I take up this task, therefore, in a spirit of deep obligation. Mindful of its burdens and of its decisive importance. I accept your summons. I will lead this crusade.

Our aims—the aims of this Republican crusade—are clear: to sweep from office an administration which has fastened on every one of us the wastefulness, the arrogance and corruption in high places, the heavy burdens and anxieties which are the bitter fruit of a party too long in power.

Much more than this, it is our aim to give to our country a program of progressive policies drawn from our finest Republican traditions; to unite us wherever we have been divided; to strengthen freedom wherever among any group it has been weakened; to build a sure foundation for sound prosperity for all here at home and for a just and sure peace throughout our world.

To achieve these aims we must have total victory; we must have more Republicans in our state and local offices; more Republican governments in our states; a Republican majority in the United States House of Representatives and in the United States Senate; and, of course, a Republican in the White House.

Today is the first day of this great battle. The road that leads to Nov. 4 is a fighting road. In that fight I will keep nothing in reserve.

Before this I stood on the eve of battle. Before every attack it has always been my practice to seek out our men in their camps and on the roads and talk with them face to face about their concerns and discuss with them the great mission to which we were all committed.

In this battle to which all of us are now committed it will be my practice to meet and talk with Americans face to face in every section, every corner, every nook and cranny of this land.

I know that such a momentous campaign cannot be won by a few or by divided or by uncertain forces. So to all those from the precinct level up who have worked long hours at difficult tasks in support of our party—and for our party's candidates—I extend an earnest call to join up; join up for longer hours and harder work and even greater devotion to this cause. I call on you to bring into this effort your neighbors next door and across the street. This is not a job for any one of us or for just a few of us.

Since this morning I have had helpful and heartwarming talks with Senator Taft, Governor Warren and Governor Stassen. I wanted them to know, as I want you to know, that in the hard fight ahead we will work intimately together to promote the principles and aims of our party. I was strengthened and heartened by their instant agreement to support this cause to the utmost. Their cooperation means that the Republican party will unitedly move forward in a sweeping victory.

We are now at a moment in history when, under God, this nation of ours has become the mightiest temporal power and the mightiest spiritual force on earth. The destiny of mankind—the making of a world that will be fit for our children to live in—hangs in the balance on what we say and what we accomplish in these months ahead.

We must use our power wisely for the good of all our people. If we do this, we will open a road into the future on which today's Americans, young and old, and the generations that come after them, can go forward—go forward to a life in which there will be far greater abundance

## EISENHOWER

ence Speech

0, ILLINOIS

11, 1952

ms:

f of Mrs. Eisenhower and myself for us both this is our first entry into a warming one. Thank you very much. thoughts that I should like to address ity to congratulate this convention on ice-President. A man who has shown s, but as a special talent an ability to uence wherever it may be found and l of it.

e summoned me on behalf of millions e great crusade—for Freedom in Amer- ow something of the solemn respon- ed one. I take up this task, therefore, ul of its burdens and of its decisive I will lead this crusade.

blican crusade—are clear: to sweep has fastened on every one of us the option in high places, the heavy bur- or fruit of a party too long in power.


---

WILLIAM  
MANCHESTER  
REMEMBERING  
KENNEDY

ONE  
BRIEF  
SHINING  
MOMENT

Little, Brown and Company  
Boston • Toronto

---



Ref.  
E176  
.1  
F86  
WH

# THE BULLY PULPIT

*Quotations from  
America's Presidents*

Edited by  
**Elizabeth Frost**

A New England Publishing Associates Book



Facts On File Publications  
New York, New York • Oxford, England

# INTRODUCTION

"The White House is a bully pulpit," said Theodore Roosevelt to George Putnam. Indeed, from George Washington to Ronald Reagan, America's thirty-nine presidents have used their office to speak out on every conceivable subject. Their statements have been wise and foolish, profound and shallow, momentous and trivial, solemn and irreverent, eloquent and tongue-tied, generous and malicious, witty and ponderous. Many of them still resonate, such as Thomas Jefferson's famous tribute to truth: "It is error alone which needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself." Some have become the clichés of election campaigns, for instance, Richard Nixon's plea: "It is time for the great silent majority of Americans to stand up and be counted." Still others were quickly forgotten but deserve resurrection, as with James Buchanan's remark about Congress: "Abstract propositions should never be discussed by a legislative body."

*The Bully Pulpit* is a collection of approximately 3,000 of the most significant and interesting quotations by America's presidents. While the book contains most of the more well-known statements, a majority are less familiar. Yet these are often the more revealing ones, best expressing the personalities and opinions of the men themselves. Woodrow Wilson's sense of irony, for instance, is clearly reflected in this wry observation on the failing campaign of his opponent, Governor Charles Evans Hughes: "Never murder a man who is committing suicide." *The Bully Pulpit* then, is neither hagiographic nor muckraking in purpose. Rather, quotations have been included on the basis of their historic significance, intrinsic human interest, and colorful or eloquent language.

In 1986, when I began this volume, I visualized *The Bully Pulpit* as a compilation of the most memorable statements

made by presidents during their White House years. But, as my research progressed, it became clear that many of their best observations fell outside this period. Either the fire of a campaign, the privacy of a long-kept diary, or the reflection and perspective associated with retirement gave rise to eloquent commentary that could not be left out of this book. Therefore, while I have tried to focus on the presidential years, I have also included apt quotations from earlier, or later, dates.

Some readers may wonder to what extent the words of presidents were, in fact, their own. Actually, most were. The early presidents prided themselves on writing their own speeches (although Alexander Hamilton may have helped George Washington with his farewell address). Not until Warren G. Harding, himself a newspaper editor, hired Judson Welliver as his "literary clerk," did an American president have a formal speech writer. And only after World War II did elected officials have the money and large staffs necessary to accommodate full-time speech writers.

But ghosted or not, the words of American presidents record the political and social history of the country itself. Their words trace great themes in American history, reflect the changing beliefs of the American people, and articulate the best and the worst in the American spirit. Some, such as those about Congress or the presidency itself, reveal how American government and politics really work. (Who can resist Thomas Jefferson's skewering of Congress: "That 150 lawyers should do business together ought not to be expected"?) And a great many skillfully articulate the core principles of American democracy.

The words of the chief executives also vividly reflect their personalities. No president was as combative as Theodore Roosevelt, who, in 1911, proudly

Had I been chosen President again, I am certain I could not have lived another year.

John Adams  
To the *Boston Patriot*  
1809

In all great and essential measures he [the president] is bound by his honor and his conscience, by his oath to the Constitution, as well as his responsibility to the public opinion of the nation, to act his own mature and unbiased judgement, though unfortunately, it may be in direct contradiction to the advice of all his ministers. This was my situation in more than one instance.

George Washington  
To the *Boston Patriot*  
1809

The executive powers lodged in the Senate are the most dangerous to the Constitution, and to liberty, of all the powers in it. The people then, ought to consider the President's office as the indispensable guardian of their rights. I have ever, therefore, been of the opinion, that the electors of [the] President ought to be chosen by the people at large.

John Adams  
To the *Boston Patriot*  
1809

Five weeks more will relieve me from a drudgery to which I am no longer equal, and restore me to a scene of tranquility, amidst my family and friends, more congenial to my age and natural inclinations.

John Adams  
Letter, James Monroe  
January 1809

I am for responsibilities at short periods, seeing neither reason nor safety in making public functionaries independent of the nation for life, or even for long terms of years. On this principle I prefer the Presidential term of four years, to that of seven years, which I myself had at first suggested, annexing to it, however, ineligibility forever after; and I wish it were now annexed to the 2d quadrennial election of President.

Thomas Jefferson  
Letter, J. Martin  
September 20, 1813

A President can declare war and can conclude peace without being hurled from his chair.

John Adams  
Letter, W. S. Smith  
February 22, 1815

I left my country in peace and harmony with all the world . . . I left navy yards, fortifications, frigates, timber, naval stores, manufactories of canon and arms, and a treasury full of five millions of dollars. This was all done . . . against perpetual oppositions, clamors and reproaches, such as no other President ever had to encounter. . . . For this I was turned out of office, degraded and disgraced by my country.

John Adams  
Letter, James Lloyd  
March 31, 1815

And they talked a great deal about "the dignity" of the office of President, which I do not find that any other persons, public or private, regards very much.

John Adams  
Letter, Thomas Jefferson  
April 19, 1817

If that office [the presidency] was to be the prize of cabal and intrigue, of purchasing newspapers, bribing by appointments, or bargaining for foreign missions, I had no ticket in that lottery. Whether I had the qualities necessary for a President of the United States was, to say the very least, very doubtful to myself. But that I had no talents for obtaining the office by such means was perfectly clear.

John Quincy Adams  
*Memoirs*  
February 25, 1821

No man who ever held the office of President would congratulate a friend on obtaining it. He will make one man ungrateful, and a hundred men his enemies, for every office he can bestow.

John Adams  
Letter, Josiah Quincy  
February 14, 1825

Maybe the country would have been better off if I had been a concert pianist.

Harry S. Truman  
Cited in *Quote* magazine  
July 1, 1962

The President . . . is rightly described as a man of extraordinary powers. Yet it is also true that he must wield these powers under extraordinary limitations—and it is these limitations which so often give the problem of choice its complexities and even poignancy. Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt once remarked, "was a sad man because he couldn't get it all at once. And nobody can." Every President must endure a gap between what he would like and what is possible.

John F. Kennedy  
Inaugural address  
January 20, 1961

When we got into office, the thing that surprised me most was to find that things were just as bad as we'd been saying they were.

John F. Kennedy  
Speech, honoring Kennedy's 44th birthday  
May 27, 1961

To paraphrase the old saying, "Good news is no news." So the kind of news a president usually gets is bad. But it is more important that there is a lot of good news, too, which does not immediately cross a president's desk. One must remember to keep a balance, to maintain a broad perspective and to refuse to be overwhelmed by bad news.

John F. Kennedy  
Cited in *Parade*  
April 8, 1962

I know when things don't go well, they like to blame the President, and that is one of the things Presidents are paid for.

John F. Kennedy  
Press conference  
June 15, 1962

The American presidency is a formidable, exposed, and somewhat mysterious institution. It is formidable because it

represents the point of ultimate decision in the American political system. It is exposed because decision cannot take place in a vacuum. . . . And it is mysterious because the essence of ultimate decision remains impenetrable to the observer—often, indeed, to the decider himself.

John F. Kennedy  
Foreword to Theodore Sorensen's *Decision-Making in the White House*  
1963

Of course, we can't all be Winston Churchills. We can't all be President. I found that out.

Richard Nixon  
*New York Times*  
June 15, 1963

The Presidency of this Nation is no place for a timid soul or a torpid spirit. It is the one place where a petty temper and a narrow view can never reside.

Lyndon B. Johnson  
Speech, Democratic Party Dinner, Miami Beach, Florida  
February 27, 1964

I know of nothing in the President's job that is more important than being accountable to the people.

Lyndon B. Johnson  
News conference, State Department  
February 29, 1964

My White House job pays more than public school systems but the tenure is less certain.

Lyndon B. Johnson  
Comments, presenting the award to the Teacher of the Year for 1963, Washington, D.C.  
May 4, 1964

A President's hardest task is not to *do* what is right, but to *know* what is right.

Lyndon B. Johnson  
State of the union address  
January 5, 1965



that was almost a sprint, restlessly snapping his fingers. Of a typical day James Reston wrote in the *New York Times*, "He did everything today except shinny up the Washington Monument." "When you see the President," a senator remarked, "you have to get in your car and drive like blazes back to the Capitol to beat his memo commenting on what you told him." The presidency, Kennedy had said, was "the vital center of action." That fitted his temperament; so he was both following his instincts and buffing his reputation when he held the first live, televised presidential press conferences, organized the Peace Corps, reorganized the White House staff, and delivered an unprecedented number of speeches. Jackie was asked why he was so hyperactive. "Because he wants to know it all," she said. But he had another motive. He wanted, to the greatest possible degree, the undivided attention of his countrymen. And he was getting it. Newspapermen and television commentators reported the progress of the new administration almost breathlessly. The televised news conferences were immensely popular. Remembering his first debate with Nixon, Jack became the first President to recognize and exploit the possibilities of TV.

His hustling accelerated; he was determined to expand his all-important base. The people he needed were watching him, and he wanted to be sure they liked what they saw. The hatless, coatless vigor helped, except in the hatting industry, which saw its sales plummet. Nice Al Webb, a PT veteran and hatter executive, arrived with two hats custom-made for Jack and Red Fay. In the Oval Office, Nice Al removed the hats from their boxes as though they were fragile Stradivarii. Jack and the Redhead tried them on. Nice Al stood back to observe the effect. He said unconvincingly, "You both look great." Jack and Red looked at each other and burst out laughing. "Al," said the President, "are you willing to destroy the beloved image of our country's leader just to save the hat industry?" Crestfallen, Nice Al retreated. To make a permanent record of the occasion, Cecil Stoughton, the White House photographer, was summoned to the office. His photograph of the President and Red survives. In it they look like a couple of house detectives.

But to the country, the bareheaded Kennedy was looking more and more like a President. Americans approve of self-starters. It was reassuring to learn that Ike's successor was very much in charge. The first televised sessions with the White House press corps were, of course, crucial. One of them — the third — was watched by some 65 million people in 21.5 million homes. Marshall McLuhan acclaimed him as a virtuoso. And presently the wisdom of the Neustadt approach was reflected in studies by opinion samplers. Kennedy's racing start had converted an enormous segment of the electorate, millions of Nixon voters who had changed their minds. And, Gallup reported, the number of Americans who approved of the way Kennedy was doing his job was growing steadily.

Jackie's emergence as a national celebrity was more languid. She hated the goldfish-bowl aspect of living in the White House, the tourists who lurked outside the grounds, the shouts of encouragement from boys watching her on the White House tennis court, and the amateur photographers with telephoto lenses who snapped pictures of her children in their play area. But she genuinely loved the mansion, and devoted herself to a restoration of its former majesty. Pierre Salinger found her charming but

JK516  
.S68  
WHRC

DECISION-MAKING  
IN THE WHITE HOUSE

THE OLIVE BRANCH OR THE ARROWS

THEODORE C. SORENSEN

FOREWORD BY JOHN F. KENNEDY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW YORK AND LONDON

## Foreword

THE American Presidency is a formidable, exposed, and somewhat mysterious institution. It is formidable because it represents the point of ultimate decision in the American political system. It is exposed because decision cannot take place in a vacuum: the Presidency is the center of the play of pressure, interest, and idea in the nation; and the presidential office is the vortex into which all the elements of national decision are irresistibly drawn. And it is mysterious because the essence of ultimate decision remains impenetrable to the observer—often, indeed, to the decider himself.

Yet, if the process of presidential decision is obscure, the necessity for it is all too plain. To govern, as wise men have said, is to choose. Lincoln observed that we cannot escape history. It is equally true that we cannot escape choice; and, for an American President, choice

## FOREWORD

is charged with a peculiar and daunting responsibility for the safety and welfare of the nation. A President must choose among men, among measures, among methods. His choice helps determine the issues of his Presidency, their priority in the national life, and the mode and success of their execution. The heart of the Presidency is therefore informed, prudent, and resolute choice—and the secret of the presidential enterprise is to be found in an examination of the way presidential choices are made.

Many things have been written about the conditions of presidential decision. The President, for example, is rightly described as a man of extraordinary powers. Yet it is also true that he must wield these powers under extraordinary limitations—and it is these limitations which so often give the problem of choice its complexity and even poignancy. Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt once remarked, “was a sad man because he couldn’t get it all at once. And nobody can.” Every President must endure a gap between what he would like and what is possible.

The loneliness of the President is another well-established truism of essays on the presidential process. It is

## FOREWORD

only part of the story; for, during the rest of the time, no one in the country is more assailed by divergent advice and clamorous counsel. This advice and counsel, indeed, are essential to the process of decision; for they give the President not only needed information and ideas but a sense of the possibilities and the limitations of action. A wise President therefore gathers strength and insight from the nation. Still, in the end, he is alone. There stands the decision—and there stands the President. “I have accustomed myself to receive with respect the opinions of others,” said Andrew Jackson, “but always take the responsibility of deciding for myself.”

The author of this book has been an astute and sensitive collaborator in the presidential enterprise. Few writers have isolated the elements in presidential decision with such perception and precision. There will always be the dark and tangled stretches in the decision-making process—mysterious even to those who may be most intimately involved—but Mr. Sorensen, more than any recent American writer, has helped illuminate the scene with skill and judgment. He has been a participant, as well as an observer, of important decisions in difficult

FOREWORD

days. His careful observations have been made with skill and judgment and I am sure his work will become a permanent addition to the small shelf of indispensable books on the American Presidency.

*The White House*  
*June, 1963*

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Don Back 66-33

(Smith/Blessey)  
Draft One  
January 3, 1990  
LINC

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LINCOLN LECTURE  
STATE DINING ROOM  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 1990  
5:00 P.M.

Professor Donald, Lynn Cheney, Honored guests, Ladies and gentlemen.

Barbara and I want to welcome you to the White House. It is indeed a privilege to be with you. And to host this inaugural lecture on an office to which my forty predecessors have consecrated the full measure of their lives: The Presidency of the United States.

To John F. Kennedy, the Presidency was "the vital center of action." To Teddy Roosevelt, it was the "bully pulpit," reflecting this Nation's values and her dreams. And it was Dwight Eisenhower -- America's beloved Ike -- who spoke of its power "to proclaim anew our faith," and summon "lightness against the dark."

To occupy this office is to feel a kinship with these and other Presidents. For each in his own way sought to do right, and thus achieve good. Each felt a sacred trust with every American. And often doubted, I suspect, how they could be worthy of that trust.

Perhaps no President had greater doubts -- nor more brilliantly resolved them -- than the subject of this inaugural lecture: Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

As President, Lincoln abolished slavery. He saved the Union. Perhaps no leader has been so severely tested -- before, or since. And yet we remember Abe Lincoln not merely for what he did. We revere him for what he was.

Lincoln was a strong man -- an arm-wrestler, a rail-splitter. And yet a mix of kindness and humility. At once a hard and gentle person -- a man of grief, and yet of humor. For he knew, as he told Secretary of War Steward, that "If I did not tell stories, I feel my heart would break."

Let me tell you a story. // After all, Abe would probably want it that way. // A stranger once found Lincoln in the street with two of his sons. Both of them were sobbing uncontrollably.

"Whatever is the matter with the boys, Mr. Lincoln?" the stranger asked. Lincoln sighed, then observed, "Just what's the matter with the world. I've got three walnuts, and each wants two."

As this story suggests, Lincoln was pulled in countless directions. Yet he not only comforted his two sons. He comforted the Nation. And by acting extraordinarily in times of peril, preserved for future generations the canons of democracy.

Tonight, we have here a man who will tell us about those times. His name is David Donald. He is the Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University. And as a

Yale man, I am proud that he will give this first lecture of the Presidential Lecture Series on the Presidency.

A native of Mississippi, David Donald graduated from the University of Illinois, where he was a student of the great Lincoln scholar, J.G. Randall. Since then, he has taught at Columbia University, Princeton University, the University of Oxford, and the Johns Hopkins University.

In five books, he has written about Lincoln and the Civil War -- twice, receiving the Pulitzer Prize in Biography. And always willing, as Lincoln said, to "think anew," he is now working on a new biography of America's 16th President.

Earlier, I spoke of kinship. Well -- I'm sure David Donald would agree -- any President's kinship with Lincoln is perhaps the most personal of all.

Each day I pass the room which served as Lincoln's office. My office is the Lincoln Study. To the left of my desk is one of only five copies of the Emancipation Proclamation. And just above me here is a portrait of Lincoln painted by George Healy 121 years ago. In it you see Lincoln's agony, and his greatness. A man who nightly fell on his knees to ask guidance from God.

Here, in this house, Lincoln lives -- even now. Teaching, and inspiring. And nowhere more than in another portrait that I talked about last month off the coast of Malta before meeting Chairman Gorbachev. And that I'd like to close with now. It hangs on the wall of my study. And it portrays the decency -- and humanity -- of Abraham Lincoln.

The painting pictures Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? The Peacemakers.

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. As it did in Lincoln's time. As it must, for us. And that ours can be a future that Lincoln gave his life for -- a future free of both tyranny and fear.

One hundred and twenty-nine years ago, leaving Springfield to assume the Presidency, Lincoln addressed his home people at the Great Western Railway Station. He told them: "All the strange checkered past seems now to crowd upon my mind."

Even now, the memory of Abraham Lincoln crowds upon our memory. It is a great privilege, then, to introduce a man who has devoted his lifetime to the study of its tragic, almost mystic glory. Professor David Donald.

# # # #

Staffed

(Smith/Blessey)  
Draft One  
January 3, 1990  
INC

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LINCOLN LECTURE  
STATE DINING ROOM  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 1990  
5:00 P.M.

See Porter Rose

Professor Donald, Lynn Cheney, Ladies and gentlemen.

Barbara and I want to welcome you to the White House. It is indeed a privilege to be with you. And to host this inaugural lecture on the Presidency of the United States. 929-4567

memo from  
SPR  
Rosen

To John F. Kennedy, the Presidency was "the vital center of action." To Teddy Roosevelt, it was the "bully pulpit,"

The Bully Pulpit  
P. XIII

reflecting America's values and her dreams. And it was Dwight Eisenhower -- beloved Ike -- who spoke of its power "to proclaim . . . our faith," and summon "lightness against the dark."

memo Story  
7-89-1969  
P. 58

Wasn't speaking  
bad of president  
of nation as  
L. White

To occupy this office is to feel a kinship with these and other Presidents. For each in his own way sought to do right, and thus achieve good. Each felt a sacred trust with every American. And often wondered, I suspect, how they could be worthy of that trust.

Perhaps no President had greater doubts -- nor more brilliantly resolved them -- than the subject of this inaugural lecture: Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

memo from  
SPR

As President, Lincoln abolished slavery. He saved the Union. Perhaps no leader has been so severely tested -- before,

Time's The  
American  
Presidency

D<sup>2</sup>

1167

1167

or since. And yet we remember Abe Lincoln not merely for what he did. We revere him for what he was.

*Time's The American Presidents*  
 Lincoln was a strong man -- an arm-wrestler, a rail-splitter. Yet also a mix of kindness and humility. He was at once a hard and gentle person -- a man of grief, and yet of humor. For he knew, as he told Secretary of <sup>State</sup> War Steward, that <sup>he</sup> "If I did not tell stories, I feel my heart would break."

*Lincoln*  
 X  
 D2

*Donald bio*  
 Tonight, we have here a man who will doubtless tell some stories. About how by acting extraordinarily in times of peril, Lincoln preserved for future generations the canons of democracy. His name is David Donald -- the Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University.

A native of Mississippi, Mr. Donald graduated from the University of Illinois, where he was a student of the great Lincoln scholar, J.G. Randall. He has taught at some of America's greatest universities -- and has written <sup>eight</sup> ~~five~~ books about Lincoln and the Civil War -- twice, receiving the Pulitzer Prize in biography. Moreover, our guest is now working on a new biography of America's 16th President.

*at least*  
 X

Earlier, I spoke of kinship. Well -- I'm sure David Donald would agree -- any President's kinship with Lincoln is perhaps the most personal of all.

*Curator's Office*  
 So often I pass the Lincoln Bedroom which then served as Lincoln's Cabinet Room and office. On his desk, to the left of the fireplace, is an original copy of the Gettysburg Address.

And on the mantle is a plaque marking an equally noble legacy. Here, the Great Unifier signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

Yet perhaps nowhere do we learn more about Lincoln, even now, than in a portrait that I talked about last month off the coast of Malta before meeting Chairman Gorbachev. It is by George Healy, and hangs on the wall of my study. In it you see the agony, and the greatness, of a man who nightly fell on his knees to ask the help of God.

The painting shows Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? The Peacemakers.

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours can be the future that Lincoln gave his life for -- a future free of both tyranny and fear.

One hundred and twenty-nine years ago, leaving Springfield to assume the Presidency, Lincoln addressed his home people at the Great Western Railway Station. He told them: "All the strange, checkered past seems (now) to crowd upon my mind."

Even now, the memory of Abraham Lincoln crowds upon our minds. It is a great privilege, then, to introduce a man who has devoted his lifetime to the study of its tragedy and its glory. One of the great scholars of perhaps our greatest President. Professor David Donald.

# # # #

Remarks on Torrestal  
12/1/89  
entire on  
Peace makers

A.L.: His  
speeches  
writings  
p. 569

This is only in  
one version  
of speech

1978  
1861  
129

staffed

(Smith/Blessey)  
Draft One  
January 3, 1990  
INC

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LINCOLN LECTURE  
STATE DINING ROOM  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 1990  
5:00 P.M.

Professor Donald, Lynn Cheney, Ladies and gentlemen.  
Barbara and I want to welcome you to the White House. It is indeed a privilege to be with you. And to host this inaugural lecture on the Presidency of the United States.

To John F. Kennedy, the Presidency was "the vital center of action." To Teddy Roosevelt, it was the "bully pulpit," reflecting America's values and her dreams. And it was Dwight Eisenhower -- beloved Ike -- who spoke of its power "to proclaim . . . our faith," and summon "lightness against the dark."

To occupy this office is to feel a kinship with these and other Presidents. For each in his own way sought to do right, and thus achieve good. Each felt a sacred trust with every American. And often wondered, I suspect, how they could be worthy of that trust.

Perhaps no President had greater doubts -- nor more brilliantly resolved them -- than the subject of this inaugural lecture: Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

As President, Lincoln abolished slavery. He saved the Union. Perhaps no leader has been so severely tested -- before,

or since. And yet we remember Abe Lincoln not merely for what he did. We revere him for what he was.

Lincoln was a strong man -- an arm-wrestler, a rail-splitter. Yet also a mix of kindness and humility. He was at once a hard and gentle person -- a man of grief, and yet of humor. For he knew, as he told Secretary of War Steward, that "If I did not tell stories, I feel my heart would break."

Tonight, we have here a man who will doubtless tell some stories. About how by acting extraordinarily in times of peril, Lincoln preserved for future generations the canons of democracy. His name is David Donald -- the Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University.

A native of Mississippi, Mr. Donald graduated from the University of Illinois, where he was a student of the great Lincoln scholar, J.G. Randall. He has taught at some of America's greatest universities -- and has written five books about Lincoln and the Civil War -- twice, receiving the Pulitzer Prize in biography. Moreover, our guest is now working on a new biography of America's 16th President.

Earlier, I spoke of kinship. Well -- I'm sure David Donald would agree -- any President's kinship with Lincoln is perhaps the most personal of all.

So often I pass the Lincoln Bedroom which then served as Lincoln's Cabinet Room and office. On his desk, to the left of the fireplace, is an original copy of the Gettysburg Address.

And on the mantle is a plaque marking an equally noble legacy. Here, the Great Unifier signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

Yet perhaps nowhere do we learn more about Lincoln, even now, than in a portrait that I talked about last month off the coast of Malta before meeting Chairman Gorbachev. It is by George Healy, and hangs on the wall of my study. In it you see the agony, and the greatness, of a man who nightly fell on his knees to ask the help of God.

The painting shows Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? The Peacemakers.

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours can be the future that Lincoln gave his life for -- a future free of both tyranny and fear.

One hundred and twenty-nine years ago, leaving Springfield to assume the Presidency, Lincoln addressed his home people at the Great Western Railway Station. He told them: "All the strange checkered past seems now to crowd upon my mind."

Even now, the memory of Abraham Lincoln crowds upon our minds. It is a great privilege, then, to introduce a man who has devoted his lifetime to the study of its tragedy and its glory. One of the great scholars of perhaps our greatest President. Professor David Donald.

(Smith/Blessey)  
Draft One  
January 3, 1990  
INC

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LINCOLN LECTURE  
STATE DINING ROOM  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 1990  
5:00 P.M.

Professor Donald, Lynn Cheney, Ladies and gentlemen.  
Barbara and I want to welcome you to the White House. It is indeed a privilege to be with you. And to host this inaugural lecture on the Presidency of the United States.

To John F. Kennedy, the Presidency was "the vital center of action." To Teddy Roosevelt, it was the "bully pulpit," reflecting America's values and her dreams. And it was Dwight Eisenhower -- beloved Ike -- who spoke of its power "to proclaim . . . our faith," and summon "lightness against the dark."

To occupy this office is to feel a kinship with these and other Presidents. For each in his own way sought to do right, and thus achieve good. Each felt a sacred trust with every American. And often wondered, I suspect, how they could be worthy of that trust.

Perhaps no President had greater doubts -- nor more brilliantly resolved them -- than the subject of this inaugural lecture: Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

As President, Lincoln abolished slavery. He saved the Union. Perhaps no leader has been so severely tested -- before,

or since. And yet we remember Abe Lincoln not merely for what he did. We revere him for what he was.

Lincoln was a strong man -- an arm-wrestler, a rail-splitter. Yet also a mix of kindness and humility. He was at once a hard and gentle person -- a man of grief, and yet of humor. For he knew, as he told Secretary of War Steward, that "If I did not tell stories, I feel my heart would break."

Tonight, we have here a man who will doubtless tell some stories. About how by acting extraordinarily in times of peril, Lincoln preserved for future generations the canons of democracy. His name is David Donald -- the Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University.

A native of Mississippi, Mr. Donald graduated from the University of Illinois, where he was a student of the great Lincoln scholar, J.G. Randall. He has taught at some of America's greatest universities -- and has written five books about Lincoln and the Civil War -- twice, receiving the Pulitzer Prize in biography. Moreover, our guest is now working on a new biography of America's 16th President.

Earlier, I spoke of kinship. Well -- I'm sure David Donald would agree -- any President's kinship with Lincoln is perhaps the most personal of all.

So often I pass the Lincoln Bedroom which then served as Lincoln's Cabinet Room and office. On his desk, to the left of the fireplace, is an original copy of the Gettysburg Address.

And on the mantle is a plaque marking an equally noble legacy. Here, the Great Unifier signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

Yet perhaps nowhere do we learn more about Lincoln, even now, than in a portrait that I talked about last month off the coast of Malta before meeting Chairman Gorbachev. It is by George Healy, and hangs on the wall of my study. In it you see the agony, and the greatness, of a man who nightly fell on his knees to ask the help of God.

The painting shows Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? The Peacemakers.

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours can be the future that Lincoln gave his life for -- a future free of both tyranny and fear.

One hundred and twenty-nine years ago, leaving Springfield to assume the Presidency, Lincoln addressed his home people at the Great Western Railway Station. He told them: "All the strange checkered past seems now to crowd upon my mind."

Even now, the memory of Abraham Lincoln crowds upon our minds. It is a great privilege, then, to introduce a man who has devoted his lifetime to the study of its tragedy and its glory. One of the great scholars of perhaps our greatest President. Professor David Donald.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: KRISTEN  
Phone: \_\_\_\_\_  
Fax: (202) 456-6210

FROM: SALLY RUMIN  
Phone: (202) 2457  
Fax: (202) 395-4198

DATE: 1/2

TIME: 12:30

PAGES: 4  
(Including cover)

COMMENTS:

I will send a hard copy, as well.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 18, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO MARLIN FITZWATER/ANNA PEREZ  
SIG ROGICH  
DAVE DEMEREST

x 7064

FROM: SUSAN PORTER ROSE

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE SERIES ON THE PRESIDENCY

The following is information on the first lecture of the Presidential Lecture Series on the Presidency which I hope will be useful:

On Sunday, January 7th, at 5:00 p.m. the President and Mrs. Bush will host the inaugural lecture of a new White House series entitled: Presidential Lecture Series on the Presidency. The inaugural lecture will be given by Harvard Professor David Donald on Abraham Lincoln. This inaugural lecture will be held in the State Dining Room under the Healy portrait of Lincoln. Approximately 100 guests from around the country will be invited.

The President and Mrs. Bush plan to host two or three lectures each year.

Attachments

cc: Governor Sununu  
Andy Card  
Jim Cicconi

introduce David Donald - 1st lecturer?

Louise Firestone

Usher's Off. 2650

Curator's Off. x2550

SPR - 2957

Sally Runian

A native of Mississippi, David Herbert Donald received his graduate training at the University of Illinois, where he was a student of the great Lincoln scholar, J.G. Randall. Now Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University, he has previously taught at Columbia University, Princeton University, the University of Oxford, and the Johns Hopkins University. He has written about Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War years in books that include Lincoln's Herndon, Divided We Fought, Inside Lincoln's Cabinet, Lincoln Reconsidered, and a two-volume life of Charles Sumner. He has twice received the Pulitzer Prize in Biography.

*Handwritten initials: M, D, a*

Mr. Donald is married to Dr. Aida DiPace Donald, who is Editor-in-Chief of the Harvard University Press. They have one son, Dr. Bruce Randall Donald, who teaches computer science at Cornell University.

With the assistance of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Mr. Donald is now preparing a new biography of Abraham Lincoln.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 A. L. G.  
 The 1st Lady  
 New York  
 State  
 Archives  
 1/2/90

**CONNALD, DAVID HERBERT**, author. History education in Gordon Mass. Oct. 1, 1922; s. in Upper and Lower Ellis (Belford) D.; m. Alice (Spain) 1946. 1 son. Bruce Randall, Student. Mathew Jr. Coll. 1917-19; A.B. Military Coll. 1918; L.H.D. 1919; A.M. U. Ill. 1922; Ph.D. 1942; M.A. from U. of Calif. 1950; Harvard U., 1972; Litt.D. from U. Coll. Charleston, 1975. Teaching Assoc. U. N.C., 1942; research ass. history U. Ill., 1943-44; research assoc. 1944-45; fellow Social Sci. Research Council, 1943-44; instr. history Columbia U., 1947-48; assoc. prof. history Smith Coll., 1949-51; instr. history Columbia U. Grad. Faculty, 1951-52; assoc. prof., 1953-57; prof. history, 1957-58; prof. history Princeton U., 1959-62; prof. Am. history Johns Hopkins U., 1962-63; 1963-75; Harry C. Black prof., 1963-71; dir. Inst. in History, 1966-72; Charles Warren prof. Am. history and prof. Am. civilization Harvard U., 1972. Comm. prof. program in Am. civilization, 1970-83; vis. assoc. prof. Amherst Coll., 1970; Fulbright inst. Am. history U. Coll. North Wales, 1973-74; mem. Inst. Advanced Study, 1977-82; Norma Worth prof. Am. history Oxford U., 1974-80; John F. Young inst. Memphis State U., 1965; Walter Lynwood Fleming inst. La. State U., 1968; Benjamin Rush inst. Am. Psychol. Assoc., 1972; Commonwealth inst. Univ. Coll., London, 1975. Author Lincoln's March, 1948; Divided We Fought, A Pictorial History of the War, 1961-1962, 1972; Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: The Civil War Diaries of Solomon P. Chase, 1964; Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era, 1964; rev. 1965; A Rebel's Reminiscences (G.C. Eggleston), 1970; Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 1960 (Folger prior to biography); Why the North Won the Civil War, 1960 (with J.C. Randall); The Civil War and Reconstruction, 2d ed., 1961; rev. enlarged ed., 1968; The Divided Union, 1961; The Politics of Reconstruction, 1863-67, 1961; The Nation in Crisis, 1861-1877, 1967; Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man, 1971 (with Binay Andromeda); The South Since the War, 1970; Gone for a Soldier, 1975 (with others); The Great Republic, 1977; rev. ed., 1981; 2d ed., 1981; Liberty and Union, 1972; Editor War Diary and Letters of Stephen Minot Wald, 1979; Look Homeward: A Life of Thomas Wolfe, 1984; gen. editor; Documentary History of American Life: The Making of Abraham Lincoln, 5 vols. (with wife) Story of Charles Francis Adams, 2 vols., 1964. Contrib. articles to periodicals. Organization fellow, 1964-65; 65-66; fellow Am. Council Learned Soc., 1964-70; Council for Advanced Study Behavioral Sci., 1964-70; George A. and Ellen G. Howard fellow, 1971-72; Nat. Endowment for Humanities yr. fellow, 1971-72; Fellow Am. Acad. Arts and Social Sci., Org. Am. Historians, Am. Hist. Assoc. So. Hist. Assn. (v.c. 1968, pres. 1967); Soc. Am. Historians, Mass. Hist. Soc., Am. Antiquarian Soc., Phi Kappa Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Pi Kappa Delta, Pi Kappa Alpha, Omicron Delta Kappa, Episcopalian Club Harvard (N.Y.C.); Comm. Sigart. Fam. Home; PO Box 156 Lincoln Rd Lincoln Center MA 01771

tended in the educational and training programs for officers of the Maltese armed forces and to government officials involved in the war against drug trafficking and other forms of illicit trade. The President appreciated the efforts by the Maltese authorities to strengthen Malta's maritime patrol capabilities, particularly in and around Malta's waters, and to this end, supported the provision of U.S. help and cooperation.

The President expressed thanks to the Prime Minister of the full cooperation extended by the Government of Malta in the preparations made with regard to his meeting with the Soviet President.

*Note: The President met with Prime Minister Fenech Adami at 10:35 a.m. at l'Auberge de Castille.*

**Remarks to the Crew and Guests of the U.S.S. Forrester at Malta**  
*December 1, 1989*

Hello, fellow Navy men. And hello to the sons of the U.S.S. *Forrester*. I'm delighted to be here. And to those others that are visiting here from other ships in the battle group. And to Captain Thomassy—thank you, sir, for that kind introduction. Admiral Howe and Vice Admiral Williams, Rear Admiral "Sweet Pea" Allen, friends. You guys be seated, please. No chairs? Then keep standing—never mind. [Laughter]

I'm pleased to be here. Just shows how far one will go in the world—I'll leave no place unexplored in my quest to catch a fish. [Laughter]

These remarks will be relatively brief. I say that because I know your jobs, having seen these operations, don't leave too much room for speeches, after all. Also on a ship you can't stand still for long. Anything that doesn't move gets painted, as I remember it. [Laughter] I can tell fresh paint when I've seen it, but thanks for the welcome anyway.

I know, too, that some of you have meals to eat. Frankly, I'd like to get Chairman Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is like. [Laughter] Maybe not. [Laughter] What I'm trying to do is ease tensions. [Laughter]

No, we had a great meal down there. But I know—I'll be brief because I know there are other priorities, like getting ready, as America is, for a certain football event next Saturday. Just this morning I was talking with a "BB stacker." And I told him I hope my meeting with Chairman Gorbachev means that fierce adversaries will never again clash on the field of battle. He said, "You mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game?" [Laughter]

Well, I'm not. And I know that next Saturday Americans will be rooting for both sides, just like nearly half a century ago, in this very part of the Mediterranean, young sailors like yourselves were taking sides on different circumstances. For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, they were aided by the Armed Forces of America and her allies, daring greatly, fighting valiantly, so that freedom could prevail. And for more than two centuries now, the Navy has been a defender of that freedom. Proclaiming the inevitability of democracy. Living on "the tip of the spear." Think back: Nimitz and Halsey, Commodore Perry, battles like Midway and Leyte Gulf and the battle of the Philippine Sea, and of America's enlisted men and women who expressed our deepest values and our character as a people.

I met with Mr. Akhromeyev of the Soviet Union, the former Defense Minister in charge of all the military. And the thing he commented on was the quality and the ability of the enlisted men and women in the service of the United States, particularly in the Navy, because he had an opportunity to go out and visit on one of the ships.

I'm a Navy man—or was. And I confess that certain things haven't changed since I joined up as a seaman second class. I assume that maids still come into the quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. [Laughter] And I know you have "gator," "snipes," and "grapes." You know, I love this. Let's hear it from the "grapes." Well, there are not many of them around. [Applause] You know, I love this navy jargon. I'm sometimes tempted to use it there at the White House. It's just that some of the Congressmen might be a little leery if I asked them to join me for "mid'rats."

al down there. But  
ause I know there  
getting ready, as  
football event next  
ning I was talking  
I told him I hope  
airman Gorbachev  
arsaries will never  
of battle. He said,  
g to negotiate an  
game?" [Laughter]  
now that next Sat-  
e rooting for both  
lf a century ago, in  
diterranean, young  
ere taking sides on  
For on Malta itself,  
ired savage attack,  
e Armed Forces of  
laring greatly, fight-  
edom could prevail.  
centuries now, the  
er of that freedom.  
ibility of democracy.  
the spear." Think  
alsey, Commodore  
ay and Leyte Gulf  
ilippine Sea, and of  
nd women who ex-  
ies and our charac-

neyev of the Soviet  
efense Minister in  
y. And the thing he  
quality and the abil-  
and women in the  
ates, particularly in  
d an opportunity to  
f the ships.

was. And I confess  
n't changed since I  
in second class. I  
come into the quar-  
nd leave a mint on  
nd I know you have  
grapes." You know,  
from the "grapes."  
ny of them around.

I love this navy  
tempted to use it  
ouse. It's just that  
en might be a little  
n to join me for

And then there's the sailors' zest for off-duty hours. That, too, endures. I hear by the grapevine that you missed a few days of liberty sitting off the coast of France in bad weather. And far be it from me to criticize the exuberance that you showed when you finally hit town. [Laughter] Don't worry, I can repair and be sure that our good relations with France are restored again. [Laughter]

Some things haven't changed. It's true that my generation was charged with winning a war and yours is charged with preserving a peace, but both want to protect freedom. And that hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace—the peace which lasts—is not an accident. Lasting peace takes planning and patience and personal sacrifice. And it takes a partnership with our allies, who are resolute in the defense of liberty. Lasting peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military; and from nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, make temporary peace permanent. Those lessons helped our generation win World War II; and today they bring me, and I believe Chairman Gorbachev, too, to our 2 days of talks—a meeting for your generation and all the generations to come.

There's a painting in the White House, upstairs in the little office I have there. It portrays the decency and humanity of one of our greatest leaders. I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents. And I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln with two generals and an admiral meeting on a boat near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, in this picture, the battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow—symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? The Peacemakers.

For me, and I think for Barbara, too, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph and that ours can be a future free of both tyranny and fear. Our fellow democracies share our hope for such a future. We want the Soviet Union, posed—we've been adversaries; now we want the Soviet Union to join us in building that kind of future. And that's why I'm meeting, starting tomorrow, with Chair-

man Gorbachev. For the times are on the side of peace. And there are important reasons why that's true.

One of them is that 40 years ago the NATO alliance was formed in the hope that freedom would one day belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for freedom. Because NATO remained vigilant, strong, and united, this meeting is taking place.

And the alliance has been strengthened by America's enduring commitment to its protection. America has been, and remains, a shining champion of liberty. And because of that, this meeting is taking place.

And finally, this meeting is taking place because you have done your jobs; you have done your duty. And you and sailors like you all around the world have kept us strong and helped the horizons of democracy eclipse nation and race. Because of you, freedom is sweeping the globe. Our meeting here off Malta will last 2 days, but the freedoms that we seek must last for generations.

You know, with these recent and extraordinary changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe, I've been thinking of those freedoms. And at no time—no time—more than when that Berlin Wall began to crumble, began to open. And I remember how, shortly after that—maybe you guys saw it on the television, the breaking of the wall—right after that, Chancellor Kohl, Federal Republic of Germany, called me at the White House. And he asked me to thank each American and said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would not be occurring without the steadfast support of the United States.

Warm praise from a good friend, praise which belongs to you. And I recalled that conversation when last week the Foreign Minister of Germany, Mr. Genscher, came to see Secretary [of State] Baker and me. He visited the White House, and he praised our devotion to freedom. And he gave me a gift for the American people, and it's a piece of the Berlin Wall. And it's on my desk as a reminder of the power of freedom—freedom to bring down the walls between people.

Fellow Navy men, I treasure that memento. And it shows what can happen when Americans stick to their principles.

And we will not yield on those principles. And yet we all recognize a dynamic new Soviet leader willing, as Lincoln said, to think anew; and we want him to succeed because we do admire the people in the Soviet Union and we know that ours is an historic opportunity to foster the peace.

So, I thought I would give to *Forrestal* a symbol of peace. It, too, comes from the Berlin Wall and embodies this weekend spirit of cooperation. It shows how we can be peacemakers. And on behalf of each American, let me say it now belongs to you. I want to hand to your able captain to put on display here on this ship this little piece of the Berlin Wall as a symbol of the peace that we seek, the peace that you have helped make possible. Captain, I present this to you.

Let me close then with a moment that not many of you here are old enough to remember, but which wrote a glorious page in American history. It was on D-day as Dwight Eisenhower addressed the sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force. He said: "You're about to embark upon a great crusade. The eyes of the world are on you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you." And then Ike spoke this moving prayer: "Let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking." Like the men of D-day, you, too, are the hope of "liberty-loving people everywhere," as the Navy has been in wartime and in peacetime, keeping our hearts aflight and our faith unyielding, sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep in theirs.

Today the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you and those who have gone before you have done to keep America's defenses up. And so, thank you for that, for writing still-new pages in the history of America and of her Navy. God bless you, God bless our "great and noble undertaking," and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. in the hangar bay of the U.S.S. "Forrestal." In his remarks, he referred to Capt. Louis E. Thomassy, Jr., commanding officer of the U.S.S. "Forrestal"; Adm. Jonathan T. Howe,*

*commander in chief of U.S. naval forces in Europe; Vice Adm. James D. Williams, commander of the U.S. 6th Fleet; and Rear Adm. Richard C. Allen, commander of Carrier Group 6. Prior to his remarks, the President visited the flight deck control, watched aircraft launch and recovery demonstrations, and had lunch with crewmembers in the enlisted men's mess. After his stay on the U.S.S. "Forrestal," the President went to the U.S.S. "Belknap," his residence during his meetings with Chairman Gorbachev.*

**Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meetings With Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union at Malta**  
*December 1, 1989*

President Bush was very impressed by his reception on the *Forrestal*. As a former naval officer, he relished the enthusiasm of the crew and also identified with the naval aviators. Onboard Marine One, from the *Forrestal* to the *Belknap*, the President received another update from General Scowcroft on the status of the situation in the Philippines. General Scowcroft said that President Aquino feels her situation is improving. The government forces had retaken one of the airfields. Other trouble spots were being cleaned up. However, at that time, it must be said that the coup attempt was still in progress.

On the *Belknap*, the President went immediately to his quarters, Room NTD 02-78-2, the admiral's quarters. A new brass plaque had been placed on the door reading, "President Bush." The President's quarters include three rooms: an office and lounging area, a bedroom with double bed and lounge chair, and a conference room. The suite has a deep blue carpet, blue leather furniture, and a mahogany desk with U.S. and Soviet flags in the same holder. The small office area also includes a coffeemaker, three telephones, a desk pen set on a brass submarine, pictures of the fleet under full steam, and other photographs of Adm. J.D. Williams with his friends. President Bush exchanged his suit

## THE PEACEMAKERS

The Peacemakers by George Peter Alexander Healy (1813-1894). Oil on canvas, 1868. This scene depicts a meeting late in the Civil War between President Abraham Lincoln and (left-to-right) Major-General William T. Sherman, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, and Rear-Admiral David D. Porter. On March 27 and 28, 1865, these leaders met aboard the River Queen, the steamer which had brought the Lincolns to Grant's headquarters on the James River during the siege of Richmond, Virginia. They discussed the favorable prospects for a speedy peace, which engendered Healy's title and inclusion of an optimistic rainbow in the cabin window. The likeness of Lincoln in this group portrait, painted in Rome, closely resembles Healy's 1869 portrait of the president which currently hangs in the State Dining Room. Healy is also represented in the White House collection by six other presidential portraits.

U.S. Government Purchase. 947.2558.1

---

On last night's Prime Time Live White House tour, the President pointed out this painting to Diane Sawyer. It hangs in his office in the residence. He is the first president to use this room as an office -- until this time it has been known as the "Treaty Room." The painting has been hanging there since the Kennedy Administration (1961).

President Bush described the horror of the Civil War, and pointed to the rainbow peeking through the window -- "a symbol of hope" or the "light at the end of the tunnel" for these "peacemakers."

The Curator's Office told me that the city of Richmond fell while Lincoln was on the River Queen, and he went on to visit the city, symbolizing the end of the war.

E300 Lincoln, Abraham, Pres. U.S., 1809-1865.

.4  
.L51

WH

# ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

## His Speeches and Writings.



EDITED WITH CRITICAL AND ANALYTICAL NOTES

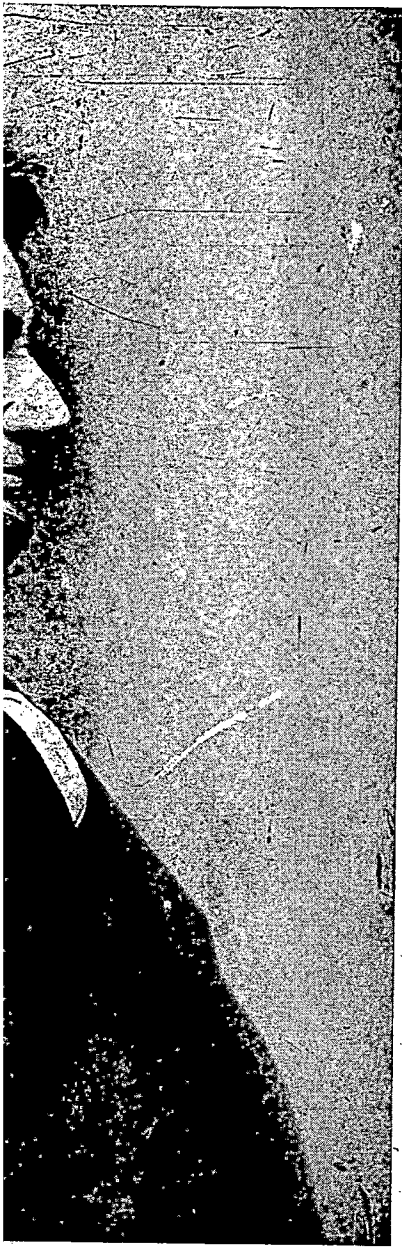
BY Roy P. Basler, AUTHOR OF "THE LINCOLN LEGEND"

PREFACE BY Carl Sandburg



THE WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY

*Cleveland and New York*



ew B. Brady on February 9,  
in making his design for the  
in the Meserve Collection.

The South would be in no more danger in this respect, than it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is *right*, and ought to be extended; while we think it is *wrong* and ought to be restricted. That I suppose is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us.

Yours very truly  
A. Lincoln

*At the time of this letter Stephens was still supporting the Union, but when Georgia seceded on January 17, 1861—in spite of Stephens's efforts—his loyalty went with his State.*

FAREWELL ADDRESS AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS  
FEBRUARY 11, 1861

My Friends:

No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

*The text of this address is from the Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln. The manuscript is purported to be in the Robert Lincoln Collection in the Library of Congress. According to Nicolay's account in Abraham Lincoln: A History, Vol. III, p. 291 n., it was written out on the train after the departure from Springfield, partly by Lincoln and partly by Nicolay from Lincoln's dictation.*

*In view of Lincoln's general style, most of the differences between this version and the versions printed in newspapers at the time seem to be differences which Lincoln would have brought about in writing it out. This version tends to enhance the alliterative sequences and to strengthen the rhythm pattern, both of which are apparent even in the newspaper versions. This is entirely in keeping with Lincoln's usual practice.*

*Of the several newspaper versions, two are interesting for purposes of comparison. The first is the version which was published in the Illinois State Journal, February 12, 1861, and the second is the version of a contemporary broadside, published by the American News Company of New York, which is in all but a few marks of punctuation identical with the version which appeared in Harper's Weekly and various eastern newspapers. The two versions are as follows:*

*"Friends:*

*"No one who has never been placed in a like position, can understand my feelings at this hour, nor the oppressive sadness I feel at this parting. For more than a quarter of a century I have lived among you, and during all that time I have received nothing but kindness at your hands. Here I have lived from my youth until now I am an old man. Here the most sacred ties of earth were assumed; here all my children were born; and here one of them lies buried. To you, dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All the strange, chequered past seems*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

danger in this respect, than  
pose, however, this does not  
*right*, and ought to be ex-  
and ought to be restricted.  
is the only substantial dif-

Yours very truly  
A. Lincoln

*Stephens was still support-  
Georgia seceded on January  
his efforts—his loyalty went*

ANGFIELD, ILLINOIS

I appreciate my feeling of  
and the kindness of these  
I have lived a quarter of a cen-  
I am an old man. Here my chil-  
I. I now leave, not knowing  
with a task before me greater  
ton. Without the assistance  
led him, I cannot succeed.  
trusting in Him who can go  
everywhere for good, let us  
well. To His care commend-  
will commend me, I bid you

*to crowd now upon my mind. To-day I leave you; I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon general Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him, shall be with and aid me, I must fail. But if the same omniscient mind, and Almighty arm that directed and protected him, shall guide and support me, I shall not fail, I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To him I commend you all—permit me to ask that with equal security and faith, you all will invoke His wisdom and guidance for me. With these few words I must leave you—for how long I know not. Friends, one and all, I must now bid you an affectionate farewell.”*

*“My Friends:*

*“No one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century; here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support, and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again I bid you an affectionate farewell.”*

Ret.  
F204  
.W5S4  
v. 2  
WH

The  
PRESIDENT'S  
HOUSE

---

A History

---

by  
*William Seale*

White House Historical Association  
with the cooperation of the National Geographic Society  
Washington, D.C.  
and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York

of world history, was surprised in the fireplace burning letters. They though their years together, especially couldn't be doing that," Truman said

d them several times." said.

ruined her work.<sup>3</sup>

ing

2 years of hard use had made the western half of the second floor personal belongings were removed; the walls, where they had shielded

Some of the draperies had rotted, furrowed by paths that had once

During the Roosevelt occupancy was less of Hyde Park or any other old of furnishings. It was part of a total ces feel wholly at home and often less. For example, when her study s. Roosevelt had demanded that a thick groupings of framed photo-hat they could be put back exactly

Truman had lived in an old house all rested in autobiographical clutter. the rundown look of the White en it some thought, but her hustle time to carry out any ideas she e end of the war and the return of invited Mrs. Harold I. Pratt to the d her for ideas on how the state lent's death had ended this effort, mans.

White House in the spring of 1945, ould ultimately make on it. Coping President, he and his family were use with some degree of comfort.

Howell Crim assigned to the task his chief assistant, J. B. West, a small, engaging man who had come to the White House shortly before Pearl Harbor. Himself a Midwesterner, West was delighted with Mrs. Truman and eager to please her. He liked her directness and gentle charm, but was embarrassed to show her the White House, which, he said, looked like an "abandoned hotel."<sup>4</sup>

The \$50,000 appropriation usual to each administration since Coolidge's time had not been touched by Mrs. Roosevelt. Mrs. Truman decided to make do for the time. With West, she selected furnishings from many rooms and assembled them in the family quarters. Washing the white woodwork and painting the walls was her solution to the general seediness. She selected soft colors: lavender and gray for her bedroom and study, the southwest rooms used also by Mrs. Roosevelt; green and blue for the President's room; with beige for the oval room. The Lincoln bed was taken down the hall to the Lincoln Study, which now became the Lincoln Bedroom. The traditional Lincoln Suite on the northwest was reborn as Margaret Truman's sitting room and bedroom, the former Wedgwood blue and the latter raspberry pink.<sup>5</sup>

Mrs. Truman ordered the restoration of Mrs. Hoover's Monroe Room, with all the reproductions of President Monroe's furniture which Mrs. Roosevelt had moved out. This was perhaps to please Herbert Hoover, who was invited by the President to the White House late in May, his first visit since his bitter departure 12 years before. New window hangings and bedspreads arrived from Keith & Company, a decorating firm Mrs. Truman knew in Kansas City. The reupholstering, where necessary, was done in Washington, some of it by employees of the National Park Service. Mrs. Truman said she wanted to move on May 8, the President's birthday, so the rush was on. From their apartment the Trumans moved only their piano and their clothing.

## The Bomb

On the morning of May 8, President Harry S. Truman awoke for the first time in the White House. The previous several days had brought continuing news of the German surrender to the British on May 4 and to the Americans on May 7. Early in the morning of the 8th Truman received word that the Germans had surrendered to the Russians, completing the capitulation of the Third Reich. That morning he wrote to his mother, "This will be an historical day. At 9:00 this morning I must make a broadcast to the country announcing the German surrender. The papers were signed yesterday morning and hostilities will cease

# TIME<sup>®</sup>



"The White House  
is a bully pulpit"

Theodore  
Roosevelt

## The American Presidents

*It can all be condensed into a single sentence, and that sentence you will find in Gray's Elegy—  
"the short and simple annals of the poor." That's my life, and that's all you or anyone else can make of it.*

# Abraham Lincoln

The President's body was too long for the bed, and his feet dangled over the end. His right eye was black. His breathing was swift and shallow, and occasionally he moaned. Mary Todd Lincoln was brought into the room; she stood wordless for a few moments and was led out again. At 7:22:10 on the morning of April 15, 1865, the President's chest heaved, then relaxed and did not move again. Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes pressed his ear against the chest, straightened, took two silver coins from his vest pocket and placed them upon the President's eyelids. War Secretary Edwin M. Stanton, who was to become the marplot of the succeeding Administration, had been standing at the foot of the bed, hat in hand. "Now," said Stanton, "he belongs to the ages."

Abraham Lincoln had belonged to all humanity, but to no man. To some, he was Honest Abe or Old Abe or Father Abraham. To others, he was the Rail Splitter or the Great Emancipator. To still others, in the rages of his day, he was the Abolition Emperor or the Orangutan at the White House. In 1963, on the 40th anniversary of its founding, TIME portrayed Lincoln on its cover and wrote: "He was neither a rebel nor a conservative, but a conserver. He was no artist, except in using public language and in using men. His life was an infinitely varied mixture of leading and following, conforming and defying. He could temporize, compromise and maneuver. But he always held to his own vision and met the exacting definition of an individual set down by French Philosopher Georges Bernanos: 'A man who gives himself or refuses himself, but never lends himself.' Above all, Lincoln was an individual in the special double sense that Americans attribute to the word—the common man who is yet uncommon."

His native soil was the dirt floor of the 18 ft.-by-16 ft. log cabin in backwoods Kentucky, where he was born on a bed of cornhusks and bearskins at a time when, far over the horizon, Thomas Jefferson was just winding up his second term as President. His common blood was that of Thomas Lincoln, a carpenter, and of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, the illegitimate daughter of someone later described by Lincoln as "a nobelman so called of Virginia." Lincoln's boyhood and early maturity have become part of American folklore, as familiar (and far more authentic) to every schoolchild as Parson Weems' story of George Washington and the cherry tree, which was, incidentally, one of the works read by the young Lincoln in the glimmering light of his wood-shavings fire. He seemed contradictory. He was the tall teller of droll tales, some of them spun in moments of considerable discouragement. He was the self-taught lawyer who, since he had no files, kept his papers in his hat. He was the brash bumpkin legislator who sauntered across a ballroom and said to Mary Todd, a vivacious girl of good family: "Miss Todd, I want to dance with you in the worst way." He was the reluctant groom backing out of marriage at the last moment, then spending more than a year in deep, almost suicidal gloom.

But more than anything else, he was, in the noblest meaning of the word, a politician—a mediator between individual dreams and human realities, devoted and determined without being dogmatic, a man who could give without bending and bend without breaking. Herein lay his consistency.

Running for the Illinois assembly in 1832, he introduced himself to the electorate by saying, "I am humble Abraham Lincoln." He lost, but won two years later, and it was in the state legislature that Abraham Lincoln declared himself on slavery. The institution, he said, was "founded on both injustice and bad policy." Twenty-three years later, he could note that his original idea was pretty much "the same that it is now."

Lincoln was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in

1846 and immediately set about demanding that President Polk cite the exact spot on which the first provocation of the Mexican War had taken place; for this, he won from a partisan press the nickname "Spotty" Lincoln. He left Congress after only one term, convinced that he had been a failure and that he was through with politics.

Slavery changed his mind. When he heard that Illinois' Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas had proposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which made the extension of slavery into those territories a matter of popular vote, Lincoln hit the stump, offering passion in Peoria: "I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world..." He ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1855, and in 1858 received the Senate nomination of the fledgling Republican Party. He laboriously composed his acceptance speech, and one passage received strong criticism from his friends ("A damn fool utterance," said one). But Lincoln delivered it anyway: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of face-to-face debates—there were seven of them—and although he lost that election the debates propelled Abraham Lincoln onto the national scene, resulting in his nomination for President in 1860.

Abraham Lincoln—Civil War President. Worry followed by anxiety followed by anguish. When troops were slow to arrive for the defense of Washington: "Why don't they come? Why don't they come!" Later: "The bottom is out of the tub. What shall I do?" After Chancellorsville, a murderous Union defeat: "My God! My God! What will the country say? What will the country say?" He went through general after general, a litany of failure: McDowell, McClellan, Pope, McClellan again, Burnside, Hooker, Meade. None satisfied his or the nation's needs. He had a political, not a military mind, but he read up on strategy and tactics. He made many mistakes, but he came to know one thing: it was the army of Robert E. Lee, not the piece of real estate that was Richmond, the Confederate capital, that must be destroyed. To this end, he finally chose as his commander in chief Ulysses S. Grant, on the simple premise that "he fights." Grant did the job. With his help, Lincoln was re-elected President in 1864.

Throughout the war, in moments of victory and of defeat, Lincoln could take pride in America's past and find hope for its future. After the turning point at Gettysburg, he spoke at the dedication there of the cemetery for Union war dead. Legend would have it that he dashed off his remarks on the back of an envelope while on the train to the scene. Not so. He worked hard on the talk, writing and revising. But its words are engraved in American history: "Four score and seven years ago..."

Abraham Lincoln had always been a lover of such diversions as theater: "I must have a change of some sort or die." And so, only five days after Appomattox, he and Mary Todd Lincoln went to Ford's Theater in Washington to view a performance of *Our American Cousin*. It was there that he became the first U.S. President to be assassinated. His killer, John Wilkes Booth, leaped to the stage crying, "*Sic semper tyrannis.*" Little did his enflamed mind understand that he was to bring down the scourge of a vindictive Reconstruction upon the South he loved. For Abraham Lincoln had had in mind an understanding peace aimed at bringing the Union together again. When a Union general had asked the President how he should treat the people of the defeated South, Lincoln replied: "If I were in your place, I'd let'em up easy, let'em up easy."

# The Inaugural Story

1789-1969

Created and Produced by  
The Editors of AMERICAN HERITAGE MAGAZINE  
and THE 1969 INAUGURAL BOOK COMMITTEE

needing development"; and out-Wilsonian Woodrow Wilson by asserting, "Only by helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves can the human family achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people."

The world was as turbulent as it had been after World War I; and in contrast to America's inactivity abroad then, the nation seemed to be involved everywhere. This new role was difficult to understand, and real and imagined threats from abroad and from within created a current of uneasiness and fear in the United States. There was no man better equipped to reassure the nation in its unfamiliar new posture than the one who took the oath of office in 1953.

"We sense with all our faculties that forces of good and evil are massed and armed and opposed as rarely before in history," said President Eisenhower after being sworn into office by Chief Justice Fred Vinson: "At such a time in history, we who are free must proclaim anew our faith. . . . Freedom is pitted against slavery; lightness against the dark. . . . We must be willing, individually and as a Nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. . . . Patriotism means equipped forces and a prepared citizenry. Moral stamina means more energy and more productivity, on the farm and in the factory. Love of liberty means the guarding of every resource that makes freedom possible—from the sanctity of our families and the wealth of our soil to the genius of our scientists. . . ."

Eisenhower guided the United States through a tumultuous period while maintaining a national atmosphere of placidness. By 1960, however, a younger America, its memory of hot war dulling, its patience with cold war diminishing, looked to a different sort of leadership, appropriate for a different sort of time.

"Let the word go forth from this time and place," announced John Kennedy in 1961, voicing the new attitude, "to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of their ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world." In an appeal to the nation's allies and competitors, Kennedy asked for new explorations of differences, formulations of "precise proposals" for arms control, exchanges of arts and trade, cooperation in space ventures. "All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished

in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin."

Kennedy was murdered, and within a year, Lyndon Johnson had been given his own mandate—by an unprecedented 61 per cent of the popular vote—to continue to seek the aims of Kennedy's New Frontier, which, in the Johnson version, became the Great Society. Fittingly, at the 1965 inauguration, Johnson began his address not with a plea for national unity, but with a statement that the nation was in fact united:

"My fellow countrymen, on this occasion, the oath I have taken before you and before God, is not mine alone, but ours together. We are one nation and one people. Our fate as a nation and our future as a people rest not upon one citizen, but upon all citizens." Asserting that modern times had created a world in which "there are possibilities enough for all who will abandon mastery over others to pursue mastery over nature," the President asked for rejection of "any among us who seek to reopen old wounds and to rekindle old hatreds. They stand in the way of a seeking nation. . . . For the hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without strife, to achieve change without hatred—not without difference of opinion, but without the deep and abiding divisions which scar the union for generations."

There is something remarkable, indefinably effective about the inauguration as a tool of healing, even though the cure may not itself be long-lasting. It is as if Americans learn again, each four years, that they are one people, and are grateful for the event. Four years after Lyndon Johnson had received his record-breaking mandate, the nation was wounded, torn by strife and hatreds, old and new, scarred by its deep divisions. But the year ended, and a new year began, and twenty days later a new President spoke to his countrymen and to "my fellow citizens of the world community:

"I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free."

An instant made the nation whole. The wounds were bound; only time would tell if they were healed.

*With the unfinished Capitol dome as a brooding backdrop and in an emotional atmosphere suffused with premonitions of tragedy, Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office in March, 1861. Overleaf: President Dwight D. Eisenhower's second swearing-in was held on the kind of gray-tinged day that Americans have come to associate with an inaugural.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           CHRISS WINSTON <sup>SBC for CD</sup>

FROM:               CURT SMITH

I.    SUMMARY

On Sunday, January 7, at 5:00 p.m., in the State Dining Room, you will introduce Professor David Donald, the first speaker in a series of lectures on the Presidency. The subject of the first lecture will be Abraham Lincoln. About 100 people will attend.

II.   DISCUSSION

The attached remarks (6 minutes, speechcards) discuss Lincoln in personal and Presidential terms -- particularly, his kinship with every President. The text also refers to the career of the Lincoln lecturer, Professor Donald of Harvard University.

(Smith/Blessey)  
Draft Two  
January 4, 1990  
INC

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LINCOLN LECTURE  
STATE DINING ROOM  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 1990  
5:00 P.M.

*Chairman*  
*Sect. Cheney, As Cheney, Mrs Donald*

Professor Donald, [ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO COME], Ladies and gentlemen. Barbara and I want to welcome you to the White House. It is indeed a privilege to be with you. And to host this lecture on the Presidency of the United States.

This is the first in a series of lectures on the men who've held this office. It seeks to make them come alive. What were they like? How did they live? How was the history of America's House molded by their dreams?

To occupy this office is to ask those questions -- and to feel a kinship with my predecessors. For each in his own way sought to do right, and thus achieve good. **Each** felt a sacred trust with **every** American. And often wondered, I suspect, how they could be **worthy** of that trust.

Perhaps no President had greater doubts -- nor more brilliantly resolved them -- than the subject of this inaugural lecture: Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

As President, Lincoln abolished slavery. He saved the Union. Perhaps no leader has been so severely tested -- before, or since. And yet we remember Abe Lincoln not merely for what he **did**. We revere him for what he **was**.

Lincoln was a strong man -- an arm-wrestler, a rail-splitter. Yet also a mix of kindness and humility. He was at once a hard and gentle person -- a man of grief, and yet of humor. For he knew, as he told Secretary of State Seward, that if he did not tell stories, he felt his heart would break.

Tonight, we have here a man who will doubtless tell some stories. His name is David Donald -- the Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University.

A native of Mississippi, Mr. Donald graduated from the University of Illinois, where he was a student of the great Lincoln scholar, J.G. Randall. He has taught at some of America's greatest universities -- and has written eight books about Lincoln and the Civil War -- twice, receiving the Pulitzer Prize in biography. Moreover, our guest is now working on a new biography of America's 16th President.

Earlier, I spoke of kinship. Well -- I'm sure David Donald would agree -- any President's kinship with Lincoln is perhaps the most personal of all.

So often I pass the Lincoln Bedroom which then served as Lincoln's Cabinet Room and office. On his desk, to the left of the fireplace, is an original copy of the Gettysburg Address. And on the mantle is a plaque marking an equally noble legacy. Here, the Great Unifier signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

Yet perhaps nowhere do we learn more about Lincoln, even now, than in a portrait that I talked about last month off the coast of Malta before meeting Chairman Gorbachev. It is by

George Healy, and hangs on the wall of my study. In it you see the agony, and the greatness, of a man who nightly fell on his knees to ask the help of God.

The painting shows Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? **The Peacemakers.**

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours can be the future that Lincoln gave his life for -- a future free of both tyranny and fear.

One hundred and twenty-nine years ago, leaving Springfield to assume the Presidency, Lincoln addressed his home people at the Great Western Railway Station. He told them: "All the strange checkered past seems to crowd now upon my mind."

Even now, the memory of Abraham Lincoln crowds upon our minds. It is a great privilege, then, to introduce a man who has devoted his lifetime to the study of its tragedy and its glory. One of the great scholars of perhaps our greatest President. Professor David Donald.

# # # #

[AFTER SPEECH] Thank you, Professor Donald. And now, won't all of you join David, Barbara, and me for supper in the East Room?

Perhaps no President had greater doubts -- nor more brilliantly resolved them -- than the man we are here to honor: Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

As President, Lincoln abolished slavery. He saved the Union. By acting extraordinarily of times of peril, he preserved for future generations the canons of democracy. And yet ~~he is~~ the Everest of American Presidents not merely for what he did. We revere Abe Lincoln for what he was.

Lincoln was a strong man -- an arm-wrestler, a rail-splitter. And yet a man of patience and forbearance. A man of kindness and character. // And yet a politician. // He was a hard and gentle man, ~~who invested his office with majesty and dignity.~~ A man of grief, and yet of humor. For he knew, as he told Secretary of War Steward, that "If I did not tell stories, I feel my heart would break."

Let me tell you a story. A stranger once found Lincoln in the street with two of his sons. Both of them were sobbing uncontrollably.

"Whatever is the matter with the boys, Mr. Lincoln?" the stranger asked. Lincoln sighed, then observed, "Just what's the matter with the world. I've got three walnuts, and each wants two."

Yes, all Presidents have been pulled in countless directions. Lincoln more than any. And yet not only did he comfort his two sons. He comforted the Nation. And by acting