

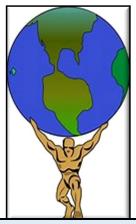
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"For years I attempted to work out the theoretical underpinnings of an ideal U.S. foreign policy. I found it difficult to advance much beyond Abraham Lincoln's hope that our country would be not the terror but the encourager of the world . . ."

Henry S. Reuss, When Government Was Good: Memories of a Life in Politics

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Molders of Republics

Eamon De Valera, Abraham Lincoln, and the Commonality of Nationalists

by Patrick C. McCarty

Eamon de Valera and Abraham Lincoln may not appear to have much in common. One, Lincoln was born in rural Kentucky in 1809, while the other, de Valera, was born in the cosmopolitan urban dwelling of New York City seventy-three years later, 1882. Lincoln only lived to be fifty-six, dying from an assassin's bullet in 1865, while de Valera lived to the ripe old age of ninety -two, dying of natural causes in 1975. Though these two political titans of the 19th and 20th centuries may not appear to have many similarities, both Honest Abe and Dev had considerable things in common, especially as they related to their being molders and crafters of their respective republics. This article will demonstrate and outline the similarities, differences, and legacies of America's sixteenth President and Ireland's first Taoiseach.

Though Lincoln was not a member of the founding generation, he nevertheless had much to do with the restructuring or re-establishing of the United States during and after the Civil War. Prior to the Lincoln election in 1860 and the subsequent Civil War, the United States was a loose configuration of states with a very minimal and weak central government. The executives or presidents had been very weak and state governments had more power and authority over the daily lives of the citizens of the United States. Lincoln's ideology was one of economic nationalism and a belief in a strong central government for the benefit of infrastructure, manufacturing, industry, commerce, and education. Lincoln, unlike the Democratic Party of the 19th century, sub-scribed to the notion that the federal government could be a useful object in molding and shaping an informed and sophisticated populace by subsidizing projects such as the construction of railroads, canals, and the establishment and funding of universities to improve the condition of the average citizen. In effect, Lincoln was a nationalist, both in terms of economic policy and the notion of what essentially constitutes a nation. He and his successors were ultimately vindicated in reinforcing what it means to be an American while emphasizing the importance of national identity.

Eamon de Valera was one of the most interesting and certainly consequential figures in Irish history and among the leaders of nations in the 20th century. Unlike Lincoln, he is one of the founding fathers of his nation, the Republic of Ireland. Though born in America to the son of an Irish mother and Spanish father, he was raised in Brulee County Limerick, Ireland. He participated in the Gaelic revival movement of the turn of the last century and was active in the Easter Rising of 1916. It is speculated that he was not executed, unlike the others who participated, due to his being an American by birth. It was fate that de Valera was spared and that he would become the most successful and impactful political leader the Republic of Ireland would have to date. He was the indispensable man for the Republic of Ireland and essentially had a stranglehold on Irish politics for nearly half a century. His politics, like Lincoln's, were oriented toward nationalism, economic self-sufficiency, and dirigisme, economic doctrine in which the state plays a strong directive role. The rise of his political party, Fianna Fail, would result in the domination of the Party of de Valera for nearly seventy years, with only a few periods of political control by the opposition party, Fine Gael. In this, both de Valera and Lincoln forged political coalitions which manifested in multi-decade long control and influence over their respective nations.

What was de Valera's opinion of Lincoln and how influential was Lincoln in de Valera's political outlook and philosophy? When speaking on radio broadcast on February 12, 1933, Lincoln's one hundred twenty fourth birthday, de Valera said of Lincoln, "the veneration in which Abraham Lincoln is held by the American people is shared in no small measure by the people of Ireland." de Valera would proceed in emphasizing the need for Irish unity like that of Lincoln and the American Republic. "It is especially as the defender of American unity that the memory of Lincoln is cherished in Ireland". De Valera would go on to stress the importance of political unity within the framework of the Republic of Ireland and comparing it to struggle of the American union during its Civil War. De Valera would also say, "Ireland is more than a political institutions, in territory." The parallels between the American Civil War of 1861-65 and that of the Irish Civil of 1922-23 resulted in both nations fundamentally being transformed into political manifestations of the vision of Lincoln and de Valera. Though Lincoln would not live to see the conclusion of the American Civil War and de Valera would take political power a decade beyond the Irish Civil War, both figures were the most transformational for their respective nations.

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De Valera strongly advocated an economic policy of protectionism and self-sufficiency like that of Lincoln. Under de Valera's leadership, the Republic of Ireland imposed tariffs on a wide range of imported goods, mainly from Britain. De Valera's economic policy of tariffs and other protectionism measures resembled those of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party of the 19th century. Lincoln considered himself a Henry Clay Whig and an adherent to the American system of political development devised by Clay and his followers. The concept behind Lincoln's economic philosophy was to promote self-sufficiency and modernization in agriculture, industry, manufacturing, and commerce. De Valera was very much attempting to implement the same vision by not relying on British imports to promote self-sufficiency and economic independence for the fledgling Irish Free State and later Republic.

The contrasts that exist within the political frameworks of de Valera and Lincoln and what they advocated are quite remarkable. The question arises, how are Abraham Lincoln and Eamon de Valera to be defined politically? Are they conservative? Are they liberal? The answer is that their politics are ambiguous and not easily defined or characterized. Both Lincoln and de Valera had conservative and liberal qualities and instincts. Lincoln started his career off as a relatively conservative Whig politician from the Midwest who adopted a moderate or restrained view of slavery and how to approach the great moral question of the era. Lincoln was an accommodationist who though thoroughly abhorred the institution of slavery, nevertheless felt the Constitution gave the president no authority to abolish the institution. His principal opposition to slavery corresponded with the expansion of the institution into western territories, not its abolition. Lincoln therefore was a politician who melded the better qualities of liberal innovation and imagination with conservative restraint and prudence. Such political phenomenon caused consternation among hardliners on both the left and right. Similarly, de Valera evolved over time from political revolutionary and young idealist to a cultural, social, and political conservative and traditionalist. It should not come as a surprise that de Valera had serious critics on both the political right and left much like those of Lincoln. In essence, Lincoln and De Valera were both *sui generis* politically, thus cannot be characterized from the context of the traditional left/right paradigm.

De Valera and Lincoln were two men forged by destiny and fate. They were wo transfor-

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mational leaders for their respective nations. Both were tall and impressive with keen intellects and a driving sense of purpose and destiny, two of the greatest and most consequential leaders of the 19th and 20th centuries for their republics and peoples. As mentioned at the beginning of the article, the two may not appear to have much in common but rest assured, both Abe and Dev inevitably altered the trajectory of their countries through strong and forceful leadership, political prudence, imagination, innovation, and a constructive concoction of conservatism and liberalism, thus bringing the United States of America and the Republic of Ireland into the modern world while simultaneously stressing the importance and essentiality of political, economic, and cultural unity. Both the U.S. and Ireland, and indeed the world, are eternally fortunate for their existence and the enormity of their contributions. Hail, Columbia and Erin Go Bragh!

Patrick C. McCarty is an Administrative Assistant at the William J. Flynn Center for Irish Studies at the University of St. Thomas



Eamon de Valera

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A 1970s street sign from Jerusalem purchased in an antique shop in Hadera, Israel by Dr. Jason H Silverman, co-editor of *Abraham Lincoln Abroad*. (Photo by owner.) There are two cities in Israel bearing Lincoln's name. The other street sign is in Haifa with an old sunbleached sign on a short dead-end street!

The text reads:

1809-1865, 16th president of the USA. Northern states leader of the Civil War that broke out due to the proclamation of the slave liberation.

Written in Hebrew, Arabic, and English.

Photograph provided by Jason H. Silverman, Ellison Capers Palmer, Jr. Professor of History, Winthrop University



Stained-glass gift of Abraham Lincoln presented to H. Guy Chester from the Trustees of Muswell Hill Church, London, England, 1937. Purchased in an antique shop in South Yorkshire, England by Dr. Jason H Silverman, co-editor of *Abraham, Lincoln Abroad*. (Photo by owner.)

In the 1930s Chester commissioned two well-known local stained-glass artists from Birmingham, Nora Boxall and Elsie Whitford to create nine stained-glass windows for the Muswell Hill Church, one of which featured Abraham Lincoln. Chester was extremely interested in Lincoln and had read as much as he could about the sixteenth president.

In return for his generosity, the Church Trustees commissioned the above stained glass of Lincoln which reads: *To H. Guy Chester From the Trustees in Grateful Remembrance of March 6th 1937* (the date that the windows were installed.)

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Forum On Contemporary Theory, Baroda, India (A Member of the Humanities Centers and Institutes)

In collaboration with

The Department of Political Science, Berhampur University, Odisha and International Lincoln Center for American Studies, Louisiana State University in Shreveport, USA

> Organize a National Seminar Dates: 24- 26 March 2023

Seminar Venue: St. Vincent Retreat, Gopalpur-on-Sea, Odisha, India

Seminar Theme: "The Politics of Compassion: Lincoln, Marti, Gandhi, King, Mandela"



Concept Note

Twentieth-century intellectuals pondered what motivated political leaders following the post-WWI and the Great Depression turmoil. Political scientist, Harold D. Lasswell deployed Freudian theory to explain the rise of Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin demonstrating how these dictators failed to have their psychological needs met during their youth, and turned to the acquisition of power to compensate. Two decades after Lasswell's pioneering work, psychologist Abraham Maslow suggested a hierarchy of individual's need satisfactions, which offered the hope that politicals could become benevolent and promote everyone's needs. Political scientist James C. Davies built on these earlier works that was followed by political scientist James MacGregor Burns, who argued that a few politicians engage in "transforming leadership" or moral leadership, which is the topic of this cominar. Such leaders tond



leadership, which is the topic of this seminar. Such leaders tend to build on previous moral leaders. For example, Lincoln served as an inspirational model for Jose Marti and Gandhi in their respective opposition to Spanish and British colonialism. Martin Luther King Jr. was also inspired by Lincoln as well as by Gandhi's moral leadership. Nelson Mandela became the Abraham Lincoln of Africa.



Keynote Speaker

A native Oregonian, **William Pederson** was born and reared in Eugene, home of the University of Oregon, where he earned his undergraduate and graduate degrees. After serving in the U.S. Army, he returned to the University of Oregon to complete his graduate work in political science. He accepted his first university faculty position in 1977 and became the holder of the first endowed chair at LSUS. In late 1982, Dr Pederson became the founding director of the International Lincoln Center at Louisiana State University Shreveport. Today the multidisciplinary program includes an annual Abraham

Lincoln Lecture (which in 1999 became the first LSUS event televised by C-SPAN); an annual Constitutional Democracy Lecture; the South's oldest presidential conference series; and the annual Washington, D.C. semester (the first independent one established at a public university in the South). Widely published, Dr Pederson's works include numerous books and articles with an emphasis on the presidency; the first cross-national study of prison camp revolts; and comparative politics.

Kindly submit the abstracts along the lines of the concept note to the following email address: prafullakar@gmail.com For payment-related details kindly email Mr Ajay Menon, Fiscal Officer at the following email address: <u>menonajay1953@gmail.com</u>

Abstract Submission Deadline:January 5, 2023Registration Deadline:February 5, 2023Registration Fee:Outstation Partic

February 5, 2023 Outstation Participant from India with accommodation: ₹2500 Participant from India without accommodation: ₹1500

Images painted by: Chaitali Chatteriee

JFK/LBJ: Lives, Times, and Legacies

October 23-25, 2025

Call for Proposals

The 20th century presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, either in comparison to each other or separately, are the topics of the 13^{th} international Deep South conference series to be held October 23-25, 2025, on the campus of Louisiana State University Shreveport. All approaches considered. Proposals need to be no longer than **one (1)** 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 11-inch page as they will be included in the final program booklet.

• The first line should be the proposal title followed by the author's name as well as complete contact information (postal address, email address, office/cell telephone numbers).

• The first paragraph should be no more than twelve (12) lines of narrative that describes the proposal.

• The second paragraph of four or five (4-5) lines should be a biographical sketch of the author written in the third person.

Proposal sheets will be included in the program booklet as an abbreviated introduction to each participant.

Early submissions are recommended as selections will be made on a "rolling basis" until Thursday afternoon, Friday morning and afternoon, and Saturday morning panel slots are filled.

Proposals can be sent by postal service to William D. Pederson; International Lincoln Center; LSUS; One University Place, 321 BH; Shreveport, LA 71115-2301, or by email to <u>william.pederson@lsus.edu</u>.

Deep South Conference Series at LSU Shreveport

Great Justices, 1989	Lincoln Without Borders, 2009
Lincoln, 1992	Theodore Roosevelt, 2012
FDR, 1995	Roosevelt Century , 2015
Washington, 1998	Great Legislators, 2018
America's 3 rd Century, 2000	HST/Ike, 2022
Jefferson, 2003	JFK/LBJ , 2025
The Madisons, 2006	Nixon/Ford, 2028

Getting Right with Abe Over Coffee

Sign in Baroda (Vadodara) India

Bill Pederson

William D. Pederson Contemporary India continues to embrace the same high esteem for Abraham Lincoln that was modeled by Mahatma Gandhi. Lincoln, Gandhi famously said, was the only American who had influenced him. An example of Lincoln's continuing legacy in India is prominently displayed at the Heritage Café, which opened several years ago adjacent to the Centre for Contemporary Theory in Vadodara, India. The café recently "got right with Lincoln" in a very public way through addition of a large outdoor sign. The simple sign, inscribed in English, quotes Lincoln's enduring definition of democratic government: "Of the people, By the people, For the people." The Heritage Café is in the private home of Nikitin Contractor, a Parsi that immigrated from Iran decades ago. The photo was by Dr. Lajwanti Chatani December 2022.

