Commemorating Abraham Lincoln the Transnational Way: Lincoln Monuments in Great Britain

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Abstract: The study investigates the genesis, aesthetics, and ceremonial unveilings of three statues of Abraham Lincoln, the 16th American President, in Edinburgh (1893), Manchester (1919), and London (1920). Using methodology from the fields of Visual Culture Studies, Memory Studies, and Transnational American Studies, the analyses demonstrate how the British and American memory actors (initiators of the statue projects) used the installations of the Lincoln statues and the ceremonial unveiling performances to construct an imagined transnational collective identity by turning Abraham Lincoln into a transnational symbol unifying the people of Britain and America. Therefore, the statues not only function as manifestations of this Anglo-American friendship, but also as factors in the cultural construction and emergence of the "Great Rapprochement" on a racially induced basis which would later turn into the "Special Relationship." The study further reveals how Americans deliberately took the image of Abraham Lincoln abroad and constructed different narratives in order to use Lincoln in Anglo-American contexts as a unifying symbol for shared values and the common fight for democracy.

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While it is regarded as a given that nations have always put up statues of their monarchs, political leaders, or other notable figures in public

places, it is however curiously striking to find monuments to foreign statesmen on a country's soil. Thus, the starting point for research and analysis in this article are three statues of Abraham Lincoln that were installed in Great Britain between 1893 and 1920. The first one, "The Lincoln Memorial in Memory of Scottish-American Soldiers," executed by sculptor George E. Bissell, was installed on Old Calton Burying Ground in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1893 (fig. 1). It is the only one of the three statues that had been explicitly commissioned for this purpose. The second one to be put up in England was the replica of George Grey Barnard's rather controversial "Lincoln" statue in Manchester's Platt Fields Park in 1919 (fig 2).[1] Finally, in 1920, a replica of Augustus Saint-Gaudens's famous "Lincoln The Man" statue was erected right in the heart of Westminster in London's Parliament Square (fig. 3).

Fig. 1: Licoln Monument in Edinburgh.

1 In the 1980s the statue was however moved to Lincoln Square in Manchester's city center due to the City's reconstruction measures.

Fig. 2: Lincoln Monument in Manchester. Fig. 3: Detail of Lincoln Monument in London.

This study demonstrates how British and American memory actors used the installations of the Lincoln statues and the ceremonial unveiling performances to construct an imagined transnational collective identity by turning Abraham Lincoln into a transnational symbol unifying the people of Britain and America. Therefore, this study explores the genesis of the commemorative projects and the memory actors' motifs, interests, and reasons for specifically choosing the memory of Abraham Lincoln for their purposes. Further, the statues' iconographic features and, after being integrated into new contexts, their interactive and communicative symbolic functions in the (pre-) existing memory spaces are examined. Last but not least, the study investigates the historical significance and cultural impact of the unveiling ceremonies on the statues' functions and on Anglo-American relations with regard to their transnational contexts. In order to approach the functions of the statues in their British contexts, this study has drawn from the fields of Visual Culture Studies, Memory Studies, and constructivist concepts of space.[2]

2 This study's theoretical approach is informed by the cultural turn and the theoretical implications that followed in its wake from the pictorial and performative turns. Accordingly, the statues are regarded as communicative acts that generate and de-

In order to trace the origins of the statue projects, the present study relies on a broad range of archival sources accessed in the United States and in the United Kingdom. The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. provided the papers of notable American businessmen and politicians involved in the endeavors, such as Andrew Carnegie, Elihu Root, Alton B. Parker, or William Howard Taft. Other papers were consulted at the Smithsonian Archives of American Art (Howard Russell Butler Papers), at the New York Public Library (John A. Stewart and Andrew B. Humphrey Papers), and at Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Division (Nicholas Murray Butler Papers and records of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace). Regarding the British involvement in the projects, the National Archives at Kew in London provided the records of the Office of Works. The Central Library in Manchester and the Edinburgh City Archives offered the records of the city councils concerning the official acceptance and locations of the statues.

This study contributes to three main areas of research within the field of American Studies, namely Lincoln Memory in the global sphere, Transnational American Studies, and the Anglo-American "Great Rapprochement." The latter term describes the transformation of Anglo-American relations through diplomatic, cultural, and political rapprochement around the turn of the 20th century, which eventually led to the emergence of the "Special Relationship." The study argues that Lincoln's global appeal in the late 19th and early 20th century was not the result of official acts of diplomacy by the U.S. government.[3] Instead, his global popularity, impact, and appropriation in this period developed mainly through individual endeavors by a multitude of mostly private actors and sources, never following a general design or a distinct political agenda.

The Memory Actors and Transnational Networks

Exploring the genesis of the installations of all three statues in Britain reveals that transnational networks played a crucial part in the promotion of Lincoln's image abroad. While the idea for the "Lincoln Memorial" in Edinburgh came from and was initiated by the American Consul Wallace Bruce, the funding of the monument was provided by a group of notable American citizens. The projects of sending Lincoln

termine cultural meaning, contribute to the formation of identities, and help individuals and communities to reach an understanding of their place in the world.

3 For further reference see Carwardine and Sexton (2011).

statues to London and Manchester were part of the late 19th- and early 20th-century peace movement. More specifically, they grew from the Anglo-American endeavor to celebrate the 100 years of unbroken peace between Great Britain and the United States since the War of 1812 that ended in 1815. This anniversary was originally scheduled to be celebrated in 1915. What was initially planned as a statue exchange between Britain and America before the outbreak of World War I ended up as two unilateral projects in which notable American citizens presented statues of Abraham Lincoln to the people of Great Britain. The London statue was presented through the Anglo-American Society and the Sulgrave Institution, two transnational institutions dedicated to fostering the Anglo-American friendship. Another major institution that was financially involved was the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace through its President Elihu Root and Nicholas Murray Butler. In sum, all three projects to present Abraham Lincoln statues to the British people had their origins in private initiatives, led by members of the American political and business elites, who shared an interest in friendly and cooperative Anglo-American relations. None of these acts were part of any official government agenda.

Three different Lincolns creating Transnational Spaces in Britain

The comparative analysis of the three statues' iconographic grammars reveal that even though they each represent the figure of Abraham Lincoln, their inherent symbolic messages are strikingly different. For example, the statue in Edinburgh combines different layers of contested meaning: it was intended as burial place for Scottish-American Civil War soldiers but the iconographic features, namely the integration of the statue of a freed slave in the monument, put the emancipation theme in the foreground of its symbolic message. While the statue in Edinburgh represents Lincoln as the Great Emancipator, in London he is portrayed as a great statesman and political leader. However, both monuments display elitist versions of the 16th American President, reinforcing the alleged moral and intellectual superiority of the so-called "Anglo-Saxon race." Barnard's Lincoln statue in Manchester, on the other hand, depicts Lincoln as a Man of the People, a non-heroic, egalitarian Lincoln, who is approachable and close to the people (Moffatt, 1998: 8f).

The special significance of the three statues lies in their striking iconographic and symbolic differences and in the ways in which they

were each integrated into their specifically fitting symbolic contexts. By integrating the statues into local British contexts, not only the statues' symbolisms and meanings were expanded and (re-) constructed, but also those of the already existing British landscapes. In Edinburgh, for example, Lincoln as the Great Emancipator was put up in what can be described as a space of contestation. The statue was installed in the close proximity to the David Hume mausoleum and the Scottish Political Martyrs' Monument on Old Calton Burying Ground. The latter monument is dedicated to five men, two Scots and three Englishmen, who were put on trial and found guilty of charges of sedition in the years 1793 and 1794. They were all sentenced to transportation to Botany Bay, Australia, for fourteen years. The men were part of a reformist, non-aristocratic group called "Friends of the People," one of several democratic associations in Scotland at the time. They postulated democratic reforms like annual parliaments and universal suffrage, which caused the conservative government to lead a series of state trials to intimidate the critics of constitution and monarchy (Tyrrell / Davis, 2004: 25; Ferguson, 1975: 250 ff). The graveyard and its monuments represent a counter-narrative to the official, elitist, and English-centered national narrative suggested by the National Monument and the Nelson Monument on top of Calton Hill. In contrast to the honoring of national war heroes, the graveyard's monuments commemorate bottom-up efforts towards political reforms and democratic structures, symbolizing the fight against aristocratic and Westminster-centered political rule. When Lincoln's statue was placed on Old Calton, this British or Scottish space of contestation was turned into a transnational space by adding the American historical experience and narrative of emancipation, freedom, and democracy. Thereby, these goals and ideals were detached from their national contexts and their transnational as well as universal significance became the central and unifying element of this symbolic space. Considering the Lincoln monument and its message of emancipation in the specific Scottish context on Old Calton graveyard, it might also have had an appealing effect on Scots who wished for partial devolution and the right for self-determination in Scotland around the turn of the 20th century.

In contrast, the statue in Manchester was erected in Platt Fields Park, a public park outside of the city center, with no other statuary in the vicinity. From the beginning, the installation in the park was meant to be a temporary solution, so it can be assumed that there was no symbolic intention behind this decision. Nevertheless, two levels of meaning can be detected that draw a symbolic line between the public park in Manchester and Abraham Lincoln. For one, there was a specific

historical connection between President Lincoln and the Lancashire cotton workers that went back to a short episode of correspondence in the year 1863, in which both parties mutually declared their solidarity and support. During the American Civil War, the Lancashire cotton workers suffered from a cotton embargo led by the Northern States. The embargo caused the so-called "cotton famine" and resulted in the shutting-down of mills in Lancashire, leaving tens of thousands of operatives in unemployment. At a meeting of the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society on December 31, 1862, the members composed a letter to President Lincoln in which they ensured their solidarity with and support of the Union cause, urging Lincoln not to stop his efforts to abandon slavery. Lincoln replied to this statement with a letter addressed "To the Working Men of Manchester," in which he acknowledged the suffering of the workers in Manchester caused by the American war (Beckert, 2004: 1408 ff). The following day, January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, setting free all slaves in the Confederate States and thus paving the way for the abolition of slavery in the United States. On another level, Abraham Lincoln's alleged support of the working classes in England corresponds with the symbolic message that is brought up through the history of Platt Fields Park. The park's genesis traces back to a bottom-up initiative supported and led by the working classes of Manchester. In fact, Platt Fields Park was the first park in Manchester that was bought with public money and it was situated in the middle of a residential working-class area. Therefore, it can be argued that Barnard's Lincoln monument in Platt Fields Park created its own transnational space dedicated to the people, and especially the working classes, as the basis of democracy in Britain and America.

Similarly, by installing the statue of Abraham Lincoln on Parliament Square in line with the statues of British Prime Ministers, the symbolism of the square as a national British space of democracy and liberalism expanded and it became a transnational space that stood for the Anglo-American ideological fight for freedom and democracy in the aftermath of World War I. It can be argued that in all three cases, the statues created transnational spaces through the symbolic interaction with the historical and architectural environment they were put up in and thus provided transnational narratives promoting the universal and unifying ideals of freedom and democracy.

Three Lincoln Statues as Factors in the emerging "Great Rapprochement"

Embedding the statues and their installations in Scotland and England into a wider historical context, it is striking that they mark the period of the Anglo-American "Great Rapprochement," which provided the base for what would later turn into the "Special Relationship." Accordingly, the statues' installations can, for one, be regarded as acts of informal or cultural diplomacy and as such they can also be considered as acts of cultural meaning-making in this process of Anglo-American rapprochement. In the context of the statues' unveiling ceremonies the memory actors deliberately constructed the image of Abraham Lincoln as a symbol and manifestation of an imagined transnational collective identity that was supposed to unite the people of Britain and the United States. However, these notions were heavily based on Anglo-Saxonist racist ideology, which claimed the alleged superiority and special mission of the Anglo-Saxon people of both nations to spread civilization and their vision of democratic structures to the world (Anderson, 1981: 11f). In turn, this ideology obviously excluded other races and minority groups from this idea of a transnational collective identity.

The ceremonial and performative act of unveiling turns a monument into a site of memory and can be regarded as stage for the creation of national and transnational narratives and cultural meaning: "The monuments take up a space, they recreate it as a site of memory that wants to draw attention to significant events and tell a story."[4] Further, throughout the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries, unveiling ceremonies were often used by the political and cultural elites as a means to cultivate popular support and to manifest their power in the landscape (Whelan, 2002: 509). As mentioned before, the presentations of the statues can be understood as acts of cultural diplomacy and the staging and performances of the unveiling ceremonies shed light on how an imagined collective identity was constructed by British and American representatives alike in order to foster and promote Anglo-American friendship and cooperation. In the following, the example of the unveiling ceremony in London will be used to demonstrate how the ceremonial proceedings and the speeches that were held contributed to the construction of this imagined transnational collective identity.

[4] Peter Aronsson and Lennart Johansson as quoted in Rodell (2005: 110).

Constructing Lincoln as a Symbol for an Imagined Transnational Collective Identity

The replica of Saint-Gaudens's Lincoln statue was installed right in the heart of the British Empire on Parliament Square in Westminster, which carries in and of itself an immense symbolic weight. Up to this point, the square had exclusively been decorated with statues of eminent 19th-century British statesmen. It can be stated that by installing his statue there, Lincoln was figuratively accepted as an equal among the ranks of British statesmen and, at the same time, the statue extended the site's national British symbolism and turned it into a transnational Anglo-American space of freedom and democracy. The staging of the ceremony was of decidedly ritual, official, and transnational character. The statue was formally presented at a public meeting held in Central Hall in Westminster on July 28, 1920, with about 3,000 people attending. The most important American representatives were Elihu Root (representing the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as donor) and the American Ambassador John W. Davis. The British representatives included Viscount James Bryce (a former ambassador to the U.S.) as chairman of the day, Prime Minister David Lloyd George, and the Duke of Connaught as representative of the Royal Family and the Anglo-American Society. Elihu Root gave the official presentation address in Central Hall, then the audience formed a procession and walked to the site on Parliament Square:

> Large reserved enclosures had been prepared by the Office of Works, and these were speedily filled by the audience from Central Hall and other invited guests. The enclosures were lined by 200 American Boy Scouts, and the approach to the statue was guarded, on the one side by 15 veterans of the American Civil War, in their historic uniforms, and on the other by 10 British and 10 American soldiers who fought in the recent European War [World War I], and who were allowed to take part in the proceedings by the courtesy of the War Office and the American Embassy.[5]

At the site, the monument was draped in American and British flags and the Duke of Connaught first gave a short address of thanks and then unveiled the statue. When the flags fell, the band of the Boy Scouts played "God Save the King" and then the "Star-Spangled Ban-

[5] The Anglo-American Society and The Sulgrave Institution, *The Anglo-American Newsletter and Sulgrave Bulletin*, August 1920, 11. The *Times* article of that day reported that the present Civil War veterans were apparently living in England at the time of the unveiling and that only some of them were wearing their Federal uniforms and their original cartridge boxes: "Lincoln Statue Unveiled. A Moving Ceremony," *Times*, July 29, 1920.

ner." Afterwards the Abbey choir sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." The proceedings were closed with the placing of wreaths at the foot of the statue and the choir sang "God Save the King" again.[6] In sum, the staging of the ceremony clearly shows that the focus was laid on balanced public representations of both nations and thus on the transnational dimensions of this occasion.

Eric Sangar has argued that two aspects are central to the idea of transnational collective identities: first, the sense of being mutually entangled in a common "we-story," and second, the awareness of common normative statements or lessons that result from this acknowledgment for present and future interactions (Sangar, 2015: 77). Looking in detail at the speeches held at the ceremony reveals that the speakers attempted to construct the image of Abraham Lincoln as a symbol for an Anglo-American collective identity. This collective identity was claimed to be based on the common racial and cultural heritage of both nations. Accordingly, the British representatives, James Bryce and the Duke of Connaught, portrayed Lincoln as being essentially of English stock and thus claimed that he symbolized all the things that both nations had in common and which built the basis for a transnational collective identity. Bryce said:

> We are commemorating this year the settlement of that Pilgrim band on Massachusetts Bay. Ever since then the ancient English people has been divided into two branches, but, despite distance and climate and political separation, these two branches have remained one in habits and ideas and beliefs, and the bed-rock of character is still the same in both... in 1809, his birth year – the birth year also of Tennyson and Gladstone – the American people were still almost wholly of British race, and Lincoln grew up under the influence of the traditions which the whole race possessed in common... He is ours almost as much as he is America's – (cheers) – and to both nations he is a pledge of brotherhood and friendship.[7]

Yet, Bryce also emphasized Lincoln's global appeal, when he stated: "We commemorate him also as a hero who belonged to the whole world, because he showed what fame may be won and what services be rendered by a plain son of the people unaided by any gifts of fortune."[8]

The American Elihu Root also identified and presented Lincoln as a symbol for Anglo-American values and traditions based on Anglo-

[6] Ibid.
[7] James Bryce as quoted in "The Anglo-American Society and The Sulgrave Institution", in: *The Anglo-American Newsletter and Sulgrave Bulletin*, August 1920, 5.
[8] James Bryce as quoted in ibid., 6.

Saxonist racial ideology and as a symbol for a transnational collective identity that united the British and American nations. Root said:

> Lincoln appears [...] a representative of the deep and the underlying qualities of his race – [...] the qualities that have made both Britain and America great. [...] He was of English blood; and he has brought enduring honour to the name. Every child of English sires should learn the story and think with pride, "Of such stuff as this are we English made. [...] He was of English speech. The English Bible and English Shakespeare, studied in the intervals of toil and by the flare of the log fire in the frontier cabin, were the bases of his education; [...] He was imbued with the conceptions of justice and liberty that the people of Britain had been working out in struggle and sacrifice since before the Magna Carta. [...] These conceptions of justice and liberty have been the formative power that has brought all America [...] to order its life according to the course of the common law, to assert its popular sovereignty through representative government.[9]

Root claimed that the United States had inherited all its cultural and democratic values and traditions from Britain, which served as a basis for the imagined transnational collective identity. On the side of the British representatives, Prime Minister Lloyd George went even one step further and described Lincoln as transnational or even transcendent character: "In his life he was a great American. He is no longer so. He is one of those giant figures, of whom there are very few in history, who lose their nationality in death. They are no longer Greek or Hebrew, English or American; they belong to mankind."[10]

Another aspect that was invoked by the British speakers was the function of the monument and its integration into the symbolic context on Parliament Square. The Duke of Connaught emphasized that Lincoln and his statue in Parliament Square stood for values and principles that both the British and the American nations had in common and that were supposed to build the basis for Anglo-American union and friendship now and in the future:

> This great monument of Abraham Lincoln will stand for ever at Westminster on the site given by His Majesty's Government, amongst the effigies of many great men of our own British race. [...] May the presence of this statue in our midst in London be an inspiration to us all of the great principles for which Lincoln lived and died, and may it also constitute another bond that may

[9] Elihu Root as quoted in ibid., 6-9.
[10] David Lloyd George as quoted in The Anglo-American Society and The Sulgrave Institution, *The Anglo-American Newsletter and Sulgrave Bulletin*, August 1920, 10.

> help to forge a lasting friendship between the British and American peoples.[11]

In other words, for the Duke of Connaught the statue's first and foremost purpose was not to keep the memory of Abraham Lincoln alive, but instead to symbolize the transnational ideals of freedom and democracy that united Britons and Americans. Secondly, the monument functioned as a kind of beacon for the future, one that would remind both nations of the importance of their cooperation and good will.

One last aspect that was emphasized at the unveiling ceremony was the idea that Lincoln's statue served as a symbol for and was part of a larger consolation discourse in the aftermath of World War I. Lloyd George's concluding words emphasized this aspect very clearly: "May I respectfully but earnestly say one word from this platform to the great people of America? This torn and bleeding earth is calling to-day for the help of the America of Abraham Lincoln. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)"[12]

Lloyd George's appeal for help revealed as much about the values and ideals that Abraham Lincoln stood for in this post-war context as it did about the way the British nation imagined the United States. The kind of Lincoln that Lloyd George asked for was the virtuous statesman, the strong yet kind leader, who could extol comfort to the people and lead the European nations out of their crisis. At the same time, Lloyd George presented an imagined and romanticized version of the United States of Abraham Lincoln, a nation without conflicts and inner fissures that was standing united behind its president. However, as these remarks show, the American Civil War and its resolution, as imagined by the British, also served as beacons of hope and motivation for the nation in the post-Great War context. It revealed an awareness that Britain relied in many aspects on the help and sympathy of the American nation and government. Yet, in these words also resonates the idea that Britain and America were united in a mission, namely to bring freedom and democracy in order to "heal" the world. Elihu Root emphasized this notion too when he said:

> Because under the direst tests of national character, in the stress of supreme effort and sacrifice, in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, the souls of both Britain and America prove themselves of kin to the soul of Abraham Lincoln, friendship between us is

[11] Duke of Connaught as quoted in ibid., 12.
[12] David Lloyd George as quoted in ibid., 10.

> safe; and the statue of Lincoln the American stands as of right before the old Abbey where sleep the great of Britain's history.[13]

In sum, the staging of the ceremony and the remarks of the speakers show what kind of symbolism they attached to the figure of Abraham Lincoln and the unifying function they expected the statue to fulfill. By portraying Lincoln not as a distinctly American but rather as an English or even transnational figure, he was constructed as a symbol for an imagined transnational collective identity. For one, this sense of transnational collectivity was of special importance in the context of World War I, when people of both nations were seeking consolation and orientation. Further, this sense of a transnational collective identity as symbolized by Lincoln served as justification for the collective sense of mission to spread freedom and democracy to the world. A very similar line of argumentation was used by the memory actors in Edinburgh, too. Even though the analyses in this study have shown that in 1893 Abraham Lincoln had not yet been established as a symbol in Britain, the memory actors nevertheless constructed a transnational narrative in which they discursively detached him from a national American context by elevating him to a transnational or even transcendent symbol for freedom and democracy. These aspects provided the basis for the extended potential of the monuments in Edinburgh and London to function as transnational sites of memory and as manifestations of the imagined transnational collective identity.

In Manchester, on the other hand, Lincoln was presented as an exclusively American icon and the memory actors there refrained from invoking the working-class context suggested not only by the iconographic grammar of the statue itself but also by the historical connection between Lincoln and the Lancashire cotton workers. Further, unlike in Edinburgh and London, the installation of Lincoln in Manchester was not used by the memory actors for the propagation of their transnational political agenda to foster friendly Anglo-American relations and cooperation; nevertheless, this occasion too can be regarded as an act of creating transnational memory and cultural meaning via the erection of the Lincoln statue as a symbol for shared values and the sense of a collective identity and thus as contribution to the social and cultural construction of the "Great Rapprochement." Likewise, the unveiling ceremonies in Edinburgh and London functioned as transnationally shared experiences or moments that invested meaning and a distinct kind of memory into the monuments. In summary, the two

[13] Elihu Root as quoted in The Anglo-American Society and The Sulgrave Institution, *The Anglo-American Newsletter and Sulgrave Bulletin*, August 1920, 9.

monuments in London and Edinburgh can be understood both as sites of memory for the American Civil War and, maybe even more, for transnational moments in which Britons and Americans agreed on their shared values, their common mission and their imagined collective identity. All three occasions can certainly be regarded as transnational moments of cultural meaning-making and identity formation. In this regard, the installations of the statues and the unveiling ceremonies certainly functioned as factors in the cultural construction of the "Great Rapprochement;" however, in contrast to the erection of Lincoln's statue in Edinburgh in 1893, the unveiling in London in 1920 happened at a point of already looming disentanglement of both nations. The United States had refused to ratify the Versailles Peace Treaty and thus had not become a member of the Leage of Nations. Against this backdrop, the unveiling of the Lincoln statue at the heart of Great Britain's political order was used as a means of ambiguous reassurance and reinforcement of Anglo-American loyalty and friendship.

Conclusion

This study illustrates that even though all three of the statues display visual representations of Abraham Lincoln, their iconographic and symbolic differences are more striking than their similarities. It also became clear that time and context had a huge impact on the function of the statues in their British environments and on the meaning that they each generated. While the presentation of the three statues may have initially appeared as demonstrations of American power and superiority on British soil, they should rather be regarded as parts of bilateral dynamics and factors in transnational processes of meaning-making in the context of the "Great Rapprochement." The prerequisites of these endeavors were not only British acceptance of the statues but also the disposition in the British public mind to embrace Abraham Lincoln as a symbol for identification and as a useful tool for the nation's own needs. It was further revealed that Abraham Lincoln's image was deliberately taken by Americans to "travel" abroad and was used in transnational Anglo-American contexts as a unifying symbol and as a visualization and manifestation of shared values in the common fight for democracy.

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Figures

Fig. 1: Lincoln Licoln Monument in Edinburgh. Private Archive Buchmann.
Fig. 2: Lincoln Monument in Manchester. Private Archive Buchmann.
Fig. 3: Detail of Lincoln Monument in London. Private Archive Buchmann.