



Fig. 1. On May 30, 1911, a huge crowd gathered for the dedication of Newark's Lincoln statue, which due to its human scale was scarcely discernible amid the mass of attendees. Courtesy Newark Public Library.

Newark's Seated Lincoln

BARRY SCHWARTZ

ON MAY 30, 1911, TWO AND A HALF YEARS after the city of Newark observed the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth, Gutzon Borglum's statue of Abraham Lincoln was dedicated in front of the Essex County Courthouse (fig. 1).¹ Immediately before the dedication ceremony, twenty-five thousand spectators watched and applauded as six thousand soldiers, including Civil War veterans, passed before them. Mounted horsemen, marching officers with unsheathed sabres, regiments of fearsomely disciplined soldiers, pounding drums and martial music played by splendid military bands—the sights and sounds were unforgettable. Organized by Lincoln Post 11 of the Grand Army of the Republic, the colorful proceedings combined with the special day, Memorial Day, to produce a “degree of patriotic fervor and enthusiasm almost without precedent in the city.”² Patriotic feeling was strong even though the crowd consisted mainly of immigrant workers and their children, for whom the Civil War had no personal meaning. Around the veiled statue of Lincoln a wooden platform was built and, according to Borglum's own design, arrayed in flags and bunting. As dignitaries took their places on the platform the air filled with excitement. The proceedings began on schedule, but it was a hot day, and everyone seemed uneasy through the playing of the “Star-Spangled Banner” and reading of the invocation. When Ralph E. Lum rose from his seat, a quietness fell over the scene. Lum represented the executors of the estate of Amos H. Van Horn, by whose bequest the memorial had been provided. As he approached the flags that covered the statue, murmuring and buzzing resumed, fol-

23

BARRY SCHWARTZ is professor of sociology at the University of Georgia. His work on the Newark Lincoln is part of a larger project on Abraham Lincoln in American memory, 1865 to the present, which is supported in part by a Smithsonian Institution Senior Fellowship and a University of Georgia Humanities Center Faculty Fellowship. His essay on Lincoln's representation in American painting appeared in *Picturing History: American Painting, 1770–1930* (New York, 1993).

lowed by another span of silence as he separated them. Every eye gazed on the strange new image. Suddenly there was a ripple of applause which grew louder and louder, then an outburst of shouts and cheers.

Next, former President Theodore Roosevelt delivered the dedication speech. People near the platform pushed forward, one against the other, to hear him. Beyond a hundred feet their efforts were futile, but it made no difference. Everyone had seen Roosevelt and had witnessed the unveiling. Everything else was anticlimax. Accepting the statue on behalf of the city, Mayor Jacob Hausling promised never to move it. The band struck up a martial tune, a clergyman read the final benediction, and it was over. Roosevelt left Newark to make a Memorial Day address at Grant's Tomb. The people dispersed to cemeteries, picnic grounds, and parties.

Newark's festivities were no different from other monument dedications at the turn of the twentieth century. These dedications were public events because monuments are public structures that are intended, in Marvin Trachtenberg's words, "to symbolize something generally shared by a group or even an entire society. . . . They stand for common ideas, memories, and hopes."³ Consensus on what Borglum's statue represented, however, was far from complete. For more than a decade after its dedication, Borglum's Lincoln embodied Newark's highest ideals and basest prejudices, the democratic values that unified the people and the fears that separated them.

In 1911, the middle and upper-middle classes of Newark society consisted mainly of families of native birth; the working class consisted mainly of immigrants. These two strata were not totally different. Their members shared egalitarian values that affirmed the worthiness of the common man and every person's right to improve himself through hard work. They all believed that Abraham Lincoln represented these values more truly than any other American. They did not extend the affection they shared for Lincoln, however, to one another. Immigrant people demonstrated their good citizenship in many ways, and they resented being continually bullied and insulted by their "hosts." For many of Newark's native-born, however, immigrants could never be real Americans. They were "racially" inferior to Americans, committed to socialism and anarchy rather than democracy, unwilling to renounce unseemly manners and tastes. Because no figure embodied the virtues of "unhyphenated Americanism" more perfectly than Abraham Lincoln, nothing symbolized nativists' claims to superiority better than monuments to him.

Lincoln's prominence in the imagination of the native-born reflected the egalitarian ideals, if not reality, of American society. Equality, defined as common dignity in the sight of God, emerged as a significant part of the American value system during Andrew Jackson's presidency, became a central value as bourgeois culture eclipsed the remnants of genteel culture during the late nineteenth century, then became a dominant value as electoral democracy expanded and economic reforms accumulated during the early twentieth century. Correspondingly, Abraham Lincoln (the ultimate symbol of equality) replaced George Washington (the ultimate symbol of liberty) as the major figure in the American pantheon. On the 1909 centennial of Lincoln's birthday, just two years before Borglum's statue was dedicated, the *Newark Evening News* editor declared George Washington a "steel portrait" that "fails to grip our hearts," while Abraham Lincoln is "one of us."⁴ On November 2, 1912, one year after Borglum's statue was dedicated, Newark officials gathered to dedicate J. Massey Rhind's majestic George Washington statue. It was not only because President Taft had canceled his appearance that so few people showed up for the ceremony. "The qualities of Washington were great," explained keynote speaker Reverend William Dawson, "but Lincoln is the better loved."⁵

The equality that Lincoln represented in 1911 differs from the kind he represented in his own time and the kind he represents today. In 1860, Lincoln the presidential candidate presented himself as a "rail splitter" no different from any other Northern farmer. By the late twentieth century, the "man of the people" had also become a symbol of racial equality. In the early twentieth century, however—a period during which immigration peaked and seemed to threaten the country's political integrity—the images of "rail splitter" and "man of the people" had nativistic connotations. They stood for "Americanism." The log cabin, according to Lincoln Memorial University Chancellor John Wesley Hill, stood opposite the melting pot; the Appalachian youngster, opposite the Sicilian, Pole, and Russian.⁶

In this context, Newark's new statue of Lincoln was multivocal: at one level, it was a symbol of *e pluribus unum*—consensus in diversity; at another, it was a *coincidentia oppositorum*—an agency that brings opposed meanings together without resolving them. As the meanings of a statue arise from perception and use, so Borglum's Lincoln was defined by the role it played in the life and consciousness of the people of Newark. Reactions to his image materialized a way of seeing the world and now serve as a "period eye"⁷ through

which we may observe Newark people coming to grips with their own diversity. The significance of Gutzon Borglum's monument is fully revealed, then, only when Newarkers—all Newarkers—are captured in the act of appropriating and defining it.

The New Lincoln

Gutzon Borglum's statue, according to one local art critic writing just before the unveiling, "may be tremendously impressive. It may be grewsome [*sic*] in its suggestiveness. . . . To the present writer the most doubtful question is whether or not it will be too realistic."⁸

For a statue to be "too realistic" in 1911 meant that it deviated from the neoclassical form. There are many neoclassical forms, differing from one country, one generation, and one artistic medium to another. In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America, the neoclassical statue (into which prominent political figures were cast) was identified by distinctive characteristics—formal attire and cloak; body and head erect, one leg slightly bent; one hand resting upon a pillar or fasces, or upon an ornate table or chair, or holding a scrolled public document, or pointing in some direction; if seated, the figure's back and arms fully supported by a symbolic chair of state.

New Yorkers who attended the dedication of Borglum's statue might have passed a perfect neoclassical example—Henry Kirk Brown's (1869) Lincoln in Prospect Park, Brooklyn. With head tilted forward and left knee bent, the cloaked figure holds in his left hand the Emancipation Proclamation and points with his right to the words "forever free." He stands on a high pedestal decorated on all four sides with emblems representing the power of the state. Many visitors approaching Newark from Philadelphia and points south passed a similar statue (1871) by Randolph Rogers in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia (fig. 2). Lincoln is seated on the edge of a cushioned chair of authority, holding the scrolled Emancipation Proclamation in his left hand; the pen with which he signed it is in his right. Similarly, New Jersey's only statue of Abraham Lincoln (1898), produced by Alphonso Pelzer and dedicated in the town of Lincoln (next to Menlo Park), shows the president with head erect, left foot advanced, his right arm extended while holding in his left a partially opened scroll containing the Emancipation Proclamation (fig. 3). Several days after the Newark dedication ceremonies, New Jersey's third statue of Lincoln

was unveiled in East Orange. It depicts Lincoln standing tall, a long cape spread across his shoulders, one hand holding his familiar stove-pipe hat. The sculptor, Francis Elwell, left no memorandum explaining what Lincoln is doing, but his demeanor seems formal, as if he were addressing an audience or participating in a state ceremony (fig. 4). Elwell had given New Jersey another neoclassical depiction



Fig. 2. The neoclassical 1871 Lincoln sculpture by Randolph Rogers, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Fig. 5. *The Borglum statue in Newark; courtesy New Jersey Historical Society.*

The People's Lincoln

Borglum explained publicly that his statue portrayed Lincoln sitting alone at night as he grieved over battle casualties outside the White House telegraph office. The statue did not represent a specific moment in the war but the hundreds of dreaded moments when Lincoln had to contemplate its costs. To depict a president sharing the grief of a people rather than standing above the people is to undertake a new form of sculpture, one that resonates with a new ideal of equality. Borglum shared this ideal, but only as it applied to successful, self-reliant, white American Christians. Like many populists and Progressives, Borglum was a committed racist, anti-Semite, and xenophobe. He was outspoken, and several years after he completed the Newark statue he assumed an active role in the national leadership of the Ku Klux Klan.¹¹ Toward the poor he was more generous. For them he felt neither animosity nor compassion, but rather paternalistic sympathy.¹²

Given his own background, Borglum's success in translating the nativist democracy of his time into a new image of Lincoln is understandable. The son of a Danish Mormon immigrant, John Gutzon de la Mothe Borglum was born to one of his father's two wives (the

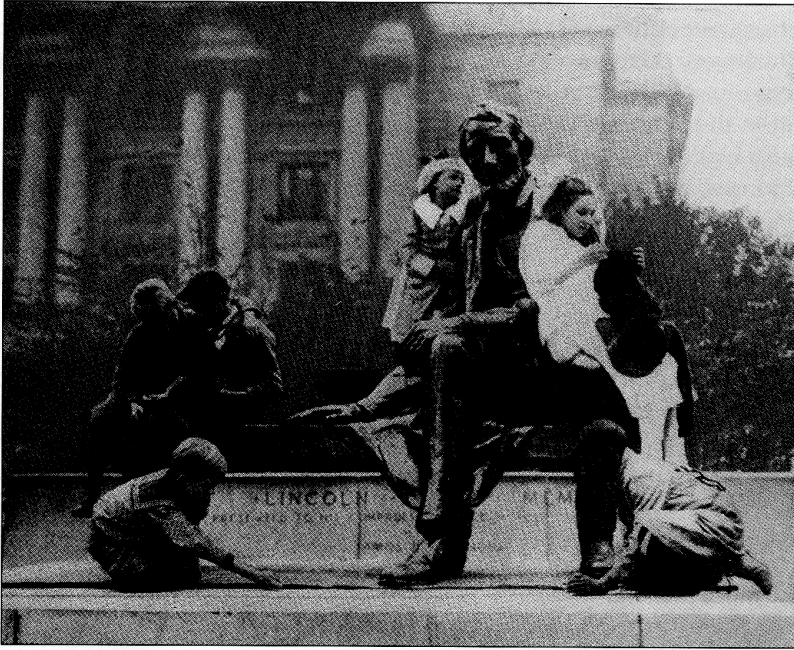


Fig. 6. Children playing on the Newark Lincoln; courtesy Abraham Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

sisters Ida and Christina Michaelson) in a log cabin in Ovid, Idaho. James Borglum, the father, had intended to settle in Utah but saw no future for himself in the church and soon left for the Midwest. Discovering how hard it was to live polygamously, he left one of his wives (Gutzon's mother, Christina) and attended medical school in Saint Louis. The separation was hard on Gutzon, who ran from home on several occasions before settling with his father and aunt in the frontier town of Fremont, Nebraska. James felt haunted by his past, and as late as 1900 he urged his sons never to mention it. Gutzon needed no convincing. Realizing that the Victorian society in which he lived would have deemed it an abomination, he never talked about his Mormon background. Perhaps this is why he was prouder of his remote Danish ancestry, particularly his forebears' achievements in the Crusades, than of his own log cabin days.¹³ He had something to hide.

Borglum's untypical background helps explain both the intensity and complexity of his interest in Lincoln. Borglum's Newark statue expresses his wish to portray Lincoln as a man of the people. The



Fig. 5. *The Borglum statue in Newark; courtesy New Jersey Historical Society.*

The People's Lincoln

Borglum explained publicly that his statue portrayed Lincoln sitting alone at night as he grieved over battle casualties outside the White House telegraph office. The statue did not represent a specific moment in the war but the hundreds of dreaded moments when Lincoln had to contemplate its costs. To depict a president sharing the grief of a people rather than standing above the people is to undertake a new form of sculpture, one that resonates with a new ideal of equality. Borglum shared this ideal, but only as it applied to successful, self-reliant, white American Christians. Like many populists and Progressives, Borglum was a committed racist, anti-Semite, and xenophobe. He was outspoken, and several years after he completed the Newark statue he assumed an active role in the national leadership of the Ku Klux Klan.¹¹ Toward the poor he was more generous. For them he felt neither animosity nor compassion, but rather paternalistic sympathy.¹²

Given his own background, Borglum's success in translating the nativist democracy of his time into a new image of Lincoln is understandable. The son of a Danish Mormon immigrant, John Gutzon de la Mothe Borglum was born to one of his father's two wives (the

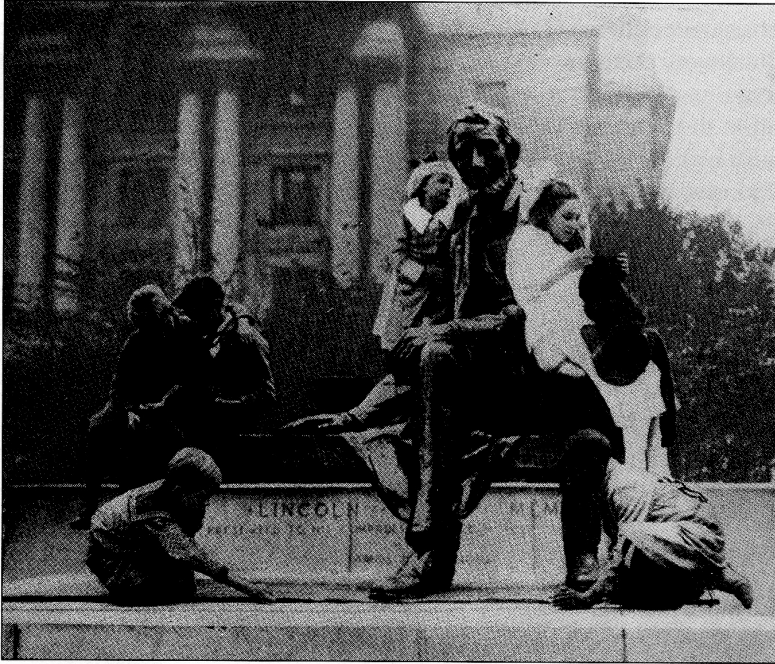


Fig. 6. Children playing on the Newark Lincoln; courtesy Abraham Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

sisters Ida and Christina Michaelson) in a log cabin in Ovid, Idaho. James Borglum, the father, had intended to settle in Utah but saw no future for himself in the church and soon left for the Midwest. Discovering how hard it was to live polygamously, he left one of his wives (Gutzon's mother, Christina) and attended medical school in Saint Louis. The separation was hard on Gutzon, who ran from home on several occasions before settling with his father and aunt in the frontier town of Fremont, Nebraska. James felt haunted by his past, and as late as 1900 he urged his sons never to mention it. Gutzon needed no convincing. Realizing that the Victorian society in which he lived would have deemed it an abomination, he never talked about his Mormon background. Perhaps this is why he was prouder of his remote Danish ancestry, particularly his forebears' achievements in the Crusades, than of his own log cabin days.¹³ He had something to hide.

Borglum's untypical background helps explain both the intensity and complexity of his interest in Lincoln. Borglum's Newark statue expresses his wish to portray Lincoln as a man of the people. The

massive countenance that Borglum would start drilling into Mount Rushmore seventeen years later expressed his wish to portray Lincoln as a man above the people. It was the dualism of Borglum's life—the conflicted life of a man at once foreign and native, exotic and ordinary—that drove and intensified his dualist conception of Lincoln. Borglum found in Lincoln's life the heroic normalcy absent in his own.

The reception of Borglum's statue, however, was determined by the way viewers situated it against their own attitudes and experience. One day after its dedication, an elderly lady sat down next to Lincoln's bronze image and embraced it.¹⁴ An hour later, attorney Ralph E. Lum went to the courthouse and noticed that "a crowd was standing in the rain surrounding the statue. As I came out at noon it was still there, and as I write this it is still surrounded by a crowd despite the rain. The most interesting feature of this is the expression on the faces of those who look. It is an expression of keenest interest and almost awe, and there is an absence of the gaze of the curious or the casual."¹⁵

"The Seated Lincoln," as it came to be called, was uncanny. It was at once strange and familiar—different from any other statue of Lincoln, yet a perfect representation of Lincoln as he appeared in the popular imagination. The Seated Lincoln was magnetic. People could not help approaching it, and they were not content merely to gaze; they wanted to become part of it. All classes of people, especially the poor and luckless, were drawn by the power of Lincoln's sad face. Poets bore witness:

The crowd was gone, and to the side
Of Borglum's Lincoln, deep in awe,
I crept. It seem'd a mighty tide
Within those aching eyes I saw.

"Great heart," I said, "why grieve away?
The battle's ended and the shout
Shall ring forever and a day,—
Why sorrow yet, or darkly doubt?"

No answer—then; but up the slope,
With broken gait, and hands in clench,
A toiler came, bereft of hope,
And sank beside him on the bench.¹⁶

The poet transposed Lincoln from the nineteenth century to the twentieth. Lincoln grieves for the contemporary poor, the despairing and exploited of the industrial world—the new slave. The Seated Lincoln attracted children, too (fig. 6). He attracted them in great number—and that proved controversial. Should the young be allowed to sit on Lincoln's lap, lean against his shoulder as they would their parent's, "as if pleasure or profit were to be gotten from a work of art in any such way?"¹⁷ The poets, reflecting the sentiments of the public, answered with an emphatic yes:

Little children, black or white,
Touch his hands and have no fear—
Clamber to his shoulder height,
Whisper in his patient ear.¹⁸

New Contexts

What made the people of Newark react to the Seated Lincoln so intensely? Perhaps they were responding to its unusual physical properties—its awkward posture, the wearied facial expression, its placement on a simple bench. These properties of the statue (or, rather, the genre they defined) imposed limits on its interpretation. But one cannot account for the appeal of a statue merely by describing it; one must grasp its meaning, and this involves an understanding of the social context in which it was erected.

According to Henry Steele Commager, the last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a new social order:

The decade of the nineties is the watershed of American history. On the one side lies an America predominantly agricultural; concerned with domestic problems; conforming, intellectually at least, to the political, economic, and moral principles inherited from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. . . . On the other side lies the modern America, predominantly urban and industrial; inextricably involved in a world economy and politics; troubled with the problems that had long been thought peculiar to the Old World; experiencing profound changes in population, social institutions, and technology; and trying to accommodate its traditions and habits of thought to conditions new and in part alien.¹⁹

Commager described the culmination of an industrial revolution. Against the problems of this revolution—unregulated immigration and urban growth, massive slums, decline in moral values, and, above all, a widening gap between rich and poor—the Progressive movement harnessed federal power. Antitrust legislation, a pure food and drug law, child and sweatshop labor laws, federal workmen's compensation, the progressive income tax—these and other measures helped to transform the competitive jungle of the nineteenth century into the humane capitalist order of the twentieth. Even more significant were the political reforms, including women's suffrage, the direct election of United States senators, the voter initiative, the referendum, the primary election, and the corrupt practices acts.

Progressive reforms made the United States more democratic, but they were not revolutionary. They were meant to protect, not undermine, free enterprise and property. The gap between rich and poor was in fact greater at the end of the reform era than at its beginning. And Progressive reformers had little or nothing to say about religious tolerance or racial and ethnic equality. The inculcation of a stronger sense of economic equality, defined in terms of equal opportunity, was Progressivism's great achievement. Within this limit, the Progressive Era witnessed the arousal of a new spirit, a revitalization of democracy and unprecedented concern for the rights and well-being of ordinary people. Progressivism, according to Richard Hofstadter, "must be understood as a major episode in the history of American consciousness," a "spiritual growth in the hearts of the American people . . . a moral movement in democracy."²⁰

34

Nowhere was this change more evident than in Newark, a manufacturing city whose economic heyday—the forty-year period extending from 1870 to 1910—corresponded to the onset and end of the Industrial Revolution. In Newark, as elsewhere, Progressive forces undermined both the status and beliefs of the plutocracy. Plutocrats along with members of the rising middle class saw poverty as a byproduct of progress. In one of their public information pamphlets the city's industrialists explained that "social workers in their zeal to spread their gospel of social adjustment forget that the greatest Social Worker of All said: 'The poor ye have always with you.' " They believed that Newark's workers did not mind poverty, that they were content amid "the dust-laden atmosphere and all the other elements that make up the neighborhood."²¹ Such attitudes were central to the Industrial Revolution's conservative culture.

Reform emerged in Newark earlier than it did in many other

American cities.²² In 1885, Democrat Joseph Haynes, proud to be supported by the “undesirable elements” his opponents disdained, became mayor of Newark and served ten years. Establishing public works programs, including sewer, street, and water reforms, “Picnic Joe” became one of the greatest friends of the working class and one of Newark’s greatest mayors.²³ As his supporters (all middle-aged and elderly by 1911) looked upon the bronzed Abraham Lincoln, bent over with the troubles of the people, they must have thought of their old friend.

The Progressive movement extended what Haynes had started. By the end of Theodore Roosevelt’s presidency, Progressives everywhere had adopted Lincoln as their symbol. Lincoln, they said, was the forerunner of Progressivism. The new political and economic legislation, designed to end “wage slavery,” was a culmination of ideals that Lincoln embraced and handed down.²⁴ Roosevelt dedicated Borglum’s statue by invoking Lincoln’s “progressive spirit” and explaining how much it was needed in the legislation of the day. Existing laws were good for the “flintlock period,” he said, but in an industrial democracy “the greed of conscienceless wealth must be checked.” The crowd turned toward Lincoln’s image as it heard Roosevelt conclude: “It is our business to help the wage earner.”²⁵ Thus, Lincoln’s statue was not only “good to look at,” as anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss would have said, but also “good to think with.”²⁶ The rights of the common man appeared in the tired, kindly-looking president sitting alone on his bench.

Everything about the Lincoln statue denied elitism: “This doesn’t look like a monument at all!” Roosevelt said when he first saw it.²⁷ No wonder. The face, in its weariness, exudes ordinary humanity. “The whole being is eloquent with agony,” one Milwaukee newspaper observed. “There is nothing at all theatric about the pose. Nor is there about it anything heroic.”²⁸ Borglum intended Lincoln’s ungainly posture to represent democracy. In real life, he explained, “Lincoln sat in chairs a little too low for him. Of course, chairs were not made for him—nothing in this democratic country of ours is made for anybody in particular; everything is made for everybody. And so Lincoln when he sat down seemed to sink farther than was quite easy or graceful, and that left his knees pushing unnaturally high.”²⁹

Thus, sculptural contrasts map social contrasts: awkwardness/grace; expressiveness/impassivity; weariness/strength; lowness/elevation—these dualisms encode the opposition of equality and hierarchy. Simple physical categories are conceptual tools for the

communication of abstract ideas about democracy. In this Lincoln memorial Newark's vast working class found its symbol. "The people's man, familiar friend,/ Shown by the sculptor's art/ As one who trusted, one who knew/ The common heart."³⁰

Symbolic Contagion

Gutzon Borglum was not the only artist capable of portraying Lincoln as the man who trusted and knew "the common heart." Lincoln was in the air at the turn of the century. Many sculptors helped make tangible the public's interest in him—an interest that they also felt. It was as if a collective force was exploiting the sculptors' genius to affirm itself. The pattern emerged abruptly. During the nineteenth century, the genre of all Lincoln statues was neoclassical; during the first two decades of the twentieth, realist statues of Lincoln emerged. The concept "realist" is too gross to capture the full complexity of these statues, but it does capture the pattern of features that distinguish them from the "neoclassical" Lincoln statues. From 1900 to 1920, most Lincoln statues were realist or combined realist and neoclassical elements; after 1930 almost all were realist (Appendix A).³¹

Establishing the genre of Borglum's Lincoln involves comparisons with similar Lincoln statues. This is easy to do, for as Borglum contemplated his design, other sculptors contemplating similar political ideals were thinking of Lincoln in similar ways. Weeks after Borglum's statue was erected in Newark, the Park Commission of Chicago erected Charles Mulligan's statue of Lincoln as a young man with an ax. Mulligan's rail splitter departed so radically from the neoclassical model that it would not be emulated until the Depression.³² Borglum's portrayal, however, was part of a prolific early twentieth-century pattern.

Merrell Gage's statue, dedicated in Topeka, Kansas, closely resembles Borglum's (fig. 7). Gage's Lincoln is awkward; he leans forward on a low-back chair, seemingly caught in the process of rising from it. He is neither fully seated nor fully erect. No neoclassical statue ever looked like this. Just before the dedication ceremony, Gage heard a lady on the scene ask: "Why doesn't Lincoln sit up like a regular statue?" Her friend responded: "Why, he's listening to what the people are saying."³³

In 1911, President Taft's brother, Charles, commissioned George



Fig. 7. The Merrell Gage statue in Topeka; courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.

Grey Barnard to make a Lincoln statue for the city of Cincinnati (fig. 8). Barnard decided to depict the pre-presidential Lincoln, a young man of the frontier with oversized feet and stooped posture. Critics condemned the statue for its undignified mien. “Was Lincoln a clean, dignified member of the bar . . . or was he a rough-necked slouch, dressing like a despiser of elegance?”³⁴ The very conception of Barnard’s image was “un-American: there is no go to the fagged-out sufferer—none of the alertness that characterized our pioneers.”³⁵

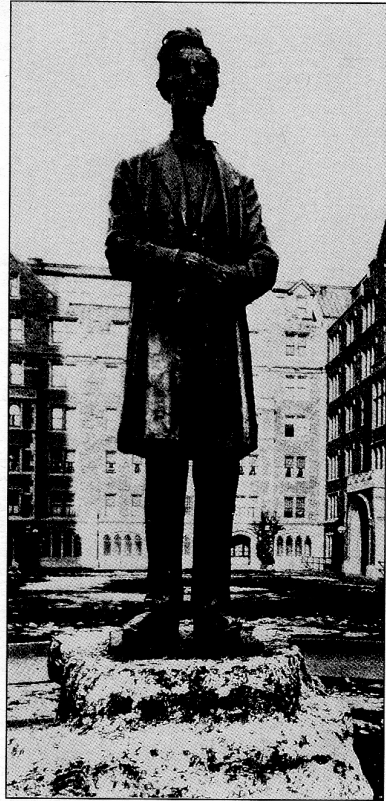


Fig. 8. George Gray Barnard's *Lincoln in Cincinnati*, 1911; courtesy the author.

The proper statue of Lincoln should represent “the triumph of the democratic principle” and depict “not the humble and despairing Lincoln, but the powerful, unshrinking, heroic, and triumphant Lincoln.”³⁶ In short, Barnard had made a mistake in bronze; he had created a clodhopper that diminished the memory of a great man.

When Andrew O'Connor's *Lincoln of the Farewell Address* was installed on the Springfield, Illinois, capitol grounds, it was also ridiculed for its “slouchiness” (fig. 9). The dress was equally problematic: here was a man, according to O'Connor's critics, who did not understand the dignity of his office. And Lincoln appears without the beard he deliberately grew, and kept, after his election. O'Connor's Lincoln, like Borglum's, lacks grandeur and gentility. And there is another similarity. Borglum chose to call his sculpture “Lincoln in Gethsemane” because it shows the president in the depth of grief.³⁷ O'Connor showed Lincoln in a similar mood. He has just bid farewell to his friends, and the expression on his face is one of despondency.



Fig. 9. Andrew O'Connor's Lincoln of the Farewell Address, 1918, Springfield, Illinois; courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.

Lincoln's identification with the common people is evident in his regret at leaving them.

Alonzo Lewis, "faithfully depicting the long, lank, shambling Lincoln, . . . with the huge flat feet that had followed the furrows, the gnarly hands bred to the ax," fit his Lincoln to the new realism nicely (fig. 10). His statue, installed in Tacoma, Washington in 1918,

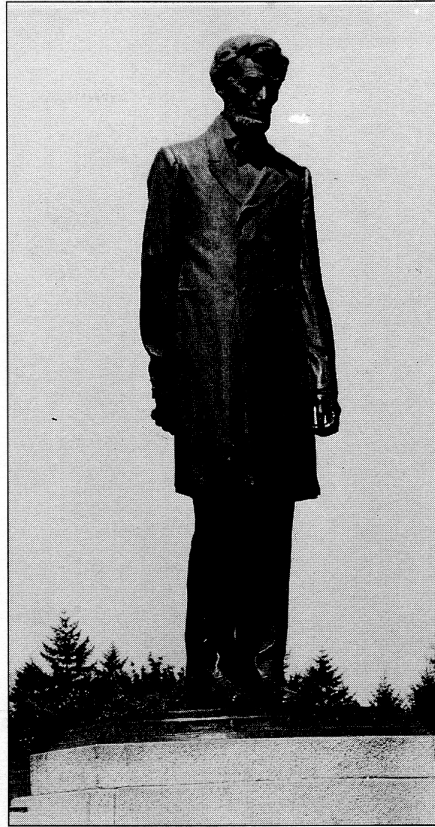


Fig. 10. The Alonzo Lewis Lincoln in Tacoma, Washington, 1918; photograph courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.

has the right kind of awkwardness, the appropriate stooped-over look, the correct “unpicturesque fidelity.”³⁸ Lewis’s Lincoln is surveying the Gettysburg battlefield. His face is tired, worn, and aggrieved. He appears as he did at the White House telegraph office and Springfield train station. Lewis has created another Man of Sorrows.³⁹

Thus, the meaning of Borglum’s statue of Abraham Lincoln inheres, in hindsight, in its position within a broader field of images. Like O’Connor’s and Lewis’s portrayals, Borglum’s depicts sorrow occasioned by parting and death. Like Barnard’s seedily dressed frontier lawyer, Borglum’s president is in a remissive state, with hat removed, unmindful of his unpresidential appearance as he looks across at, not down on, the viewer. Like Gage’s seated Lincoln, Borglum’s is stooped over and awkward-looking. In their assemblage, these five statues give the impression of closeness rather than remoteness, casualness

rather than formality, kindness rather than sternness. They are images of a man like other men, not of a god among them. As plainness and kindheartedness were assumed to be part of Lincoln's character, they appeared redundantly in his statues. Redundancy is necessary to get any message across, which is why myth is stated in a variety of ways and why, in Levi-Strauss's words, it always consists "of all its versions."⁴⁰ Each medium of communication, like each version of a myth, includes what others omit or fail to emphasize. Thus, while nineteenth-century sculptors idealized Lincoln through neoclassical conventions, Francis Bicknell Carpenter, Charles Malone Carter, George P. A. Healy, and other history painters idealized him by depicting him performing history-making deeds as head of state.⁴¹ And just as early twentieth-century sculptors depicted Lincoln as a common man, history painters including J. L. G. Ferris and Howard Pyle were ascribing to him human qualities with which ordinary people could identify.⁴² Thus, Borglum's Seated Lincoln appears as an element in a broad pattern that artists everywhere expressed but did not create. What Lincoln meant in Newark was a microcosm of what he meant in the nation.

Public Sculpture and Social Control

Placing Borglum's statue of Lincoln in the context of Progressive politics and realist art helps explain how it communicated a new egalitarian consensus. But such a strategy does not explain why Newark's leaders wanted a Lincoln statue in the first place; it does not explain the intentions and concerns of the municipal officials who chose Borglum to make this statue. Nor does it explain why Borglum's statue so readily became the "Children's Lincoln." Answers to these questions show the image of Abraham Lincoln carrying a heavy symbolic load, one that reflected two faces of Newark's society—the ideals that unified it and the prejudices that divided it. Locating the Seated Lincoln within America's "invention of tradition" reveals part of this second layer of meaning.

Between 1880 and 1920, historian Eric Hobsbawm asserts, the main political problem of the United States was to assimilate a heterogeneous and almost unmanageable mass of working-class immigrants. "The invented traditions of the U.S.A. in this period," he has written, "were primarily designed to achieve this objective".⁴³

On the one hand, the immigrants were encouraged to accept rituals commemorating the history of the nation—the Revolution and its founding fathers (the 4th of July) and the Protestant Anglo-Saxon tradition (Thanksgiving Day)—as indeed they did, since these now became holidays and occasions for public and private festivity. . . . On the other hand, the educational system was transformed into a machine for political socialization by such devices as the worship of the American flag, which, as a daily ritual in the country's schools, spread from the 1880s onwards.⁴⁴

To this list Hobsbawm could have added Lincoln's Birthday, which was celebrated with unprecedented enthusiasm during the first two decades of the twentieth century. (It was during the 1909 Lincoln centennial celebration, after all, that Newark's municipal officials had decided to commission his statue.)

Hobsbawm's belief that immigration was America's principal problem would have made perfect sense to native-born Newarkers in 1911. Seventy percent of the city's population was foreign-born or the children of foreign-born parents. Children of two native-born white parents accounted for only 27 percent of the population. The small remainder (less than 3 percent) of Newark's population was African American. As a proportion of the total population, the number of foreign-born was only 2 percent greater in 1911 than it was in 1900, but that number had grown by 41 percent to more than 243,000. As one year succeeded the next, then, immigrants became more numerous and visible. Newark, like most northeastern and midwestern industrial cities of the period, was beginning to look like a "foreign city."⁴⁵ To make matters worse, it was becoming home to foreigners widely viewed as the wrong kind. The number of northern and western European immigrants living in the city had actually leveled off since 1900; the number of southern and eastern Europeans, then considered the least desirable immigrant communities, increased markedly. In 1900 there were 8,537 Italians in the city; in 1910 there were 20,493. At the same time the number of Russians, including many Jews, increased from 5,511 to 21,912.⁴⁶

Tension between "vernacular" culture (the values and memories of local ethnic groups) and "national" culture (the values and memories of the dominant class)⁴⁷ was acute during the early years of the century. Amos H. Van Horn, like many native-born Newark leaders, felt this tension: he feared foreigners; he wanted to see them assimilated and their cultures forgotten. To this end he bequeathed \$50,000 for statues of Lincoln and George Washington and another \$150,000

for a great monument commemorating America's wars.

Borglum's artistic reputation was rising when the Newark selection committee began looking for a Lincoln sculptor, but he was not yet renowned. And he had many competitors, for the early twentieth century was not only America's most prolific statue-making era; it was also an era in which commissions for Lincoln statues were the most prized. Borglum, however, had an advantage over his competitors because of the Lincoln bust he had completed several years earlier.⁴⁸ This work had been purchased from Borglum by a Lincoln collector, donated to the federal government, and displayed in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda. Ralph Lum, Van Horn's estate executor, had seen it and used his influence to secure for Borglum an invitation to present his model to the selection committee, which immediately approved it and awarded him the commission. The committeemen thought they saw in the humble-looking president a reflection of themselves—a common man who had raised himself by his own effort, a fusion of egalitarian and individualist virtue.

Van Horn's will contained only one specification for the statue—its location. It had to be placed in front of the Essex County Courthouse. Van Horn believed that “in front of the Courthouse the statue would be seen by the many foreign-born who seek citizenship in the county building.” Lincoln's image, Van Horn believed, “would tend to awaken patriotism in them.”⁴⁹

New Jersey State Chancellor Mahlon Pitney worried about immigrants as much as Van Horn. His dedication address at the statue's unveiling had the tone of a colonial missionary seeking to convert the heathen to the true faith. Pitney noted that the county courthouse was the place “whither aliens of many a race and from many a clime come to abjure old allegiances and to claim adoption into American Citizenship.” To them “this monument of Lincoln . . . shall stand as a perpetual reminder of his life and its lessons.”⁵⁰ Next year the Newark Free Public Library published a small book to mark the first anniversary of the statue's dedication. Its text mentions the “physical and industrial expansion of the city, with its correlative accretion of foreign-born population.” In this dangerous environment, Lincoln's image was a taming talisman: “The nations move and mingle in this melting pot of ours . . . but of one spirit we are sure they all will be while ideals like this of Lincoln are held before their uplifted eyes.”⁵¹

“Ideals like this of Lincoln held before their uplifted eyes” was geographically as well as ideologically meaningful, for Borglum's statue was erected in the very midst of ethnic Newark—in constant sight of

immigrant passers-by. Directly behind it was a small Greek neighborhood, a larger African American neighborhood, and even larger neighborhoods of Germans, Jews, and Irish. Moving clockwise, a visitor would pass through neighborhoods composed of Irish, Italians, and Slavs, then, after a gap of about seventeen blocks of riverfront, would find more Italians, Irish, and Germans.

Newark's ethnic map⁵² is useful to us because it helps clarify the myth of "the Children's Lincoln." The essence of the myth is that neighborhood children were drawn to Borglum's statue because they loved Lincoln—or at least loved the kind of man the statue portrayed. Newspaper and magazine photographs visualized the myth by showing youngsters looking at Lincoln affectionately (fig. 11), or gathered around him as if they had consciously adopted him as a symbol of themselves (fig. 12). No other statue in the country seemed more lovable, more touching. Lincoln's accessibility to the common people and the powerless, so much a part of his identity, seemed affirmed by the attraction of his image to the young.

Media photographs of children interacting with the Seated Lincoln are carefully posed. The children are participating in a kind of ritual, placing themselves in the presence of Lincoln's likeness as a way of "paying homage" to him, as one of the newspaper headings explained. As such, the photos hide more than they reveal. In 1915, Lincoln Post Committee Chairman J. R. Mullikan "had to grasp a boy of about 15 years of age found standing on the hat and urinating on



Fig. 11. Barefoot child with the Newark Lincoln; courtesy New Jersey Historical Society.



Fig. 12. "Children Paying Homage to Man Whose Birthday is Celebrated," Newark Evening News, February 12, 1915; courtesy Library of Congress.

the statue."⁵³ Irving C. Starr, pastor of the Trinity Methodist Church, complained, "Dirty, ragged street 'Arabs' climb all over the figure, stand upon the shoulders, sit astride the neck. . . . To them the figure means nothing more than a tie post would."⁵⁴ Another observer wrote, "In passing the Courthouse at 6 o'clock on Thursday evening I saw the Lincoln monument completely hidden by youngsters, who use it for a piece of playground apparatus. One boy sat on the shoulders, straddling the neck while he hammered the head with his fist."⁵⁵

How was the frequent sight of children vandalizing the statue converted into a story of children adoring it? What function did such a myth serve? What ideas and concepts did it express? Borglum himself gave a hint. Advised of a plan to fence off the statue, he responded that children must be controlled without "depriving them of the educational and patriotic inspiration which a daily contact with this life-like representation of America's greatest citizen is calculated to afford them."⁵⁶ Like most educated people, he regarded monuments as instruments of social control and patriotism. By gazing at Lincoln, he thought, foreigners would be induced to renounce their strange ways and become American. Long before Levi-Strauss, Borglum believed that the function of myth is to articulate society's contradictions and provide mechanisms for resolving them.⁵⁷

Wendell Phillips Stafford, the poet, bore witness to Borglum's conviction. As he watched children playing at the Lincoln statue, he could not help but notice that most were of foreign parentage:

Eight at a time swarming upon him there,
All clinging to him—riding upon his knees,
Cuddling between his arms, clasping his neck,
Perched on his shoulders, even on his head;
And one small, play-stained hand I saw reach up
And laid most softly on the kind bronze lips
As if it claimed them. They were children of—
Of foreigners we call them, but not so
They call themselves; for when we asked of one,
A restless, dark-eyed girl, who this man was,
She answered straight, "One of our Presidents."
"Let all the winds of hell blow in our sails,"
I thought, "thank God, thank God, the ship rides true!"⁵⁸

To give thanks that the ship of state rides true implies the danger of its veering off course. What engages the poet's interest is not the children themselves but their use of the possessive in recognizing an American president and the implied promise of their renouncing their parents' manners and loyalties. Transforming vandalism, even desecration, into something tender, thoughtful, and affectionate, the myth of the Children's Lincoln deals with the real problem of assimilation by creating the illusion that it has already occurred.

The myth deals similarly with the problem of race. Newark's African Americans, composing less than 3 percent of its population, appear in almost half of the photographs of the Children's Lincoln. Whites enjoyed looking at photos of black children expressing affection for Lincoln, and their sentiments were nicely expressed in the poet Stephen Meader's words:

And the calm and kindly eyes
Seem, in them, again to see
All the hope of youth that lies
In the child race he set free.⁵⁹

Because paternalistic poems reflect whites' belief in the binding power of black gratitude, the wide distribution of pictures of shoeshine boys kneeling before Lincoln in joy (fig. 13) seemed natural. So did pictures of black children gazing reverentially at the great Lincoln. In one picture (fig. 14), white children embrace Lincoln affectionately and play near him while a black father and son respect him at a proper distance. In another picture (fig. 15), black children

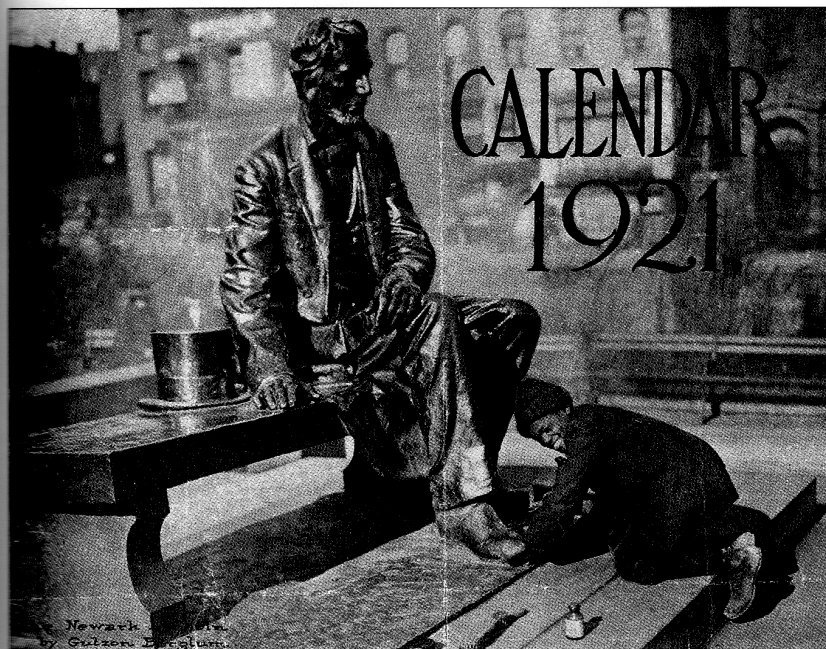


Fig. 13. Photograph from an unidentified calendar dated January 2, 1921; courtesy Library of Congress.

sit on Lincoln's lap and hold his hand, but there is no sign of intimacy or playfulness. The children are leaning away from Lincoln, not toward him, the better to gaze respectfully upon his benign countenance. That gratitude subordinates its recipients is also evident in the compositional similarity between photos of white children gathered around Lincoln (see fig. 12) and black musicians surrounding his statue (fig. 16) under the headline, "Paying Their Tribute." Beneath the photo, the text explains that the black performers know "full well that Lincoln made it possible for them to become what they are today, and their desire to have their picture taken as we see it shows plainer than words can tell it, that they are grateful."⁶⁰

Spontaneous Affinities

In many ways, pictures of African Americans congregating at Borglum's statue are extensions of the iconography of the "emancipation moment," exemplified by Thomas Ball's *Emancipation Group*, in-

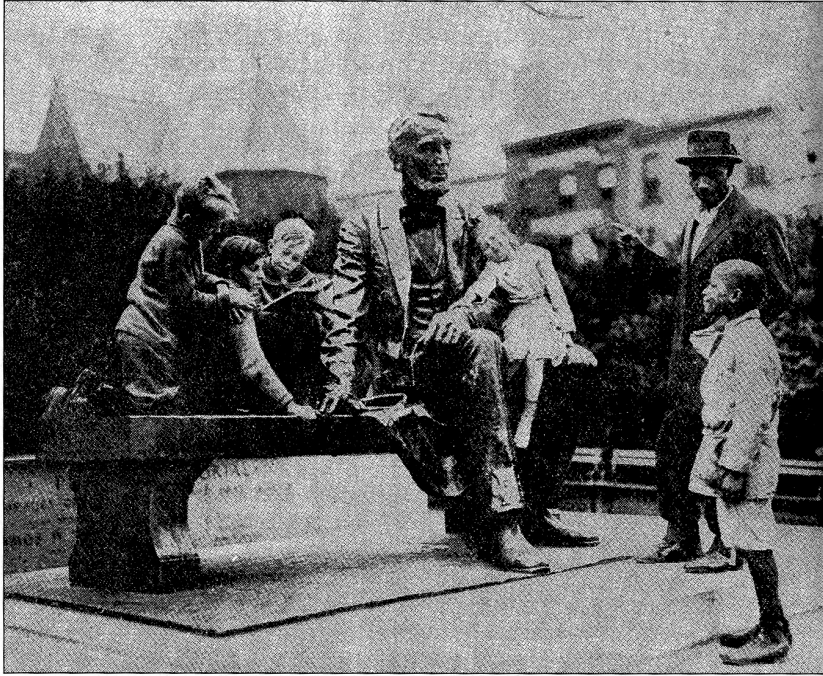


Fig. 14. "Children Gather Lovingly about Lincoln," from Letitia B. Martin Papers, Library of Congress.

stalled in Washington, D.C. in 1879 (fig. 17). Ball's statue shows a partially clad and grateful black (a symbolic forebear of the Newark shoeshine boy) on his knees before a paternalistic Abraham Lincoln. The emancipation moment, as David Brion Davis has conceived it, is not a historical event; it is a mythical narrative containing three parts—freeing the slaves in a glorious moment of national rebirth, acknowledging that emancipation has failed to ensure full freedom, and realizing that emancipation's significance lay in establishing a national commitment to be fulfilled in the future.⁶¹ Ritual repetitions of the emancipation moment thus celebrate the demise of slavery and symbolize hope. They also promote social continuity by fostering patient subservience on the part of the grateful black.

At the turn of the century, African Americans held special Lincoln Day ceremonies in their local churches, YMCAs, and men's and women's clubs. Their reverence for Abraham Lincoln was so profound that by 1911 they had exhausted the means for expressing it. "What is there to say of our Emancipator that has not already been



Fig. 15. Photograph from the cover of *The Masses Magazine*, August 1912; courtesy Library of Congress.

said?," asked the *New York Age* editor. "Who can sing an unsung song or speak a word not hitherto spoken? What tribute can be paid that against his matchless name were not an empty bubble?"⁶²

Immigrant American children owed Lincoln nothing, but he was their favorite, too. As writer Grace Humphrey said, "Far more than any other American, Lincoln makes the immigrants feel that this is their country as well as the country of the native-born."⁶³ Was this feeling the result of clever indoctrination? Everything we know about America's ethnic communities tells us that immigrants did not learn to admire Lincoln through the tactics of WASP "programmers" seeking cultural hegemony, or through what their children learned in schools intent on destroying their culture.⁶⁴ They learned to admire Lincoln because of what their own leaders said about him. It was the foreign-born minister, priest, and rabbi, newspaper editor and business leader, song writer, artist, and poet—not the native-born board member worried about property values—who defined Lincoln the "Saint of Democracy."⁶⁵ Unlike many native-born Newarkers, whose parents and grandparents opposed Lincoln's war policy and blamed



Fig. 16. "Paying Their Tribute to Abraham Lincoln's Memory," photograph in *Newark Sunday Call*, October 15, 1911. According to the caption beneath the photograph, members of the A. C. Fletcher Social and Athletic Association of Newark asked to be photographed with the statue after performing in a Columbus Day parade and clambake. "The group seems to 'belong' near Lincoln sitting at his feet," the newspaper observed. Courtesy Library of Congress.

him for the death and injury of their children, immigrants brought to their history lessons no negative preconceptions. The real question, however, is not whether blacks and immigrants actually admired Lincoln and supported democracy, but how native-born whites convinced themselves they did. To this end the Newark Lincoln became a vehicle of conception. Thus, when Carl Bannwart, secretary of the Newark Shade Tree Commission, saw in a newspaper the black musicians grouped around Lincoln's statue (see fig. 16), he told an acquaintance that "the photograph appealed so much to my imagination that I secured a copy for Mr. Borglum, upon the assumption that he would be interested in the matter."⁶⁶ Interested, indeed. What evidence could better convince Borglum, and prejudiced people like him, that the black man had been tamed?

Erosion

Gutzon Borglum's statue represented political values on which Newarkers agreed. For natives and immigrants alike, it was the sym-

bol of democracy, proof of the inherent dignity of the common man. It also represented Newark's conflicts. For natives, Lincoln's weary look and awkward posture was an egalitarian standard to set apart the "true American" from the strange people who had invaded their shores. For immigrants, these same features made Lincoln the patron saint of the despised and oppressed. A condition of "pluralistic ignorance" prevailed, each community being partly unaware of how the other thought and felt about Lincoln. His statue thus symbolized Newark's unity and division.

The statue was not multivocal for all time. Cities define themselves through their landmarks, but no one of them can meaningfully represent all past and future generations. The statue that represented Newark in 1911 could not have done so fifty years earlier. Dependent on southern imports before the war, Newark's voters strongly opposed Lincoln in the 1860 election. In November 1864, although profiting from war contracts, voters split their ballots almost evenly between him and George McClellan. Lincoln did slightly better elsewhere,

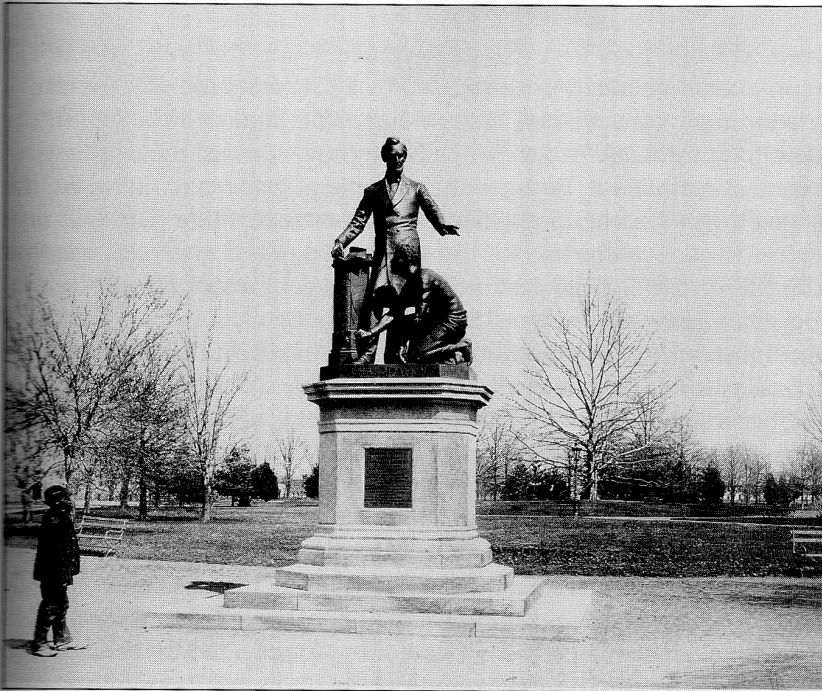


Fig. 17. Thomas Ball's Emancipation Group, 1879, Washington, D.C.; courtesy Library of Congress.

winning reelection with 54 percent of the (northern) vote, but many believed his reelection reflected dislike of challenger McClellan rather than endorsement of Lincoln himself. By winter's end, 1865, the war was almost over, but widespread dislike for Lincoln remained. Supporters of the war remembered Lincoln's indecisiveness in fighting the South, and they now opposed his lenient postwar policy. Opponents of the war (among whom Newarkers were disproportionately represented) were untroubled by secession, sympathized with the South, or believed for other reasons that the war's costs exceeded its benefits, and they continued to resent what Lincoln had done to the country. Even in death, Lincoln was not universally revered. Horace Greeley expressed the views of many Northerners, and many Newarkers, when he wrote in the *New York Tribune* several days after Lincoln's death "that Mr. Lincoln's reputation will stand higher with posterity than with the mass of his contemporaries—that future generations will deem him undervalued by those for and with whom he labored."⁶⁷

52

One hundred years later, Lincoln would be an even weaker symbol. His reputation in Newark, as in most cities outside the South, peaked from 1900 to 1950, then waned,⁶⁸ and the treatment of his monuments changed accordingly. In 1951, for example, Newark's government conveyed to Essex County the land that the physically deteriorating statue occupied, with the provision that the county government maintain it. Because the agreement was never enforced, the statue's erosion continued. That its importance to the city had also eroded was evident in 1981 by its spray-painted graffiti decoration (fig. 18). In 1987, a midwestern historical organization, The Rushmore-Borglum Story of Keystone, South Dakota, finally arranged and paid for the statue's restoration but demanded in return the right to make a replica for display at Mount Rushmore. This would deprive Newark of the uniqueness of its possession, but city officials happily complied. In August 1987 the Seated Lincoln was shipped to a Connecticut foundry, returned six months later, and rededicated by the Essex County chief executive, a city councilman, and a member of the downtown Park Committee. One hundred and fifty people watched.

As 1994 came to an end, Lincoln's statue continued to overlook downtown Newark, but it remained distressed. A rock concert announcement was pasted on one of the knees. The two urns at the edge of the memorial (ancient Greek symbols of the presence of a god) were filled with trash, the area in front of the bench covered with the shards of broken beer bottles.

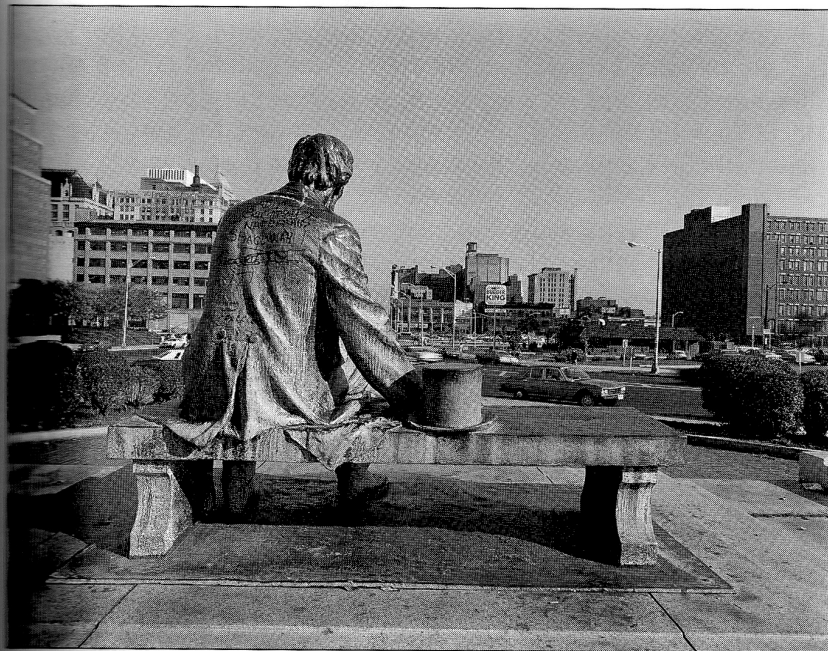


Fig. 18. The Newark Lincoln, 1981; this photograph by George Tice was first published in his Lincoln, ©1984 by Rutgers, the State University. Reprinted by permission of Rutgers University Press.

Lincoln's statue continues to be the site of Lincoln's Birthday, Memorial Day, and other patriotic observances, but two trends help explain why these events attract so few people. The first trend is Newark's deteriorating economic base. At its nadir—the twenty years following World War II and culminating in the disorders of July 1967—the area around the Essex County Courthouse was one of the city's most depressed and dangerous.⁶⁹ Although this area has undergone revitalization, a second trend, the city's changing racial makeup, explains why interest in the statue continues to fade.

As African Americans grew from less than 3 percent of Newark's population in 1910 to 70 percent in 1980, a new historical consciousness arose. It was part of a national trend. Prior to the New Deal, most northern whites regarded Lincoln as America's greatest president. Among African Americans this opinion was universal. Since the middle decades of the twentieth century, however, national opinion polls show African Americans holding him in relatively low esteem. In 1956, 64 percent of whites interviewed by the Gallup Poll included

Lincoln among America's three greatest presidents, compared to 48 percent of black respondents. In 1991, a comparable Gallup survey showed 47 percent of whites and 35 percent of blacks including Lincoln among the top three presidents.⁷⁰ During this thirty-five-year period, the percentage of black respondents naming Lincoln a great president has declined 26 percent. No wonder a prominent student of Newark history recently commented on African Americans' regard for Lincoln's monument by saying, "Lincoln is now the enemy."⁷¹

If Newark had remained a predominantly white city, however, its statue of Lincoln would still be less meaningful today than it was in 1911. This is also evident in Gallup Poll ratings, which show Lincoln's appeal declining as steeply among whites as blacks. What distinguishes African Americans' relation to Lincoln, however, is that new heroes have replaced him. Represented in street and school names rather than statuary, Marcus Garvey, Winnie and Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr., now dominate Newark's collective memory.

This change transcends Newark. Throughout the country, the ideal of pluralism has been revived and redefined. At the turn of the twentieth century, America's traditional heroes meant different things across ethnic communities, but they were admired by all; as the twenty-first century approaches, many communities turn inward and cultivate heroes of their own. Strong institutional forces, including the educational establishment, guide and sustain this transformation. The premise guiding the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education is that when heroes of the "dominant" community are recognized, members of "minority" communities are "marginalized." "To endorse cultural pluralism," the association resolved, "is to endorse the principle that there is no one model American."⁷² Lincoln's presence thus recedes. In Newark, he is no longer a *coincidentia oppositorum*, no longer a symbol of the city's unity and conflict. He is simply irrelevant. It is the same everywhere. Old minorities and old immigrants saw Lincoln and realized the glory of his land. New immigrants and minorities dream of their own heroes and scan the cultural landscape for a separate place.

If, as Elizabeth Broun believes, public sculpture gives us a "way of knowing what our ancestors cared most about,"⁷³ then their deterioration expresses our indifference to what they cared about, and even raises the question of whether they were our ancestors at all. On the answer to that question there is less than full agreement.

APPENDIX A

STATUES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN BY TYPE AND YEAR OF DEDICATION

Year of Dedication	Neoclassical	Mixed	Realist	Type Unclassifiable	Total	Percentage Neoclassical
-1899	10			1	11	91
1900-1909	2	3			5	40
1910-1919	8	2	7		17	47
1920-1929	6	4	1		11	54
1930-1939	3	2	9	1	15	20
1940-1949	1		4		5	20
1950-	1		3		4	25
TOTAL	31	11	24	2	68	

Sources: Frederick L. Bullard, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1952); *Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation*, February 1962. Replicas excluded.

NOTES

¹Borglum made three other monuments for the city of Newark. For the city's 250th anniversary in 1916 he designed a bronze lamp standard with marble figures of an Indian and Puritan and a marble monument with bas-relief showing the first landing party of the founders of Newark. His fourth and by far most colossal Newark monument is *Wars of America* (1926), a group consisting of two horses and forty-two human figures. See Fearn Thurlow, "Newark's Sculpture," *The Newark Museum Quarterly* 26 (Winter 1975): 9.

²*Newark Evening News*, May 30, 1911, 1. Nine months later, in February 1912, a similar crowd appeared to celebrate Lincoln's birthday. Anticipating President Taft's visit, Newark's Shade Tree Commission had planted fourteen thousand miniature American flags on the grounds surrounding the statue. The commission intended to gather up the flags for future use, but within seconds of the ceremony's conclusion the crowd had taken them as souvenirs of the day. Not a single flag was left standing. Carl Bannwart to Helen Johnson Keyes, Feb. 12, 1912, Box 100, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Borglum Papers).

³Marvin Trachtenberg, *The Statue of Liberty* (London, 1976), 15.

⁴*Newark Evening News*, Feb. 12, 1909, 6.

⁵*Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1912, 2.

⁶Reprinted in *Congressional Record*, Feb. 21, 1925, 4448. Hill's comment reflected traditional thinking on the subject: one cannot be both a foreigner and an American, and one cannot be an American unless one identifies with Lincoln. In 1914, for example, a popular teacher's guide, titled *A Course in Patriotism and Citizenship*, published in 1914 and reprinted in 1918, mentioned Lincoln more often than any other historical subject. His "ideals must become the heritage not only of every American-born child, but of every alien as well." Cited in Richard Current, "Unity, Ethnicity, and Abraham Lincoln," *Speaking of Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), 107-8.

⁷Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, Conn., 1985).

⁸Document dated May 27, 1911, Newark Public Library, Newark, N.J. Few critics openly complained that the Seated Lincoln was too realistic. Five years later, however, during an intense debate over whether Augustus Saint-Gaudens's or George Grey Barnard's statue of Lincoln should be erected on London's Parliament Square, *Independent Magazine*, Dec. 29, 1917, 1, revealed the neoclassical Lincoln to be the most appealing—more even than the Seated Lincoln. The final count of its readers' poll was 9,820 votes for Saint-Gaudens's statue, 2,841 for Borglum's, and 1,207 for Barnard's. The Saint-Gaudens Lincoln now stands in London. Affirming a "simultaneous multiplicity of selves" on a collective scale, Americans selected images of their refinement and power for "frontstage" state display and of their common side for "backstage" local display. For the capital of England they turned to the stately Lincoln, for themselves, to Lincoln the folk hero. For detail on the Saint-Gaudens-Barnard controversy and its significance for American memory, see Barry Schwartz, "Iconography and Collective Memory: Lincoln's Image in the American Mind," *Sociological Quarterly* 32 (1991): 301–20.

⁹In three cases, the neoclassical form was mitigated by certain realist elements—Lincoln is portrayed with legs crossed, or with body twisted and one arm resting on the back of his chair; standing, with weight distributed equally (and ungracefully) on both legs. The one unclassifiable image consisted of a relief of Lincoln doffing his hat while astride a horse.

¹⁰Gutzon Borglum to Carl Bannwart, Mar. 29, 1912, Box 100, Borglum Papers.

¹¹For detail on Borglum's racism, see Howard Shaff and Audrey Karl Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time: The Life and Times of Gutzon Borglum* (Sioux Falls, S.D., 1985). For Borglum's comments on the "Americanism" of Cincinnati's German population, see Borglum to Harry Probasko, Feb. 7, 1919, Box 73, Borglum Papers. His comments about New York as a "foreign city" can be found in his letter to Representative Borland, Feb. 24, 1914, Box 73, Borglum Papers.

¹²The closest Borglum came to representing the poor artistically is his Altgeld Memorial, dedicated in Chicago in 1915. The image commemorates Governor Peter Altgeld's pardon of labor organizers unjustly imprisoned for the 1886 Haymarket riots and bombing. Condemned during his lifetime for freeing the supposed criminals, history proved Altgeld right and rendered him a hero of the common man. Borglum portrays Altgeld with his arms outstretched protectively over a man, woman, and child, representing the working class, cringing at his feet. His design bears a strong resemblance to Thomas Ball's *Emancipation Group* (see fig. 16).

¹³Shaff and Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time*, 3–26; Robert J. Casey, *Give the Man Room* (Indianapolis, 1952), 22–35.

¹⁴Borglum to Theodore Roosevelt, May 31, 1911, Box 100, Borglum Papers.

¹⁵Ralph E. Lum to Borglum, May 31, 1911, Box 100, Borglum Papers.

¹⁶Joseph Fulford Folsom, "The Unfinished Work," in *The Poet's Lincoln*, ed. Osborn H. Oldroyd (Washington, D.C., 1915), 235.

¹⁷*Newark Evening News*, Mar. 10, 1915.

¹⁸Stephen W. Meader, "Their Lincoln," reprinted in *Ladies Home Journal*, February 1918, 70.

¹⁹Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven, Conn., 1950), 41.

²⁰Richard Hofstadter, ed., *The Progressive Movement* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963), 15, 36.

²¹Cited in John T. Cunningham, *Newark* (Newark, N.J., 1966), 209–10.

²²The Progressive Era can be dated from the beginning of Theodore Roosevelt's presidency in 1901 to the end of Woodrow Wilson's in 1920.

²³Cunningham, *Newark*, 200.

²⁴For detail on Lincoln as a Progressive emblem, see Barry Schwartz, "The Reconstruction of Abraham Lincoln," in *Collective Remembering*, ed. David Middleton and Derek Edwards (London, 1991), 81–107.

²⁵*Newark Evening News*, May 30, 1911, 1. Roosevelt's audience had heard this before. As the 1909 Lincoln centennial celebration approached, for example, the editor of the *Newark Evening News*, Feb. 9, 1909, 6, noticed that all interest groups associated themselves with Lincoln, "but it is a fact that in his own day Abraham Lincoln was a reformer."

²⁶Claude Levi-Strauss, *Totemism* (Boston, 1962), 89.

²⁷Frederic L. Bullard, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1952), 214.

²⁸Excerpt from unidentified Milwaukee, Wisc., newspaper, June 27, 1911, Newark Public Library.

²⁹Gutzon Borglum, "The Beauty of Lincoln," *Everybody Magazine*, February 1910, 219.

³⁰Folsom, *The Poet's Lincoln*, 235.

³¹Genres "are classifications based on similarities and differences. Making generic distinctions involves sorting, seeing the similarities in different . . . objects, abstracting the common elements from a welter of particular variations." See Wendy Griswold, "A Methodological Framework for the Sociology of Culture," in *Sociological Methodology*, ed. Clifford Clogg (Washington, D.C., 1987), 17:17. For a discussion of anomalous or "breakaway genres," see Robin Wagner-Pacifici, "Memories in the Making: The Shapes of Things That Went," *Qualitative Sociology*, forthcoming 1996.

³²Statues of Lincoln were produced at this time by Paul Manship, Fort Wayne, Ind. (1932); Bryant Baker, Buffalo, N.Y. (1935); Nellie Walker, Lawrence, Ill. (1938); Clarence Staler, Ripon, Wisc. (1939); Louis Slobodkin, Washington, D.C. (1939); Avard Fairbanks, Ewa, Hawaii (1944); and Fred Torrey, Decatur, Ill. (1948).

³³Bullard, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze*, 243.

³⁴Commentary from *Art World*, quoted in *Literary Digest*, October 1917, 30.

³⁵*New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1917, 10.

³⁶*Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1917, 12.

³⁷Lincoln suggested the name himself. Shortly after he was elected president he wrote a friend, "I could appreciate the feelings of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. . . . I am now in my Garden of Gethsemane." Cited in Casey, *Give the Man Room*, 101.

³⁸Bullard, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze*, 246.

³⁹James Fraser's Lincoln, dedicated in Jersey City, N.J., in 1930 (the state's fourth statue of Lincoln), conforms to the Man of Sorrows form. Fraser portrayed Lincoln seated on a bench, his head sunk sadly in thought. "I particularly wanted to make a sympathetic and human study of Lincoln," Fraser said. He succeeded by producing a youthful version of Borglum's image of the sad President. See Bullard, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze*, 287.

⁴⁰Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York, 1972), 217.

⁴¹See Francis Bicknell Carpenter's *First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln* (1864), Dennis Malone Carter's *Lincoln's Drive through Richmond* (1866), and George P. A. Healy's *The Peacemakers* (1868).

⁴²See, for example, J. L. G. Ferris's *The Rail Splitter* (1906) and *The Contrabands* (1921) and Howard Pyle's *Last Day* (1907). For detail on the changing image of Lincoln in history painting, see Barry Schwartz, "Picturing Lincoln," in *Picturing History: American History Painting 1770–1930*, ed. William Ayres (New York, 1993), 135–55.

⁴³Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, Eng., 1983), 279.

⁴⁴Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions," 279–80.

⁴⁵Bureau of the Census, *Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1920). Kenneth B. Jackson and Barbara B. Jackson, "The Black Experience in Newark: The Growth of the Ghetto, 1870–1970," in *New Jersey since 1860: New Findings and Interpretations*, ed. William C. Wright (Trenton, N.J., 1972), 39. The makeup of the ethnic population in 1910 consisted of Germans, Italians, Russians, and Scotch-Irish in almost equal proportions (42).

⁴⁶"It is in the indifference to the advancement of the city as a whole that is so characteristic of all immigrants during their first few years here that the chief danger lies." So thought Frank J. Urquhart, Newark city historian. Italians posed a special problem, he thought they "often come from sections of Italy where they and their people for generations have been forced to live lives almost diametrically opposed to all we of these United States consider essential to good citizenship." See *A History of the City of Newark, New Jersey* (New York, 1913), 827–28. What the immigrants fail to do for their city and what ways of Italian life offend its citizens Urquhart neglected to say.

⁴⁷John Bodnar, *Remaking America* (Princeton, N.J., 1992).

⁴⁸Borglum's U.S. Capitol Rotunda bust, dedicated in 1909, shows Lincoln's head growing out of a chunk of stone, scarcely differentiated from the element of which it was made. There is no pedestal, no Roman toga, no embellishment—not even a presidential beard. Like the Mount Rushmore image it prefigured, Borglum's bust of Lincoln grows out of the land itself.

⁴⁹*Newark Sunday Call*, Feb. 12, 1909, 1.

⁵⁰*The Newarker*, February 1916, 83.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, October 1912, 192.

⁵²Cunningham, *Newark*, 205.

⁵³J. R. Mullikan to Borglum, Mar. 11, 1915, Box 100, Borglum Papers.

⁵⁴Irving C. Starr to Borglum, Feb. 9, 1915, Box 100, Borglum Papers.

⁵⁵*Sunday Call*, Sept. 15, 1917.

⁵⁶Secretary to Hon. Gutzon Borglum to Colonel J. R. Mullikan, Chairman, Lincoln Post Committee, Mar. 13, 1915, Box 100, Borglum Papers.

⁵⁷Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*.

⁵⁸Wendell Phillips Stafford, "One of Our Presidents," in *The Book of Lincoln*, ed. Martin Wright-Davis (New York, 1919), 237.

⁵⁹Meader, "Their Lincoln."

⁶⁰*The Sunday Call*, Oct. 15, 1911.

⁶¹David Brion Davis, "The Emancipation Moment," in *Lincoln, The War President*, ed. Gabor S. Boritt (New York, 1992), 65–88.

⁶²*New York Age*, Feb. 9, 1911, 1.

⁶³Grace Humphrey, "Lincoln and the Immigrant," *Outlook*, Feb. 7, 1917, 237.

⁶⁴Bodnar, *Remaking America*.

⁶⁵Half a century of Jewish commentary on Lincoln provides one example. See Emanuel Hertz, *The Tribute of the Synagogue* (New York, 1927).

⁶⁶Carl Bannwart to Charles Barnett, Nov. 13, 1911, Box 100, Borglum Papers.

⁶⁷*New York Tribune*, Apr. 19, 1865, 4.

⁶⁸Barry Schwartz, "Postmodernity and the Erosion of the Past: Lincoln's Fall" (Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Washington, D.C., August, 1995).

⁶⁹Borglum's statue was within the July 12–17, 1967, "riot zone." See John T. Cunningham, *Newark*, 1988 ed., 314–27, for a description of the riot. For a somewhat more critical account see Tom Hayden, *Rebellion in Newark* (New York, 1967).

⁷⁰Gallup Poll, Jan. 6–11, 1956; Gallup Poll, Feb. 7–10, 1991. Comparable polls taken in

1975 and 1985 yielded comparable findings. Throughout, black-white differences in the assessment of Lincoln are maintained within demographic categories defined by education, income, age, sex, religion, region, residence, and political party identification.

⁷¹Personal communication to author.

⁷²"No One Model American: A Statement on Multicultural Education," adopted in November 1972 by the AACTE Board of Directors, *Journal of Teacher Education* 24 (1973): 26-65.

⁷³Cited in Doug Stewart, "All Right, Troops—Fan Out and Find Every Last Artwork," *Siribsonian*, April 1995, 140.