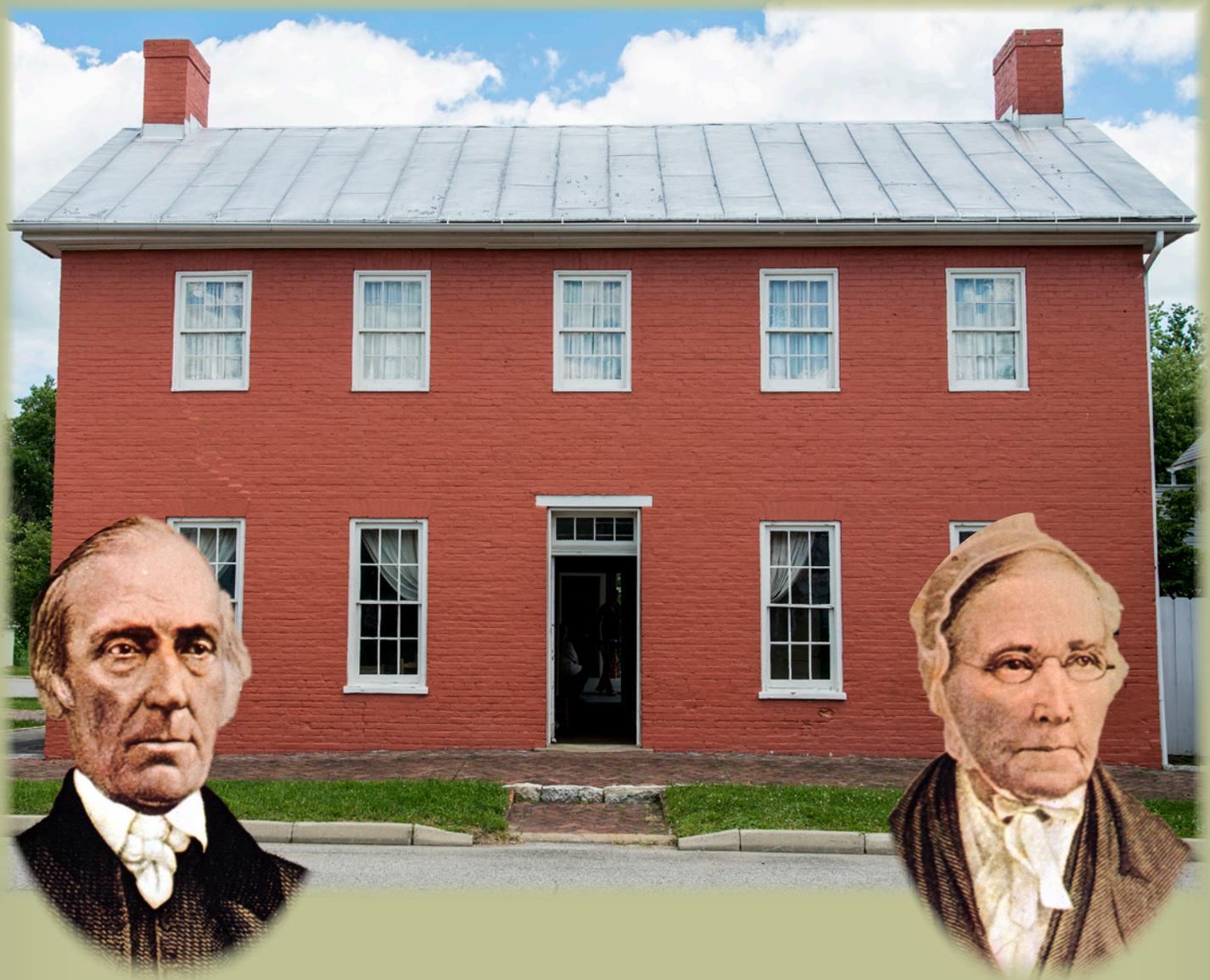

Lincoln LORE

NUMBER 1913 FALL 2016



The Underground Railroad in Indiana

Levi Coffin House, PAGE 3

LINCOLN LORE is the bulletin of the Allen County Public Library and the Friends of the Lincoln Collection of Indiana

CONTRIBUTORS

David Dew
Nichole Etcheson
Allen C. Guelzo
Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, PhD
Frank Williams

ACPL

Jane Gastineau
lincoln@acpl.info

FRIENDS OF THE LINCOLN COLLECTION

Sara Gabbard, Editor
Post Office Address
Box 11083
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46855
sgabbard@acpl.info
www.acpl.info
www.LincolnCollection.org
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LINCOLN LORE®

ISSN 0162-8615

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Thanks to Asher Agency for designing the new format for Lincoln Lore.

This issue of Lincoln Lore was made possible in part by a grant from The Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Foundation.

Upcoming Events



LEVI & CATHARINE COFFIN STATE HISTORIC SITE COMMUNITY DAYS

Fountain City, Indiana

Dec. 10, 2016, 10:00 am to 5:00 pm

Dec. 11, 2016, 1:00 to 5:00 pm

FREE

Celebrate the opening of the Interpretive Center at the Levi and Catharine Coffin State Historic Site. Visitors can enjoy self-guided tours of the center, including an introductory film, and view the exhibition "Souls Seeking Safety," which explores the stories of freedom seekers and the Coffins' antislavery work. Guided tours of the Coffin home will also be available.

For more information, see page 3.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN ASSOCIATION BENJAMIN P. THOMAS SYMPOSIUM

Old State Capitol and
Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum
Springfield, Illinois

February 11-12, 2017

Presentation by Daniel Crofts in the Old State Capitol on
February 11 at 6:00 pm

Presentations by Noah A. Trudeau, Burt Solomon, and
James Conroy in the Presidential Library atrium on
February 12, 2017 at noon

For more information, call (866) 865-8500.

The Levi Coffin State Historic Site, located at 113 U.S. 27 North in Fountain City, Indiana, was the third home of Quakers Levi and Catharine Coffin in what was then called the town of Newport. The eight-room, Federal-style brick house was a safe haven for as many as 2,000 fugitive slaves on their journey to Canada. As the point of convergence for three major escape routes through Ohio and Indiana, it became known as "The Grand Central Station of the Underground Railroad." The "station" was so successful that every slave who passed through eventually reached freedom.



The Levi Coffin House

The house, built in 1839, has some unusual features that made it a successful "station." Most rooms have at least two ways out, there is a spring-fed well in the basement for easy access to water, plenty of room upstairs allowed for extra visitors, and large attic and storage garrets on the side of the rear room made for convenient hiding places. The location of the house at the center of an abolitionist Quaker community allowed the entire community to act as lookouts for the Coffins and give them plenty of warning when slave catchers came into town.

LEVI AND CATHARINE COFFIN

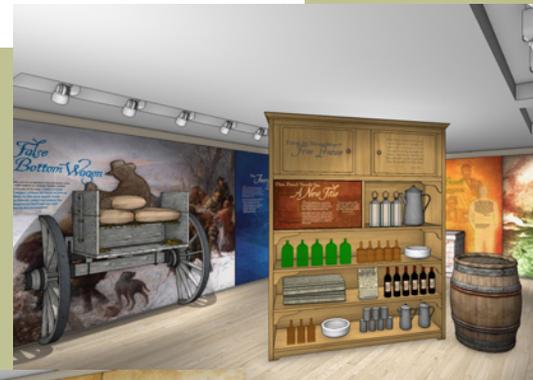
Levi and Catharine Coffin were Quakers from North Carolina who opposed slavery and became very active with the Underground Railroad in Indiana. Between 1826 and 1846 they lived in Newport (now Fountain City) where, in defiance of federal law, they worked to provide transportation, shelter, food, and clothing for hundreds of fugitive slaves. Many of their stories are told in Levi Coffin's 1876 memoir, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad*.

As a child in the South, Levi witnessed the cruelty of slavery, and his wife, Catharine White Coffin, came from an abolitionist family. As abolitionist



Quakers, Levi and Catharine "did not feel bound to respect human laws that came in direct contact with the law of God." Although many Quakers were opposed to slavery, few were active abolitionists and even fewer risked their lives and freedom to actively help slaves escape bondage. Nonetheless, others in the Newport community who were unwilling to directly help fugitives provided the Coffins with money, extra food, clothing, and protection for their work.

Levi was a well-respected community leader with several business interests in Newport. Instead of hiding his abolitionist work, he jokingly boasted about being the "President of the Underground Railroad" and publicly spoke out against slavery. He often used the law to his advantage and was friends with Henry Ward Beecher and Frederick Douglass. Catharine was



also deeply committed to the cause. She organized the Antislavery Sewing Society depository at the Coffin house to make and distribute new clothing for fugitives, and she ensured their safety

and comfort in the Coffins' home.

In 1847, the Coffins moved to Cincinnati so Levi could operate a wholesale warehouse supplying goods to free-labor stores. The Coffins continued to assist fugitive slaves along the Kentucky-Ohio border. During the Civil War, they focused their efforts on aiding freed people living in refugee camps. After the war, they turned their attention to the Western Freedmen's Aid Society, which helped educate and provide basic living needs for former slaves. Levi raised funds in Europe and the American North to help the freed people establish business and farms. Levi Coffin died in 1877 at age 79. Catharine died four years later, aged 78.

For information about visiting the Levi Coffin State Historic Site, go to <http://www.indianamuseum.org/levi-coffin-state-historic-site>.



The Youth of Abraham Lincoln, by Morgan J. Rhees (1889) 71.2009.081.1770

Lincoln as a Hoosier:

By NICOLE ETCHESON
BALL STATE UNIVERSITY

Race, Politics, and the Sixteenth President

Editor's Note:

Because 2016 marks the Bicentennial of both Indiana statehood and the year that the Lincoln family moved across the Ohio River from Kentucky to settle in southern Indiana, we are pleased to announce that some articles in this issue and in Lincoln Lore issues to be published during 2017 will focus on "The Lincolns in

Indiana." This period of Abraham Lincoln's life is frequently given only a cursory glance in biographical material. It is our purpose to present information which raises—and, perhaps, answers—the question: What aspects of Lincoln's personality and abilities as a leader can be traced to his "Indiana roots?"

To honor the bicentennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth, the United States Mint issued a new penny in spring 2009 "that pays homage to Abraham Lincoln's years as a Hoosier." The "tails" side shows "a teenage Lincoln reading a book while taking a break from railsplitting."

The Indiana penny is the second in a series commemorating Lincoln's life: the first shows his Kentucky log-cabin birthplace; the third, Lincoln as an Illinois state legislator; and the fourth, the unfinished Capitol dome dating from his presidency.

The penny's release created traffic jams around the Lincoln boyhood home in Spencer County, IN. Despite the rain, "coin collectors and Lincoln enthusiasts" waited in lines a quarter-mile long to buy the coin. Mint Director Edmond C. Moy told the crowd, "The 14 years Lincoln spent here in Indiana gave him the skills and character, compassion and fortitude, to lead the nation through one of the darkest periods in our history." Biographers agree. It was in Indiana, writes Ronald C. White, Jr. in a recent biography, that Lincoln developed "the interior moral compass" which guided him. As former Governor Otis Bowen said, "Indiana made Lincoln."

Certainly Hoosiers would like to think that our greatest president derived his greatness from growing up in their state. He did. But Lincoln became great by rejecting many of the values of nineteenth-century Indiana.

The penny shows young Abe sitting on a log, reading a book, with a maul resting against the log. The penny's portrayal is accurate: John Hanks, a cousin, said that Lincoln would take a book into the field and "would always read while resting." Despite the classic image, Lincoln apparently read not by firelight but outside in good weather or by grease or hickory bark lamps indoors. The penny is supposed to remind one of—and to provoke one's

admiration for—young Abe's eager desire for education. But to the adults who knew Lincoln as a boy, reading a book looked like slothfulness.

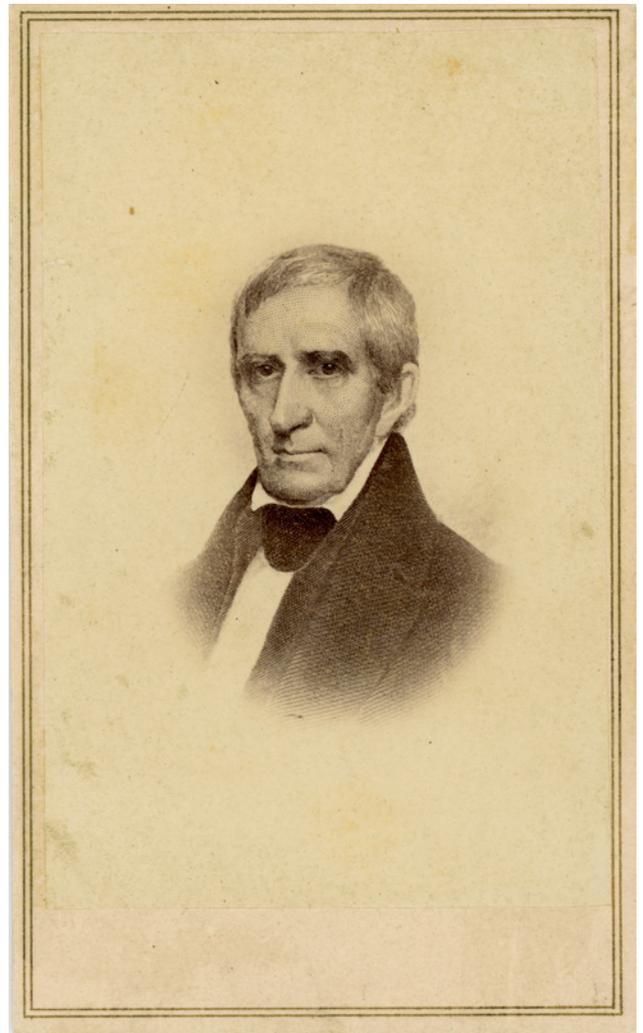
Another Hanks, Dennis, remembered that Abe's father, Tom Lincoln, thought his son spent too much time on books, "having sometimes to slash him for neglecting his work by reading." Dennis Hanks also considered Lincoln "lazy—a very lazy man. He was always reading,—scribbling,—writing—ciphering—writing Poetry." Neighbors in southern Indiana—whom Lincoln's Illinois law partner, William Herndon, interviewed after the president's death—agreed that Lincoln was lazy. And they reached that conclusion from his preference for books over farm work.

Frontier conditions may have circumscribed Lincoln's childhood education in Indiana, but it was also the case that Indiana didn't make much of an effort to provide education for its children. The 1816 Indiana Constitution stipulated that the General Assembly would provide "a general system of education," from township schools to a state university, where tuition was to be free, "as soon as circumstances will permit." But circumstances would not permit until after the Civil War. Although the 1851 state constitution renewed promises for a "general and uniform system of common schools," and the General Assembly passed a school law in 1852 to provide for public schools supported by taxpayers, the state su-

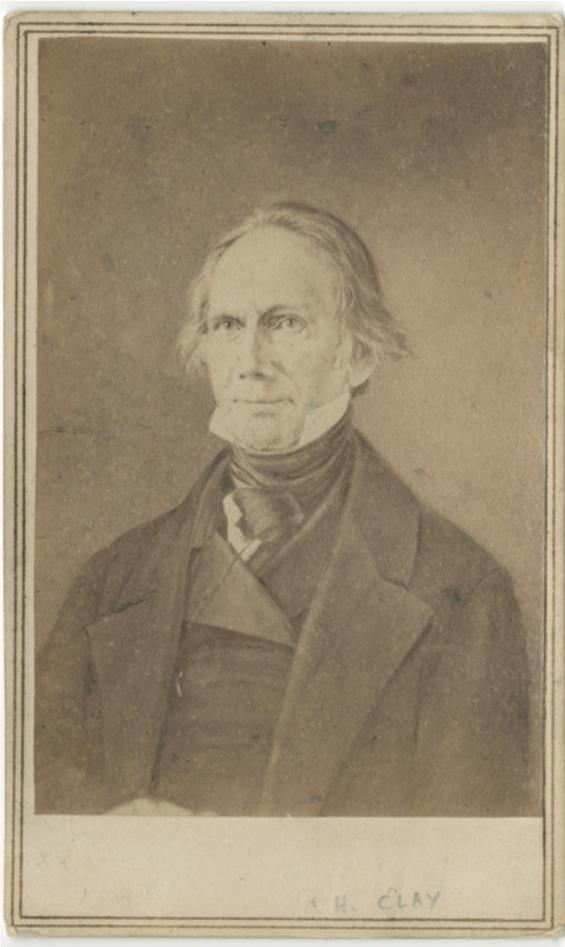
preme court ruled the law unconstitutional two years later. With patchy funding, the average school year in Indiana by mid-century was two-and-a-half months.

Lincoln recalled of his Indiana youth, "There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course when I came of age I did not know much." By his own estimate, a year in a "blab" school was all the formal schooling Lincoln had. Americans celebrate Lincoln's self-education, but Lincoln himself would have preferred formal schooling. He made sure his son Robert went to Phillips Exeter Academy and Harvard.

Lincoln's hunger for education was just one of many differences that set him apart from Hoosiers. After leav-



William Henry Harrison OC-1794



Henry Clay OC-0498

ing for Illinois, he went into politics, but not those of his family and neighbors in Indiana. Tom Lincoln was a Democrat, according to Dennis Hanks, and “so were we all.” Lincoln, however, became a Whig, an adherent of the party of business. Whigs believed that government could play a positive role in not only the economy but also in society, supporting moral reforms such as temperance and moderate antislavery measures. The Democrats, by contrast, preferred limited government, lest a powerful state intrude on individual rights, and distrusted government regulation of personal morality. Not a single Lincoln or Hanks would vote for Abe in 1860.

Lincoln always maintained that Henry Clay, the Whig leader, was his “beau ideal of a statesman.” Clay was most famous for his support for a pro-business set of policies, called

the American System, which included federal funding for internal improvements, a high protective tariff, and a national bank. These policies, Whigs claimed, would stimulate the economy. Democrats, however, feared the high taxes necessary to fund internal improvements, the high consumer prices brought by tariffs, and the favoritism such policies (especially a bank) would show to capitalists and bankers over farmers and laboring men.

Lincoln favored a national bank. Biographer Michael Burlingame says Lincoln “championed the state bank with special vehemence” in 1837, just before the Panic of that year ruined the economy, inspired by efforts to repeal the state bank’s charter. Lincoln believed a state bank was necessary to finance internal improvements and stimulate the economy, arguing that

the credit provided by banks allowed poor men to rise economically. In one famous incident of Lincoln’s state legislative career, he and other Whig legislators jumped out a second-story window of the statehouse to prevent a quorum. Less well known, however, is that Lincoln’s jump was provoked by a Democratic measure that would have hurt the state bank. Banks were also controversial in Indiana, whose state bank was under attack. Democrats charged that it existed for the benefit of a “moneyed aristocracy,” not honest workingmen, and contributed to the economic fluctuations of the era.

Perhaps even more than banking, internal improvements won Lincoln’s support as a state legislator in Illinois. In 1837 he led the passage of a large internal improvements bill that allocated \$10 million for canals, roads, and railroads. Indiana in 1836 had

already passed its own Mammoth Internal Improvements Bill, also for \$10 million. Both states had the same experience: the economy crashed with the Panic of 1837, leaving enormous debts. Yet even after the panic, Lincoln as a state legislator opposed stopping construction of the improvements. Similarly, although Indiana went bankrupt after the Panic, the state legislature passed measures to continue building the canal system, a system that was increasingly superseded by privately built railroads.

Lincoln was less adamant about the third element of the American System, the protective tariff. He does not appear to have taken a stand on it as a state legislator or in Congress. David Herbert Donald finds Lincoln’s speeches on the tariff “confusing,” and concludes that he tried to follow the Whig party line but didn’t really understand the pro-tariff argument. Lincoln studied writings about the tariff to improve his comprehension of the issues, and he advocated a protective tariff as a presidential candidate only because he needed the electoral votes of protection-demanding Pennsylvania, whose politicians put him forward as an “old Henry Clay tariff Whig.” As president-elect, however, he merely said he would carry out whatever tariff policy Congress enacted and confessed he did not know much about the impending Morrill Tariff. He articulated a protectionist position, saying it was wasteful to import from abroad what could be produced at home, and tried to counter the Democratic argument that tariffs raised prices for consumers. Lincoln’s adherence to the tariff differed somewhat from the emerging position in Indiana, where many were growing less supportive of protective tariffs, viewing them as good for New England’s infant manufacturing but harmful to Midwestern consumers.

As a young candidate, Lincoln announced, “My politics are short and

sweet, like the old woman's dance." His earliest political addresses advocated Whig political policies, especially internal improvements. His public addresses, intended for general audiences, more often took up issues other than abolitionism. In an 1838 speech, Lincoln referred to the death of Elijah Lovejoy, an abolitionist newspaperman in Alton, Illinois, who was killed by a mob. But unlike other anti-slavery men, he used the incident not to indict the Slave Power or incite sympathy for abolitionism but to deplore mob violence as a violation of law and order.

While Lincoln did not endorse abolitionism, he did support temperance, the anti-alcohol movement. Although he never joined the prohibition movement, he addressed temperance groups and did not drink himself. Lincoln spoke feelingly to a working-class temperance organization, the Washingtonian Society, of the defeat of alcohol as "a greater tyrant deposed" than King George III in the American Revolution. In the Midwest, where much of the corn produced was converted into whiskey, temperance was a hotly contested issue. Drinking was socially acceptable and considered conducive to hard agricultural labor. Moreover, temperance, a middle-class movement, was seen as interfering with long-held customs and personal rights. Temperance forces did attempt to pass prohibition (so-called Maine laws) in both Illinois and Indiana. In Illinois the law was narrowly defeated. A prohibition law passed the Indiana legislature in 1855 but was quickly ruled an unconstitutional infringement on property rights by the Indiana Supreme Court.

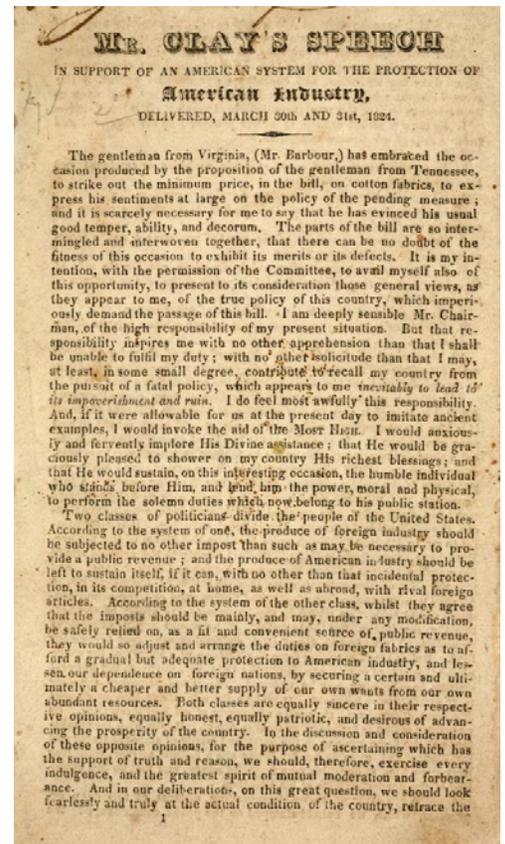
It is often noted that Lincoln had little political experience when he became president. Aside from his time in the Illinois state legislature, he had served only one term as a congressman. The reason Lincoln had so little political experience is that Illinois, like Indiana,

was predominantly a Democratic state. Illinois went Democratic in every election until 1860, and Indiana went for the Whigs only in 1836 and 1840, when native son William Henry Harrison was the presidential candidate. One historian says no Whig was elected to statewide office in Illinois. The same was true in Indiana.

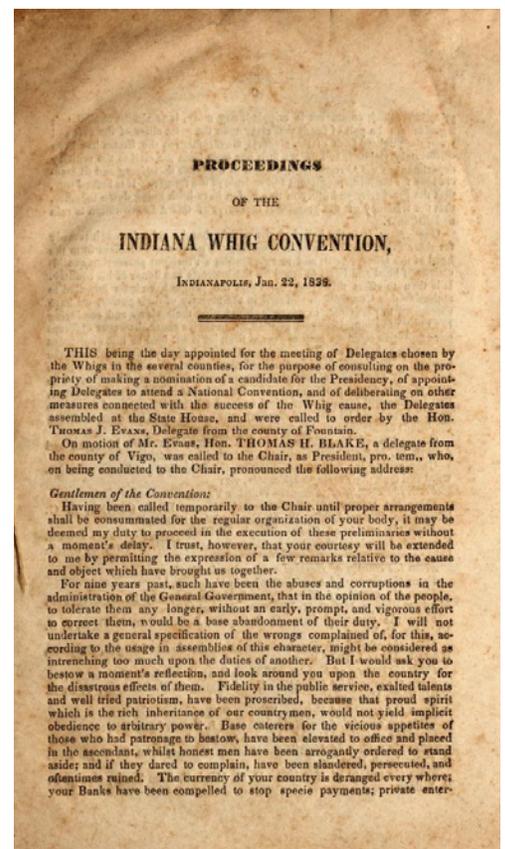
Lincoln was elected to Congress only because the Seventh Illinois Congressional District was safely Whig. During Lincoln's one term, he was the only Whig congressman from Illinois. And he only got one term because all the ambitious Whigs rotated through that one office. Lincoln had to wait for John J. Hardin and Edward D. Baker to have their turns. He then gave way to the next Whig candidate, Stephen Logan, who promptly lost the seat—a defeat some attributed to Lincoln's unpopular criticism of the Mexican War. Lincoln's early political career thus came to a dead end because his political views differed from those of most of the people of Illinois—and of Indiana. He later said he was "always a whig in politics," and that was just the problem.

Without much chance of election to office, Lincoln said he "was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again." He was referring to the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which repealed the Missouri Compromise's prohibition on slavery in the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase, reopened the slavery issue, and brought him back into politics.

Lincoln is best known not for his advocacy of banks and internal improvements but for opposing slavery and emancipating the slaves. Yet his political views on slavery evolved gradually. He was not an abolitionist in the 1850s, although he believed slavery to be morally wrong. He succeeded as an antislavery politician because his opposition to slavery expansion



Mr. Clay's Speech in Support of an American System for the Protection of American Industry, Delivered March 30th and 31st, 1824 71200908400339



Proceedings of the Indiana Whig Convention, Indianapolis, Jan. 22, 1838 71200908408227

into the territories aligned with the views of other Midwesterners and Northerners. Lincoln won both Illinois and Indiana when he ran for president in 1860. In fact, Lincoln became the candidate precisely because he was considered most likely to take those states. Hoosier Henry S. Lane told anyone who would listen at the 1860 Republican convention that Lincoln was the only nominee who could win Indiana that fall. The Republicans knew they had to win Indiana, as well as Illinois and Pennsylvania, in order to elect a president. According to some accounts, Lane danced a jig on the stage in Chicago when Lincoln went over the top on the third ballot.

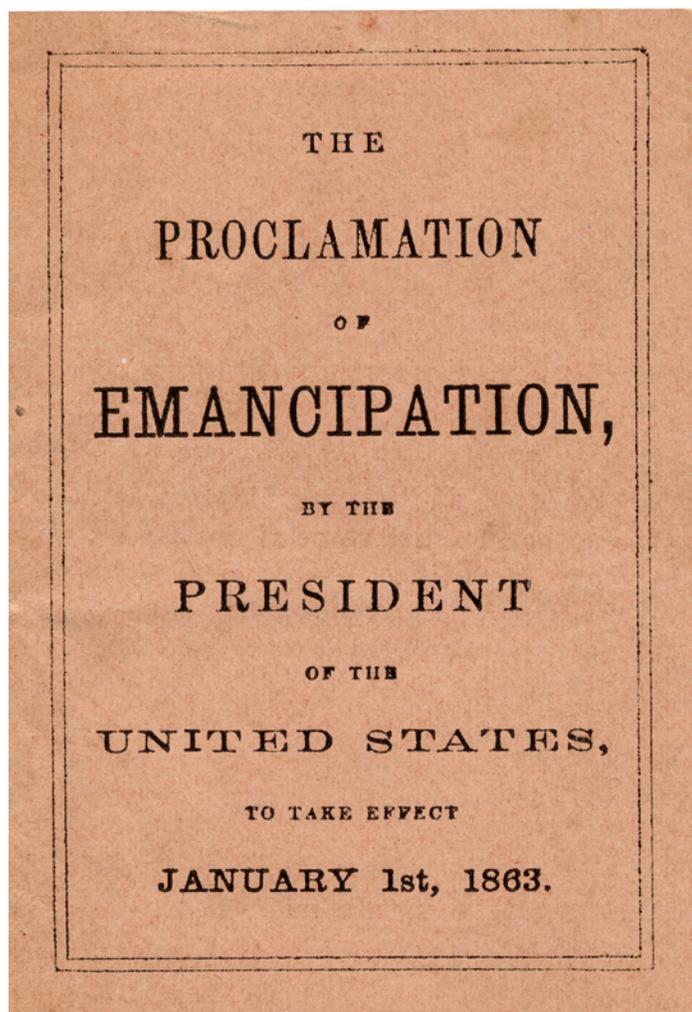
Lincoln was vulnerable as a candidate, however, because his support for white supremacy was weak. Both Indiana and Illinois were black law states. In Indiana, African Americans could not testify against whites, marry whites, or attend public schools with them; nor could they vote; or, after the 1851 Constitution, even migrate into the state. Illinois had all the same provisions. Because Lincoln did not believe blacks and whites could live together as equals, he supported colonization—the program of resettling African Americans in a colony in Africa or Latin America. His great political hero, Whig leader Henry Clay, had been a colonization advocate. Indiana not only prohibited black migration into the state, but had a fund to colonize the existing free black population in the West African nation of Liberia.

Lincoln did not challenge the black laws, and he continued to support voluntary colonization well into his presidency. And he did state, when running for the Senate in 1858, his belief in black subordination. Lincoln enunciated his views on racial equality repeatedly in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas, saying, “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. . . . I have no purpose

to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality . . . and I . . . am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position.” This passage has been used to show that Lincoln was a racist. Yet he went on to say, “I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

Lincoln had to repeat his statements in favor of black subordination be-

cause Douglas kept insisting that his opponent was an abolitionist who favored black equality. And Lincoln’s statements that the Declaration included African Americans—which Douglas adamantly denied—gave credence to the charge that Lincoln was a “Black Republican” who favored racial equality and even intermarriage. Stephen Douglas frequently used a story about seeing the black abolitionist Frederick Douglass in a carriage with a white woman to shock Illinois audiences. Despite rejecting Stephen Douglas’s charges of racial egalitarianism, Lincoln maintained that slavery was immoral, that it was a cancer that should not spread, and that the Founders had viewed it as antithetical



The Proclamation of Emancipation by the President of the United States, to Take Effect January 1st, 1863 (1862) 71200908403283

to republican liberty. George Julian, an Indiana congressman, said, “the American people are emphatically a negro-hating people. By their actions . . . they declare that “the negro is not a man.”” One of Lincoln’s complaints about Douglas’s rhetoric was that Douglas denied the basic humanity of blacks. By contrast, Lincoln insisted that African Americans were humans and not brutes. In this assertion, Lincoln defied much public opinion in the Midwest.

In his First Inaugural Address, Lincoln stated his intention to uphold southern constitutional rights to slavery. He even endorsed a proposed amendment that would have written those rights expressly into the Constitution. But the Civil War changed the circumstances under which that endorsement was made. In Lincoln’s view, secession had nullified any northern obligation to respect southern rights to slaves. Increasingly, he hinted that emancipation in some form might come about. He asked Congress to fund compensated emancipation and told slaveowners that it was impossible to foresee all the possible outcomes of a continuing war. When he revoked Union general David Hunter’s emancipation order early in the war, he nonetheless added that such measures might “become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government.” When Lincoln did issue the Emancipation Proclamation, he put it forward as a military necessity. W.H. McIlvaine, a soldier in the 11th Indiana, accepted that reasoning. He explained to relatives at home why the Emancipation Proclamation was required: “*Slavery is the cause of this war, which no one will deny. It is also the life and sinew in supporting and prolonging this war. The President has the constitutional power to declare the slaves free. . . . The Proclamation is simply a military necessity.*”

Nonetheless, the Proclamation was distinctly unpopular with many

Hoosiers. Putnam County, Indiana, Democrats resolved that the Emancipation Proclamation “is a most palpable violation of Executive power—a disgrace to the age in which we live—and a burning shame upon the fair name which our nation has hitherto borne, and will bring down upon it the execrations of mankind, and consign its author to well merited oblivion and eternal infamy.” And Indiana’s Thomas Hendricks was one of six senators who voted against the Thirteenth Amendment. (The others were from Kentucky, Delaware, and California.)

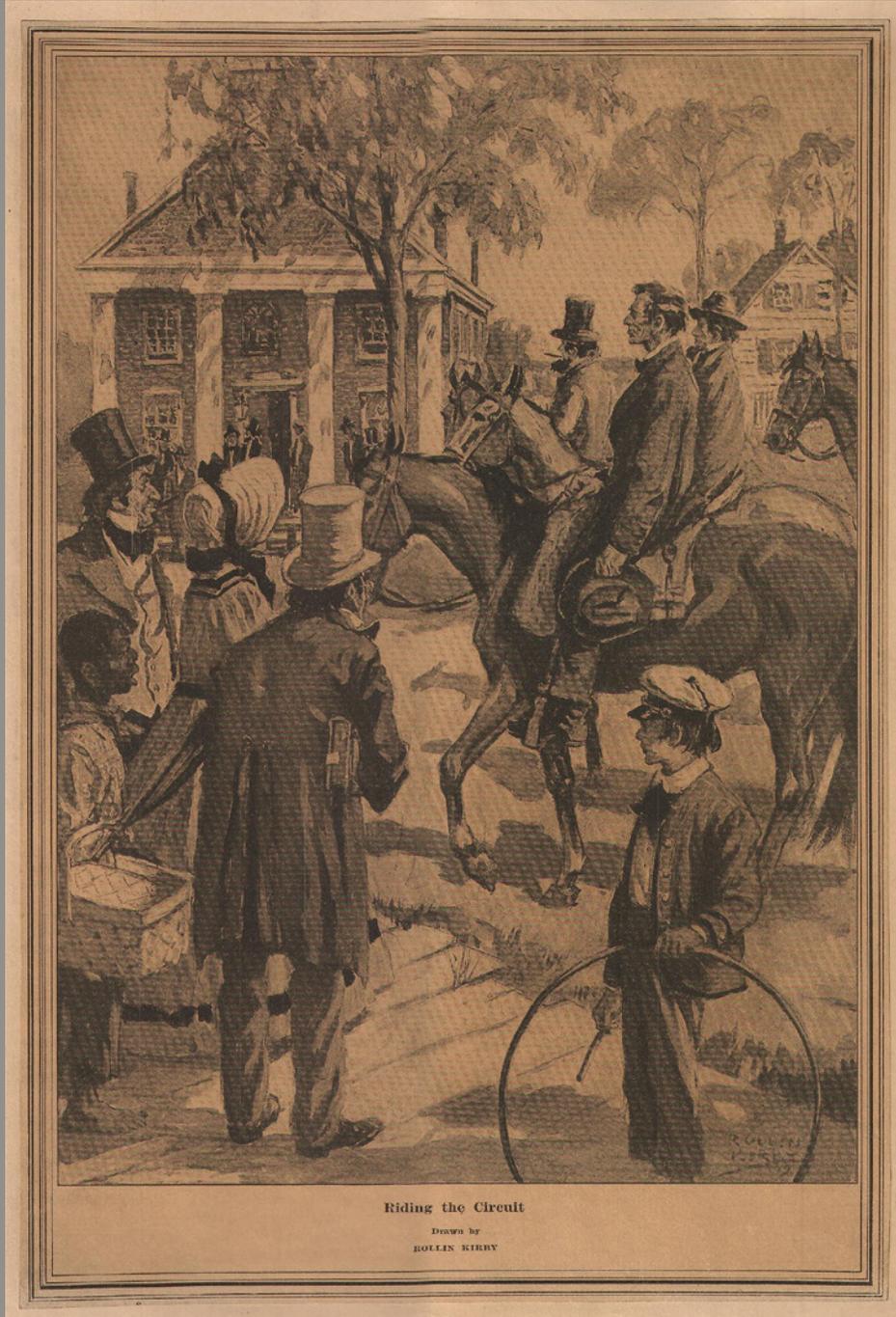
Among the Democrats’ fears was that Indiana’s black laws would be overturned by the Proclamation and by further measures advancing black rights. That is precisely what happened. Once freed, many slaves from Kentucky and other southern states migrated northward. The black population of Indiana doubled after the war, although it still remained tiny. Courts ruled that the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, the latter of which asserted black citizenship, nullified discriminatory measures such as the black laws. And in granting black men the vote, the Fifteenth Amendment superseded Indiana’s constitutional prohibition on black suffrage. But while other northern states formally removed their black laws from the statute books, Indiana’s were not repealed until 1881, making it the last northern state to get rid of those discriminatory provisions.

Lincoln died before the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were added to the Constitution, so it is not possible to know whether he would have backed these measures. (The Thirteenth Amendment was submitted to the states in early 1865, although it was not officially ratified until December of that year.) By the end of his life, however, Lincoln was advocating black suffrage for some, such as the educated and black sol-

diers. During the Civil War, Frederick Douglass met Abraham Lincoln. The eminent black abolitionist commented that he had never been “more quickly or more completely put at ease in the presence of a great man” than he was by the president. Douglass considered this particularly noteworthy since Lincoln came from a black law state. The measures associated with Lincoln’s enduring memory, emancipation and black equality, would have been unthinkable in the Indiana—or the America—of Lincoln’s youth. Because Lincoln was not a typical Hoosier, they became realities.

Sources: “U.S. Mint Unveils New Lincoln Penny in Ind.,” *Muncie Star-Press*, May 15, 2009, p. 6a; Michael Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life. Volumes One and Two* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995); Fred Kaplan, *Lincoln: The Biography of a Writer* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008); Nicole Etcheson, *The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest, 1787-1861* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); Nicole Etcheson, *A Generation at War: The Civil War Era in a Northern Community* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011); Ronald C. White, Jr., *A. Lincoln: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 2009); Douglas L. Wilson, ed., *Herndon’s Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

Nicole Etcheson is the Alexander M. Bracken Professor of History at Ball State University.



Lincoln through the Lens of History,

Interview by **SARA GABBARD**

An Interview with Frank Williams

Sara Gabbard: Why does the life of Abraham Lincoln continue to enthral us?

Frank Williams: President Lincoln struck many visitors to the White House as bizarre – honest and friendly, but woefully unfit for the office, given his personal quirks and frontier sense of humor. Physically, he was picturesque with a 6'4" frame, massive hands, size 13 feet, and strikingly ugly face. Even professionally, the verbal tricks of a self-taught prairie lawyer (including his frequent use of "ain't" and the endless country tales to make a point) left many to question whether his intellect was enough to face the crises that engulfed the nation.

Strangely, it seemingly took a future assassinated leader to fully appreciate why a victim occasionally becomes even larger in death than in life. In 1905, while in South Africa, Mohandas Gandhi wrote a newspaper article on why America's 16th president had a major influence on him and suggested that Lincoln's death was historically less important than his enduring legacy in the world. His death on the Saturday morning between Good Friday and Easter almost immediately transformed Lincoln the politician into a secular saint across America and around the world.

It then took scholars at least a half-century to restore Lincoln's humanity, yet their increasing academic specialization undermined his worldwide legacy until more recently. What was not clear at first after his death were aspects of him that many around him had come to discover; the folksy prairie lawyer had a will of steel; a knack for peering into the heart of a problem; a rare ability to rise above insults and emotion while applying reason and pragmatism to tasks; a penchant for moderation; a keen sense of public opinion to determine how far the public and politicians were willing to go; and a brilliant flair for the English language, cultivated by familiarity



Bombardment of Fort Sumter, Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War, Vol. I 71200908406574

with the King James Bible, the plays of William Shakespeare, and poetry in general.

By these means, Lincoln the lawyer-statesman, was able to steer the nation through its Civil War without destroying the U.S. Constitution, while he contributed to a political and legal revolution. Surely, this crafty politician who kept the nation's commitment to black soldiers who helped save it by championing the 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery—final freedom—would have far more artfully handled Reconstruction than the men who succeeded him. His desire to bring the South back into the fold in a spirit of charity and without malice, while protecting basic rights of blacks, required the willpower and skills of a master politician.

SG: What lessons, if any, have political leaders learned from Lincoln's life? What lessons *should* they have learned?

FW: Every president wants "to get right" with Abraham Lincoln as he is remembered most for providing lead-

ership needed to preserve the Union during a massive Civil War. But let us remember, too, that it was the legal experience from 24 years as a practicing attorney that had helped prepare him for the challenge of the presidency. Long before he became the nation's greatest president, Lincoln was a well-respected lawyer in Illinois. As a trial lawyer, Lincoln's style was simple, logical, and direct. He was folksy but shrewd, knowing every detail of a case. He practiced this art as president by, for example, propounding interrogatories to his subordinates. When he sought the advice of General Winfield Scott on the Fort Sumter crisis, he told the general, "You will much oblige me by giving answers, in writing, to the following interrogatories." When his plan of attack differed from General George B. McClellan's, he directed him to answer a series of direct questions: "Wherein is a victory *more certain* by your plan than mine?" In leading, one should reflect on Lincoln's political courage. He was clear and self-confident in his beliefs. He learned to trust his own judgment.

Although he made mistakes, they were not mistakes of self-doubt. A prerequisite for this kind of courage is remaining steady even amid a barrage of criticism. And certainly Lincoln was no stranger to criticism. He suffered continuous assaults on his character from the North, the South, and abroad.

Lincoln understood that half measures were insufficient regarding national union and emancipation. These issues could only be resolved in such a way that they could never be reopened.

Lessons that later political leaders should learn include what Lincoln had in abundance: a fundamental vision, a golden temperament, and a shrewd strategy for how to cope with political realities. Primarily missing today is a collaborative leader who avoids dominating his party and the other branches of government. Today's leaders, like Lincoln, should see themselves as a stage setter who makes creativity possible for everyone. Collaborative leaders remove the distance between themselves and others. Today's problems are too complex for a single brain, so these leaders can create the

right context to nudge a group along toward solutions. Lincoln, the collaborative political leader, appears different from traditional ones. He created an atmosphere of cooperation, rather than competition, by evoking a shared national consciousness, rather than partisanship.

SG: Which of our Founding Fathers does Lincoln most resemble in views regarding the proper role of the federal government? On the same subject, which Founder's viewpoint does he reject?

FW: His last law partner, William H. Herndon, wrote, "Mr. Lincoln hated Thomas Jefferson as a man and as a politician." Yet Herndon only got it half right.

Jefferson believed that the only real wealth was land and that the only true occupation of virtuous and independent citizens was farming. Lincoln, who actually grew up laboring on a backwards farm, saw little there but endless, mind-numbing toil under the rule of his illiterate father. He made his escape from the farm as soon as he turned 21, opened a store which failed, and finally went into law to promote commerce. Jefferson regarded banks as the source of commercial evil. But Lincoln, as an Illinois state legislator, promoted a state banking system and public funding for canals and bridges. As a lawyer, Lincoln was never "unwilling to appear in behalf of a great soulless corporation," especially railroads. As president, he put into place a national banking system, protective tariffs for American manufacturing and government guarantees for building a transcontinental railroad. Jefferson would turn over in his grave if aware of Lincoln's economic policies.

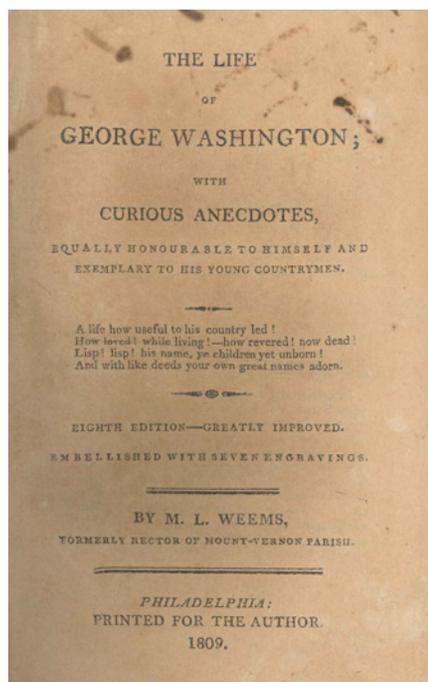
But there was another dimension of Jefferson that Lincoln admired. In the Declaration of Independence and elsewhere, Jefferson articulated a "natural law" perspective on life, liberty,

and the pursuit of happiness. Lincoln understood that Jefferson's meaning formed "the definitions and axioms of free society." These "truths" formed Lincoln's political philosophy. He quoted in profusion the vision of the Declaration of Independence drafted primarily by Jefferson. It became Lincoln's legal brief for a democratic society. To Lincoln, the Declaration was antecedent and superior to the "positive" or man-made law found in the U.S. Constitution.

For that reason, Lincoln would concede, "all honor to Jefferson," who "had the coolness, forecast, and capacity" to fix in the Declaration of Independence the "abstract truth" that all men are created equal, so that it would "be a rebuke and a stumbling block" to anyone who planned to reintroduce "tyranny and oppression." It was a profound insight and standard for democratic government, not just for the United States, but for the world.

On a more practical level, Lincoln valued another Virginian. George Washington was Lincoln's earliest model as a patriot, statesman, and self-made man. He had read Parson Weems's *The Life of George Washington* as a young boy and from that point forward molded his career and his understanding of patriotic duty around Washington's example. It was probably why he became a surveyor and enlisted in the Illinois Militia. If Lincoln was, in the words of Richard Brookhiser, the "founders' son," then it was Washington who was first among his fathers, while Jefferson played a more intellectual role in Lincoln's mind.

SG: If one subscribes to the concept that there are "historical eras," Abraham Lincoln was born on the cusp between Enlightenment and Romanticism. Is there any evidence in his writing/speaking/thought that would support the concept



The Life of George Washington, by M.L. Weems, Eighth edition, 1809 71200908400741

that he reflected both “Ages” ...or was his mind one that cannot be categorized?

FW: Abraham Lincoln was *sui generis*. He transcended both Enlightenment and Romanticism, as well as political labels. There are more books on Abraham Lincoln than any other democratic political leader in world history—some 16,000. His definition of democratic government delivered at Gettysburg has appeared in the Constitutions of nations around the world and his presence is reinforced abroad on streets, schools, and stamps bearing his name and image more than any other American president.

A prime example of his words and deeds coming together is Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address. In only 703 words, Lincoln carried the scales of justice into this speech. He did so knowing that Americans had always been uncomfortable facing up to their own potential for malevolence. The president suggested that the war was a means of purging the nation of its historic sin of slavery, “until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword.” It was the language of a judge, not the mere language of a lawyer who delivered the First Inaugural Address four years earlier. It took only six or seven minutes to deliver, yet it contains many of the most memorable phrases in American political oratory. The speech contained neither gloating nor rejoicing, accounting for the confusion of many listeners who expected and wanted political tripe. Rather, it challenged the public and offered Lincoln’s deepest reflections on the causes and the meaning of the war. The “scourge of war,” he explained, was best understood as divine punishment for the sin of slavery, in which all Americans, North as well as South, were complicit. It described the national moral debt that had been created by the “bondsmen’s 250 years

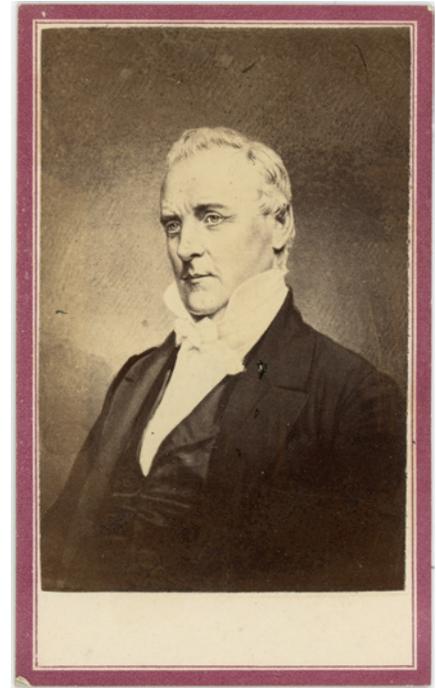
of unrequited toil,” and ended, with a call for compassion and reconciliation.

The first eight words of Lincoln’s last paragraph of the address proclaimed an enduring promise of reconciliation: “With malice toward none, with charity for all” immediately became his most memorable words from the Second Inaugural Address. After his assassination, they came to represent Lincoln’s legacy to the nation and the world. Lincoln ended the address with a coda for healing: “To bind up...to care for...to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace...” Instead of rallying followers, in the name of God, to support the war, he asked his listeners, quietly, to emulate the ways of God. This is what I mean by saying that Lincoln had become a lawyer-statesman-judge.

SG: Did the American public have different expectations for the presidency in the 1860s than today?

FW: Except for George Washington’s defining the presidency through his demeanor and statesmanship and the strong and sometimes raucous presidency of Andrew Jackson, most presidents until Abraham Lincoln tended to be subdued in their deportment and initiatives. Surprisingly, the Whig Lincoln kept a portrait of the Democrat Jackson hanging in his cabinet room. While some, then and now, criticize Lincoln for this, there is really no other way he could have prevailed through four horrific years by winning the war and addressing slavery—its cause. No president has such a hold on our minds as Lincoln. His greatest trial, the Civil War, was the nation’s greatest trial. Aspects of the race problem that caused it remain with us today. His violent death gave his life a dramatic climax that allows us to play the always-fascinating “what if?” game.

Lincoln, after all, is the central figure in America’s unfolding epic experiment. What we are today we might never



James Buchanan OC-1800

have been had Lincoln not intervened in the sectional conflict of the 1850s. His predecessor, James Buchanan, would not “fight.” While believing secession illegal, he thought there was nothing his administration could do if states left the Union. We expect boldness from our leaders, along with political courage, the ability to communicate, and effectiveness. Lincoln is the shrewd prairie lawyer-politician, more adept than his better-known rivals and his predecessors.

Yet, when he was urged during the Civil War to ignore the Constitution’s restraints on presidential power, he echoed Jefferson’s warning against taking “possession of a boundless field of power” by asking: “Would I not thus give up all footing upon constitutional law? Would I not thus be in the boundless field of absolutism?” Lincoln was bounded by democratic standards in the practice of government—he helped define those standards for the world.

From the outset of the Civil War, Lincoln had exercised unprecedented powers as commander in chief. In 1862, the President had told the dele-

gation of antislavery clergymen from Chicago that he could, if he judged it necessary, proclaim emancipation in Confederate states: “as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, in time of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy.” Whether the measures he took exceeded his constitutional authority was much debated at the time and remain controversial even today. What remains certain, however, is that Lincoln vastly expanded presidential war powers and established precedents invoked by his successors during later wars. And he knew and accepted the fact that both Congress and the Supreme Court would pass judgment on his actions—as well as the people.

SG: Are we indulging in unfair judgments if we criticize Lincoln for such wartime measures as the suspension of *habeas corpus*? Or are we correct to be cognizant of possible legal precedents for future presidents?

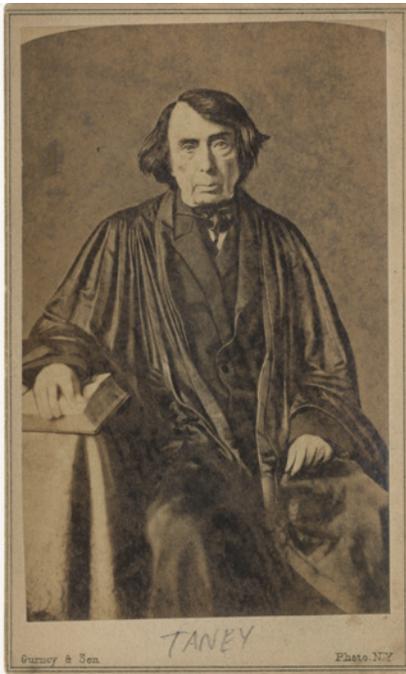
FW: The Constitution does not define functions and powers of the president as commander in chief. Wartime Presidents James Madison and James K. Polk did not go much beyond the limited function of directing military forces. Lincoln’s actions as commander in chief certainly went beyond “purely military” matters. The Constitution gives Congress the power to declare war. Yet, one of Lincoln’s first acts after the firing on Fort Sumter was to proclaim a blockade of Confederate ports. In effect, this proclamation was a declaration of war, and both Congress and the Supreme Court subsequently endorsed it as such. During the hellish days during spring 1861, with Congress out of session, Lincoln preempted congressional authority to raise and support armies. His proclamation of April 15 calling on the states for 75,000 ninety-day militia to suppress the insurrection was based on the Militia Act of 1795. On May 3, Lincoln issued an Executive Order calling for 43,034 three-year volunteers for the army and increasing the size of the regular army and navy by 40,714 men. Both actions were apparent violations of the Constitution, which grants Congress exclusive authority to “raise and support armies” and to “provide and maintain a navy.” President Lincoln believed that the federal bureaucracy, in these early days of the war, was still infested with Confederate sympathizers, so he ordered Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase to advance \$2 million to three private citizens from New York to purchase arms and vessels. This order directly contravened the Constitution, which stipulates that any mon-

ies drawn from the Treasury must be as a result of congressional appropriations. Lincoln openly justified these actions on the grounds that “existing exigencies demand immediate and adequate measures for the protection of the national Constitution and the national Union.” A year later, in response to dictatorship charges, he insisted that “It became necessary for me to choose whether, using only the existing means, agencies, and processes which Congress had provided, I should let the government fall at once into ruin, or whether, availing myself of the broader powers conferred by the Constitution in cases of insurrection, I would make an effort to save it with all its blessings for the present age and for posterity.” While not defining those “broader powers conferred by the Constitution,” he cited the commander in chief clause and the constitutional mandate that the president “shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed” (Article II, Section III). Later presidents also invoked these provisions to justify far-reaching executive actions, sometimes citing Lincoln’s precedents. The presidential oath to “preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution: of the United States” is a larger duty that overrides a lesser provision in the Constitution, “A part cannot be supreme over the whole, to the injury of destruction of the whole.” Lincoln sought and received retroactive congressional approval when it met in a special session that he called for on July 4, 1861. It could not meet earlier because of the election timetable in congressional sessions, and the new Congress would not meet until December 1861.

After a mob in Baltimore attacked the 6th Massachusetts Infantry as it passed through the city to defend Washington in April 1861 and other Confederate sympathizers in Maryland tore down telegraph wires and burned railroad bridges linking the Capital to the outside world, Lincoln suspended the writ



Detail of Abraham Lincoln's Second Inauguration, March 4, 1865 OC-1541



Roger B. Taney OC-1006

of *habeas corpus* between Philadelphia and Washington. Subsequent orders expanded the areas where the writ was suspended until the proclamation of September 24, 1862, suspended it throughout the whole country—North as well as South—and authorized martial law and trials by military courts of “all Rebels and Insurgents, their aiders and abettors...and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice, affording aid and comfort to Rebels against the authority of the United States.” Under these orders more than 13,000 civilians were arrested and detained without trial for varying lengths of time, most in the border slave states where Confederates and guerillas were numerous. But even in the North a number of antiwar Copperheads were arrested (some 4,500), and several were tried and convicted by military tribunals for draft resistance, trading with the enemy, sabotage or other alleged pro-Confederate activities. No other action by the Lincoln administration—except perhaps emancipation—generated greater hostility than these

apparent violations of civil liberties. Chief Justice Roger Taney in a chambers decision, *ex parte Merryman* ruled that only Congress could suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. (Article I, Section 9). Lincoln believed that, “the Constitution itself, is silent as to which, or who, is to exercise the power;” and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency; “...it cannot be believed the framers of the government intended, that in every case, the danger should run its course, until Congress should be called together; the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion.” Lincoln’s policy was to preserve the Union by winning the war, so necessary measures to achieve that purpose overrode lesser constitutional restrictions.

SG: How were presidential options/decisions as a result of the firing on Fort Sumter and the bombing of Pearl Harbor similar? Different?

FW: Both acts of war were similar in that they coalesced the country to fight a long war with great sacrifice at home and in the field. Abraham Lincoln sent a fleet toward Charleston, South Carolina, with supplies and reinforcements when he learned that Fort Sumter’s garrison would run out of supplies in six weeks or less the day after his inauguration. If the Confederates allowed unarmed boats to bring in “food for hungry men,” the war ships would stand off and reinforcements would return north. But if Southern artillery fired on the fleet, the guns in the fort would fire back. In effect, Lincoln flipped a coin and told Jefferson Davis: “Heads I win; tails I win too.” If southern guns fired first, the Confederates would stand convicted of starting a war. If they let the supplies go in, the American flag would continue to fly over the fort. Davis did not hesitate to order the firing before the supply ships could reinforce Fort Sumter.

Likewise the attack on Pearl Harbor, while a surprise as to its location, demanded an immediate declaration of war by the Congress and the retooling of American culture, as in the Civil War, to produce the materials for conducting a victorious war with 16 million men and woman serving in the armed forces.

SG: As we have passed the 150th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln’s death, what advice do you have for those who hope to keep his legacy strong?

FW: Today, 150 years later, the entire world still wrestles with notions of equality and a government of, by, and for the people. It can be seen in disparities in America’s criminal justice system and in access to employment, education, housing, and healthcare. It can also be heard worldwide in political discourse. Citizens of all nations are still inspired by the words and deeds of Abraham Lincoln—democracy is always a work in progress.

The sesquicentennial of Lincoln’s death is not just about a revered president. It is about what he stood for and the responsibilities “We, the people” still shoulder to achieve that vision—a united nation where all people enjoy freedom and equality.

We will not get another Abraham Lincoln—his face could not survive TV, a person with his capacity for introspection could not survive the 24/7 self-branding campaign environment. Yet, leaders should have a portion of his gifts—someone who is philosophically grounded, emotionally mature, and tactically cunning. Both leaders and followers need resilience, courage, and empathy.

Frank J. Williams is the retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, co-chair of the Lincoln Forum, and a well-known expert on Abraham Lincoln.

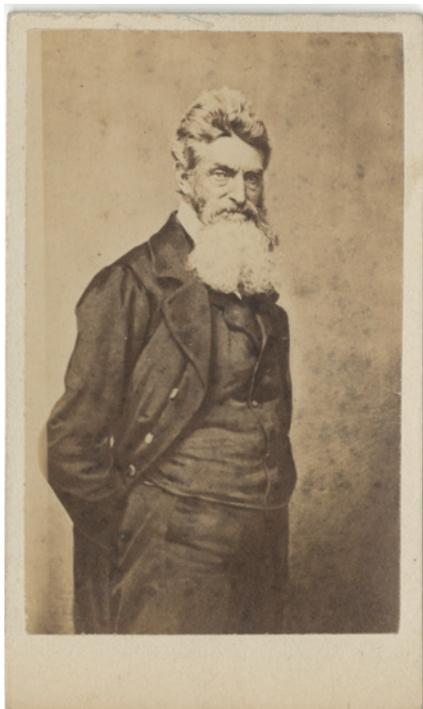
Clement Laird Vallandigham LN-1997



The Star-Crossed Case of
Clement Laird Vallandigham

BY ALLEN C. GUELZO

Ohio had the privilege of giving the nation many of the most prominent figures of the American Civil War. Ulysses Grant was born in Ohio; William Tecumseh Sherman was also born there; and beyond those two (who can be said to have carried most of the war's victories on their shoulders), Ohio can also point with pride to John A. Bingham (the architect of the 14th Amendment), Salmon Chase (Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury), James Garfield, Rutherford B. Hayes, and William McKinley (all of whom would become president), and even Johnny Clem, the "Drummer Boy of Shiloh." Lists of Ohio's contributions to the Civil War will, however, probably not include the name of Clement Laird Vallandigham, who represented Ohio's 3rd Congressional District in the House of Representatives from 1858 until 1863. Of Vallandigham, perhaps the kindest thing said about him has been that he was a Copperhead—a strenuous opponent of the Lincoln administration. Others were less kind, or restrained: "a traitor to his own people," "a burning disgrace," and most ingeniously, "a Treble tongued,



John Brown OC-0455

Hidra headed, Cloven footed, heaven forsaken, Hell begotten, Pucilanymous Curse."

These were curious terms of opprobrium to use on a man who was, after all, the son of a Presbyterian preacher from New Lisbon, Ohio, and a reasonably successful lawyer in Dayton from 1847 onward. Clement Laird Vallandigham (Clement was his father's name; his mother's family supplied the Laird) grew up in a household soaked in Calvinist piety. It was not religion, though, but politics to which he had been attracted from his early twenties, and especially to the politics of Andrew Jackson's Democratic party. He made his first stump speech at a Democratic political rally when he was barely twenty, campaigned for James K. Polk in 1844, and "greatly preferred politics to law."

But he cut no remarkable path as a candidate for office. He ran unopposed for a seat in the Ohio state legislature in 1845 but in 1850, lost a bid for a county judgeship to a rival Whig candidate. He ran for lieutenant-governor of Ohio in 1851 and lost. He lost an election for Congress in 1852 to another Whig by only 147 votes, and when he ran again in 1854 against the same Whig opponent, he lost by 2,565 votes. Dreariness seemed to be his companion in politics, because when he ran for a third time against the same Whig incumbent in 1856, Vallandigham lost again, this time by only nineteen votes. But he contested the election, on the basis that his opponent's total was tainted with the voting of a number of "colored citizens," and a Democrat-controlled House of Representatives awarded Vallandigham the seat. Incumbency improved his situation, and in 1858 he was finally elected to Congress on his own power—although by only 188 votes.

The 36th Congress did not assemble until December 1859, which gave



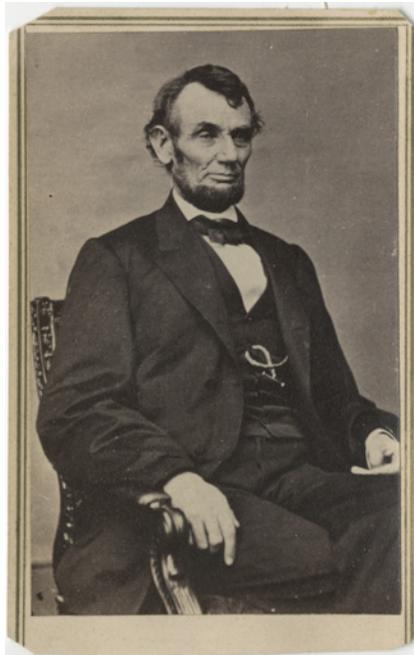
Ambrose E. Burnside LN-0434

Vallandigham a chance to pay a call on another well-known Ohioan—John Brown. "Old Ossawatimie," or "Captain Brown" as he was revered by his friends, had thrown a lighted match into the deepening controversy between North and South over slavery by leading an armed party of antislavery "soldiers" to seize the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry on October 16, 1859. Brown's plot failed, and Brown himself was wounded and captured in the raid. But he was not in the slightest bit unwilling to talk to Vallandigham when, three days later, the Ohio congressman came visiting.

Vallandigham had actually been *en route* from Washington to Ohio through Harpers Ferry when Brown's raid froze all transportation westward for forty-eight hours. When he finally arrived at Harpers Ferry at noon on October 19th, Vallandigham used the hours he would have to wait until the evening connecting train came through to wander around the town "in deep reflection." When he arrived at the arsenal grounds, he was hailed by the officer in command of the Marine detachment that had sub-

dued Brown, Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee. Vallandigham learned from Lee that James Mason, who would chair the Senate's special investigative committee into the Harpers Ferry raid, and the local Virginia representative, Charles James Faulkner, were on their way to interview Brown in the office of the arsenal, where he was being held prisoner, and Vallandigham was invited to join them. Brown's unashamed admission that "we came to free the slaves" appalled Vallandigham. He would write a few days later that "Captain John Brown is as brave and resolute a man as ever headed an insurrection." Clearly, Brown was "no ordinary ruffian." Instead, it broke on Vallandigham's mind that Brown was entirely typical of "the false and cowardly prophets and teachers of Abolition" and that bloodshed and anarchy were the goals of all of them. "This interview made a very deep impression upon Mr. V.'s mind," wrote his brother James, "he often referred to it, and spoke of John Brown as one of the most remarkable men ever met."

Vallandigham did not intend that as a compliment. Vallandigham himself had no personal investment in the preservation of slavery; but neither did he have much antagonism toward it. As a state legislator, he voted against repeal of Ohio's black codes and aggressively endorsed the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. "We have viewed with anxiety and alarm the perilous crisis brought upon us by years of ceaseless and persevering agitation of the Slavery question in its various forms," and as far as Vallandigham was concerned the problem was not with slavery but with the agitation. "We are for the Union as it is and the Constitution as it is," and Vallandigham's constitution gave no authority to anyone—any state, any political party, any federal officer—the right to meddle with slavery in the states where it was legal. "We will preserve, maintain, and de-



Abraham Lincoln LFA-0034

fend both at every hazard, observing with scrupulous and uncalculating fidelity every article, requirement, and compromise of the Constitutional compact between these States, to the letter and in its utmost spirit."

But in November 1860, the nation elected as its president a committed antislavery Republican in the form of Abraham Lincoln, and Vallandigham's anxieties for the Constitution and the Union went into overdrive. "For twenty years the country has been agitated by this subject of slavery," Vallandigham said in a speech in Detroit. "Men of the North and West have been taught to hate the men of the South, and Southerners have been taught to hate the men of the North and West. ...What will be the inevitable result of the conflict that must ensue? ...Human nature has been misread from the time of Cain to this day, if blood, blood, human blood is not the result." And it was, after the slave states responded to Lincoln's election by announcing their withdrawal from the Union and pummeling the federal garrison at Ft. Sumter into submission on April 14, 1861. Far from the

Southern attack changing his mind, Vallandigham instead announced that he "never would, as a Representative in the Congress of the United States, vote one dollar of money whereby one drop of American blood should be shed in a civil war."

Vallandigham's concern was pointed at Lincoln and the need to "rescue the Republic from an impending military despotism." He did not believe that it was practically possible for the North to coerce the Confederacy back into the Union, but the effort might well succeed in destroying constitutional government. "History does not record an example where any human Government has been strong enough to crush ten millions of people into subjection when they believed their rights and liberties were imperilled, without first converting the Government itself into a despotism, and destroying the last vestige of freedom." And each step Lincoln took to deal with the rebellion only confirmed Vallandigham's darkest apprehensions. "The audacious usurpation of President Lincoln, for which he deserves impeachment, in daring, against the very letter of the Constitution, and without a shadow of law, to 'raise and support armies,' and to 'provide and maintain a navy,' for three or five years, by mere executive proclamation, I will not vote to sustain or ratify—Never! Millions for defence; not a dollar or a man for aggressive and offensive civil war."

Vallandigham seems to have given no thought to what blame the Confederates deserved for the ensuing civil war. But in truth, Vallandigham cared little for either North or South. "He was not for the North, nor for the South, but...for The West all the time," and in his mind the best response to the Civil War was for Ohio and the rest of the old Northwest to secede themselves and declare a pox on both Northern and Southern houses. But the Lincoln administration was, for him, the nearer offender, especially

Private
 In "Bastille" - Cincinnati, Ohio. May 17, 1863.
 Gov. Seymour,
 Albany, N. Y.

My dear Sir: Many thanks for your letter to the meeting last night - thanks in the name of Constitutional Liberty. The press & public meetings of the past ten days have done much to compel despotism to pause, let the good work go on. - The infamous conspiracy & doctrines of Judge Sewitt, create great indignation. The servility & degradation of the Judiciary are the most symptomatic of the times. We also now depend to a very great extent on New York - you - all eyes are turned to it that you are not kidnaped too. You know how to ~~prevent~~ ^{prevent} it. We can & must

break down the conspiracy against our liberties. The purpose is to believe men to prevent any presidential election in 1864, or to control it by force. I am still here "awaiting orders"! but calm & unmoved, "fearing not what men can do unto me".

The ~~part~~ ^{part} is now in thorough sympathy, East & West; & firmness & persistence will save us. An edifice suffering if only delivered to the country come at last. But your voice - the voice of New York, & the Administration, will break my bonds.

C. Vallandigham

Clement Vallandigham to Horatio Seymour, May 17, 1863

after Republicans in the Ohio state legislature re-wrote congressional district boundaries in 1863 to gerrymander Vallandigham's district from under him. He gave his valedictory speech in the House on February 14, 1863, bitterly promising his Republican opponents that "at the time and in the manner appointed by the Constitution and law, we shall eject you from the trusts you have abused, and the seats of power you have dishonored, and other and better men shall reign in your stead." He returned home in March 1863, a man without a district—but not without a cause.¹

Ohio had been placed within the Military District of the Ohio (one of sixteen military districts improvised across the North during the war), and command of the district given to Major General Ambrose Burnside. A luckless general in the field, Burnside proved to be even more hapless behind

¹ He would also shortly become a man without country, since Edward Everett Hale used Vallandigham as the model for Philip Nolan, the title character in Hale's famous novella, *The Man Without a Country*.

the lines, and that spring he issued General Order no. 38, prohibiting criticism of the "civil or military policy of the administration" as treason. The legal folly of that order should have been apparent to Burnside, since the Constitution's definition of treason was an exceedingly narrow one, and the brief history of treason trials in American law firmly excluded the introduction of expansive notions of "constructive" treason which would allow indictments for "compassing or conspiracy to levy war." No matter: "treason, express or implied, will not be tolerated in this department."

On May 1, 1863, Vallandigham directly challenged Burnside's authority in a speech delivered to a mass meeting in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, characterizing the war as "a wicked, cruel, and unnecessary war...a war not being waged for the preservation of the Union" but for "the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism." In the process, it had become something even worse in Vallandigham's eyes, "a war

for the freedom of the blacks and the enslavement of the whites." He confidently predicted that Abraham Lincoln "was about to appoint military marshals in every district, to restrain the people of their liberties, to deprive them of their rights and privileges," and the template would be General Burnside. "The sooner the people inform the minions of usurped power that they will not submit to such restrictions upon their liberties, the better," because it was high time in Ohio "to defeat the attempts now being made to build-up a monarchy upon the ruins of our free government."

Announcement of the time and place of Vallandigham's speech had not escaped the notice of these "minions." Burnside had two staffers, Captains Harrington R. Hill and John A.

Means, in civilian dress in the crowd to "observe" and "take notes," and those notes and observations were all Burnside needed to send a company of soldiers on May 5th to batter down Vallandigham's front door at two-thirty in the morning, tear him "from the arms of his devoted wife and weeping child," and hurried downstairs, where he was bundled on a train to Cincinnati and imprisonment "in a building on Second or Columbia-street, then used as a military prison."

The next day, Vallandigham was arraigned before a seven-member military commission, with Brigadier-General Robert Potter as presiding officer. The commission had no trouble finding him guilty of fostering "in his hearers a distrust of their own Government, sympathy for those in arms against it, and a disposition to resist the laws of the land," and they sentenced him "to be placed in close confinement in some fortress of the United States, to be designated by the Commanding Office, of

this Department, there to be kept during the continuance of the war." Vallandigham did not wait for the verdict to be announced. His lawyer, former Ohio Democratic senator George E. Pugh, was already applying to Humphrey H. Leavitt, the federal district judge for the Southern District of Ohio, for a writ of *habeas corpus*, to pry him out of the hands of military commissions.

Leavitt was "in infirm health," but he roused himself to write an opinion denying Vallandigham's application on the narrow grounds that "it was not competent for a civil court" to pass judgment on the actions of a "military commander." The military in time of war possessed a "discretionary power" which allowed senior officers like Burnside to decide "whether the arrest was a military necessity." If Vallandigham wanted to appeal his arrest, he should turn to Burnside's superior, "the President of the United States as commander-in-chief," who had "ample power to set aside the order of Gen. Burnside." Undismayed, Vallandigham then addressed himself directly to the U.S. Supreme Court on a writ of *certiorari* (which would require the commission to turn over its records to the Supreme Court for review). But in *ex parte* Vallandigham the following February, the Supreme Court agreed with Leavitt. "Military jurisdiction...in the armies of the United States," wrote Justice James Moore Wayne,² is "exercised by courts-martial" or by "*military commissions*," and such commissions are legitimate not only during "war with foreign nations," but also during "a rebellion, when a part of a country wages war against its legitimate government, seeking to throw off all allegiance to it, to set up a government of its own."

Vallandigham's arrest might have

² *Vallandigham had no grounds to accuse Wayne of prejudice, since Wayne, curiously, was a Georgia-born Democrat and a slaveholder, and the only justice on the Taney Court to concur entirely with Taney in Dred Scott v. Sandford.*

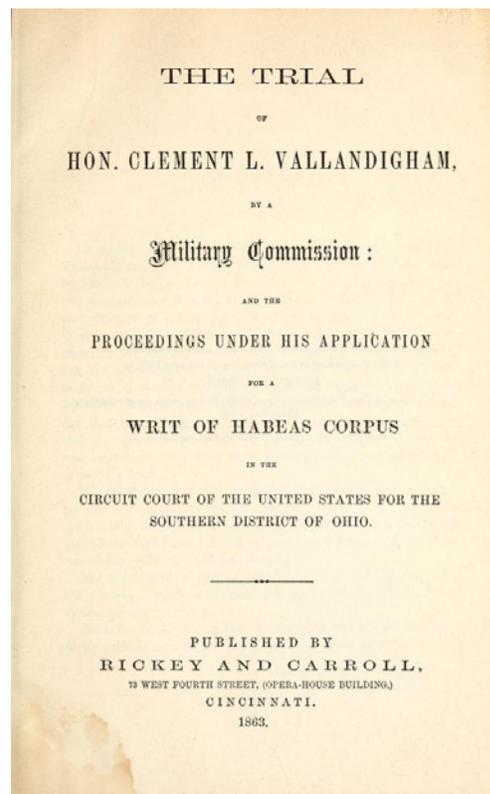
been uncomfortable for him, but it quickly became even more uncomfortable for the Lincoln administration. Vallandigham had been deliberately provocative; and he might indeed have crossed the line between mere dissent and giving aid and comfort to an enemy. But Vallandigham had committed his "disloyalty" in Ohio, where the civil courts were open and available, and his arrest by military force cast an ugly shadow over the constitutionality of Lincoln's policies. Petitions and protests from across the North now descended on an embarrassed President Lincoln. In Indiana, the Democrat-controlled legislature refused to vote funds for Republican governor Oliver Morton's administration of the state. In New York City, 25,000 protesters filled Union Square to declare that "were Vallandigham arrested here the whole population would rise *en masse* to rescue him."

The most potent of the protest meetings assembled in Albany on May 16th, chaired by Erastus Corning (the Democratic nominee for New York's fall Senate election). The crowd of 3000 was described as "one of the largest and most respectable meetings ever held at the Capitol," but the speakers—Judge Amasa J. Parker and Congressman Francis Kernan—were on fire to denounce "the recent assumption of a military commander to seize and try a citizen of Ohio, Clement L. Vallandigham, for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting, in criticism of the course of the Administration."

Lincoln did not relish the prospect of promoting Vallandigham to the rank of martyr. On the other hand, Lincoln could not very easily reverse Burnside's action without undermining his own presidential suspensions of the writ. "All the cabinet regretted the necessity of arresting" Vallandigham, Lincoln wrote coldly to Burnside, "but, being done, all were for seeing you through with it." Lincoln

toyed with the idea of issuing, on May 13th, a special suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* to cover Vallandigham in particular. But when Salmon Chase assured Lincoln that Leavitt would not issue a *habeas*, Lincoln abandoned the idea as too politically risky. Instead, Lincoln cut the knot on May 19th by ordering that Vallandigham be punished—not by imprisonment—but by being sent "under secure guard to the headquarters of General [William S.] Rosecrans to be put by him beyond our military lines" and into the hands of Braxton Bragg and the Confederate Army on May 25th, as though to suggest that Vallandigham would find more congenial company there.

The Confederates were no more interested in Vallandigham than Lincoln was. "Our people ought to give him a friendly greeting," wrote the Confederate War Department clerk, John Beauchamp Jones—at first. No such greeting emerged after the Confederate government inter-



The Trial of Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham, by a Military Commission (1863) 71200908407149

rogated Vallandigham and learned that neither “he or his party had any other idea than that the Union would be reconstructed”—just that reunion should occur under Democratic rather than Republican auspices. On June 8th, Jefferson Davis did as Lincoln had done, and ordered Robert Ould, the Confederate commissioner for prisoner exchanges, to “conduct” Vallandigham to Wilmington, North Carolina, “whence his departure for a neutral port will be facilitated.”

Vallandigham bounced from Bermuda to Canada, arriving at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on July 5th and announced several days later that he was entering the race for governor of Ohio that fall—from exile. Now it was Vallandigham’s turn to overplay his hand. Ohioans who did not particularly like Vallandigham’s treatment at Burnside’s hands did not have much more sympathy for Vallandigham’s fulminations against the war effort, and he was defeated in the October 1863 gubernatorial election by John Brough by 100,802 votes. Nine months later, his political sails deflated, Vallandigham slunk back across the border and returned to Ohio. He attended the Democratic National Convention in September as a delegate for the 3rd District, only to see a War Democrat, George B. McClellan, nominated. When the news of his return was communicated to Lincoln, the supposed despot merely decided to “watch Vallandigham and others closely” and, unless there was any “palpable injury or imminent danger to the military proceeding from him,” ignore him.

The one lasting result of the Vallandigham imbroglio was the lengthy public letter Lincoln wrote in June—one of three major public letters he would compose that summer—in reply to the Albany protest meeting. The “Corning Letter” (so-called from its address to “Erastus Corning & others” as signatories of the resolutions the

meeting sent to Lincoln) became the most eloquent and influential argument on presidential powers and civil liberties in time of war. “Thoroughly imbued with a reverence for the guaranteed rights of individuals,” Lincoln assured Corning and his colleagues, “I was slow to adopt the strong measures, which by degrees I have been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the constitution, and as indispensable to the public Safety.” Since “ours is a case of Rebellion... in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of Rebellion,” and since the Constitution permits suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* “when, in cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it,” there could be no justification in the clamor over Vallandigham’s arrest.

Lincoln saw no constitutional exception in the fact that Vallandigham’s offense had been committed far from the actual scene of rebellion. “I am unable to believe that there is any such constitutional distinction.” Nor was Vallandigham merely exercising his freedom of opinion. “Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it.”

If what Vallandigham does literally subtracts from the government’s capacity to defend the nation, why is he not as guilty as a deserter who subtracts himself from the army—especially if it was Vallandigham’s promptings which induced the desertion? “Long experience has shown that armies can not be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death.” So is it fair that I order the execution of “simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wiley agitator who induces him to desert?” In the

same spirit in which he had warned Burnside, Lincoln now conceded that, speaking personally, “I do not know whether I would have ordered the arrest of Mr. V.... I was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him.” But he was not going to reverse Burnside’s decision until he could “believe the public safety will not suffer by it.”

None of this seems ever to have persuaded Clement Vallandigham, nor did Vallandigham’s wartime experiences do anything to improve his creative sense of bad timing. He made two more unsuccessful bids to election to Congress, then settled into his law practice. In 1871, he undertook the defence in a capital murder crime in Lebanon, Ohio, and, while demonstrating how he would produce the murder weapon before the jury, managed to fatally shoot himself. He died the next day, affirming his belief in “that good old Presbyterian doctrine of predestination.” He had good reason: hardly have the stars in their courses marched against a man so consistently as the unhappy Clement Laird Vallandigham. Ironically, the principle to which he appealed in *ex parte* Vallandigham would be vindicated only a year after the war in *ex parte* Milligan, the gold standard for all subsequent jurisprudence on presidential powers and civil liberties in wartime. But Vallandigham himself is remembered more as the man who made it possible for a president to compose the most aggressive statement of those presidential powers.

Allen C. Guelzo is the Henry R. Luce Professor of the Civil War Era at Gettysburg College. This article is an expansion of remarks he delivered on October 13, 2014, in Mt. Vernon, Ohio.

Lincoln the Peddler

By JEFFREY R. KERR-RITCHIE, PHD
HOWARD UNIVERSITY



Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862 71.2009.081.0145

Eighty-five-year-old Mary Jane Kelley of Newberry, South Carolina, did not “remember anything about Abraham Lincoln nor Jefferson Davis.” She “only heard about” them. Kelley had either forgotten or decided not to share any information with her interviewer on November 10, 1937. This was not the case, however, with many other former American slaves who between 1936 and 1938 were interviewed by roughly 300 employees of the Federal Writers Project (FWP). The more than 2,200 formerly enslaved people in 17 states were examined from a list of 333 questions. Question 309 asked:

“What did slaves think about Lincoln?” Not all of the interviewees were asked this, and it remains unclear whether all of the answers were recorded. But more than 260 responses culled from the pioneering multi-volume *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* edited by George P. Rawick and published in 1972 provide intriguing glimpses into the thoughts of African American men and women who acquired their freedom during the Civil War era.

Many of the survivors of American slavery described Lincoln as “good,”

“fine,” “great,” “big,” or “grand.” For instance, eighty-four-year-old Sam Rawls offered a rather succinct recollection when he told his interviewer, “Abraham Lincoln was a good man.” He also remembered that Lincoln said the slaves should “go to work,” and he came with “his two men, Grant and Sherman, and captured de slave bosses.” William Henry Towns believed “Abe Lincoln was a mighty fine man even if he was tryin’ to save their Union.” The distinction is a telling one. Eighty-five-year-old Mary Johnson told her interviewer G. L. Summer that Lincoln “was a fine man,” but she also

thought Jeff Davis “was good,” and believed that “[s]lavery did good” because it made the Negro “careful” and taught him “how to work.” Although her response may have been genuine, it was also indicative of the guarded responses of some interviewees in the 1930s U.S. South. In contrast, seventy-six-year-old Elisha Doc Carey was quite clear why she thought Lincoln was great. When the president “come to dis passage in de Bible: ‘My son, therefore shall ye be free indeed,’ he went to wuk to sot us free.” Similarly, Hannah Pummer from North Carolina believed “Abraham Lincoln was one of the best men that ever lived.” Unlike, South Carolinian Mary Johnson, she thought “[s]lavery was a very bad thing.” There are numerous other examples that we could draw upon, but the major point is that many former slaves held positive views of Lincoln because they associated him with the eradication of slavery and the advent of freedom.

Not all of these views, however, were favorable. Louis Davis of Coahoma County, Mississippi, told WPA worker Carrie Campbell that they say Lincoln set the slaves free. “He might have done that for some of them, but he sure wasn’t the one to set me free. Old Miss was the one that set all of us free, and Mr. Lincoln didn’t have nothing to do with it.” For Davis, freedom was local and immediate. For others, emancipation’s limitations were unforgettable. Sam T. Stewart of North Carolina believed Lincoln “was a man who aimed to be good, but a man who never got to it.” Lincoln was little more than “a poor buckra white man” to Ed Barber of Greenwood, South Carolina. He meant well, “but I can’t help but wish him had continued splittin’ them fence rails, which they say he knowed all ‘bout, and never took a hand in runnin’ de government of which he knowed nothin’ bout.” Sally Dixon agreed that Lincoln “was the one what freed us.” But after freedom, “we was



Abraham Lincoln Entering Richmond, April 3d, 1865, by J.C. Buttre (1866) 71.2009.081.1025

going to get forty acres of land and a mule. Stead of that we didn’t get nothing.” George Conrad, Jr., thought Lincoln “was a smart man,” but added simply: “I don’t think his work was finished.” There was little evidence of the Great Emancipator in these folks’ lives and memories.

Among the most interesting responses to the question, however, were recollections from those who claimed to have seen, encountered, and shared various experiences with Lincoln. Numerous former slaves recalled sightings associated with the famous president. Alex Godson from Indiana claimed to have seen “Abraham Lincoln’s cabin many a time, when I was young.” It was set on a high hill with a spring which Godson visited “lots of times.” Similarly, Julia Williams of Medina County, Ohio, responded she “didn have no thought about him but I seed him.” Virginia Newman of Texas claims to have shaken hands with Lincoln even though “[s]ome folks say dat ain’ Abr’am Lincoln.” But Newman “knowed better” because the “culled folks call him ‘Papa’ and he “shake han’s wid all d’ culled folks.” This was probably a childhood memory reinforced by community story

telling. Louis Meadows, who hailed from the Alabama interior, told his two interviewers that he was standing on the side of the road “an’ seed Mr. Lincoln ridin’ by wid Mr. [president James] Buchanan.” Dan Thomas of Tennessee “member seein’ Andrew Jackson, General Grant en Abraham Lincoln.” Jackson, of course, had died in 1845. Marylander Mary Barnes’ recollections were more believable. She claims to have seen Lincoln in Washington “when he took command the second time [1864].” Alabaman Ester King Casey’s sighting was a little jarring. She “saw” Abraham Lincoln “hanging from a noose in the courthouse square.” It was only an effigy. Of course, most of these sightings were imaginary. The key point is they were largely favorable and endorse the broader point about the inextricable link between Lincoln and emancipation.

Other formerly enslaved people recalled personal encounters with Lincoln. Joe Bouy from Lincoln County told his FWP interviewer Esther de Sola how “Abraham Lincoln wuz trawling ‘long out our way an’ he stop at our place an’ stay de night an res. Tall, sparse man. He pat me on de

haid when he fixin' to leave. Ah 'members dat." One wonders who this visitor was. Sarah Walker recalled how Lincoln had visited her county and stopped at her family cabin. "His height and dignity frightened the children and they fled in hiding. It was not until her father assured them that 'Mass Lincoln' wouldn't harm them that they left their places of refuge." Elizabeth Thomas of Washington, D.C., recalled a particular personal encounter. It was evening and she was sitting under a sycamore tree crying with a little furniture and holding her six-month-old child "when a tall, slender man, dressed in black, came up and said to me: 'It is hard, but you shall reap a great reward.' It was President Lincoln, and had he lived I know the claim for my losses would have been paid." The encounter was not impossible. It is also feasible that Thomas entered a claim for compensation for property losses sustained during the Civil War with the Southern Claims Commission that was rejected. Her belief in a better outcome as a consequence of the president's intervention speaks volumes about her understanding of emancipation.

Others told not of direct encounters but related stories of visits from the president from family members. Georgina Foster's parents "said Abraham Lincoln come through there [North Carolina] on his way to Jeff Davis." Tom Hunley from Leflore County, Mississippi, told FWP interviewer Lalla Walker Lewis that his mother "tole me many a time about Mr. Abe Lincoln stoppin' at her ol' marster's place." His mother told her son "many a time what he had on: ole boots, ole huntin' cap, and his suit was - well, it wasn't very much 'count." After he left, he "writ back an' say: 'Look like my rail-splittin's over.' Last time he writ to my mammy's old marster he say: 'Now war is on us.'" We should not underestimate the role parental stories and recollections



Contrabands at Headquarters of General Lafayette (1862) LN-2629

played in establishing Lincoln as the person who brought freedom to the slaves.

Some of these reported encounters amounted to splendid fictions. Richard Slaughter, born in 1849, traveled on the same steamer as Lincoln from Alexandria to Mount Vernon. Adam Smith of Tate County, Mississippi, told Margaret L. Pack that he came across "Ole man Abe Lincoln and Jeff Davis a settin' thar and a spittin' and talkin', before war." Eighty-nine-year-old H. B. Holloway of Little Rock, Arkansas, recounted Lincoln's visit to Atlanta. He called for all of the Confederate money and the oldest colored man. "Then he threw him one of those little boxes of matches and told him to set FIRE TO IT AND BURN IT UP." Maria Heywood of Waccamaw Neck, Georgetown County, South Carolina, never forgot when her freedom came. I "know when Lincoln shoot the chain of slavery off my neck. And I hear the gun. I hear SHOOT and the house shake and water shake out the glass. The gun shoot to Georgetown!" While Lincoln clearly never visited the slave quarters nor spent time in the Confederate South as suggested by Slaughter, Smith, and Holloway, Heywood's memory of the link between gunfire and freedom was not so far-fetched, given Union naval

occupation of Port Royal Sound on coastal South Carolina in November 1861. But it is less important to divide these encounters into degrees of likelihood than to reveal their range—as well as their commonality—as favorable reflections on the former president because of his association with emancipation both at the time as well as subsequently.

Particularly intriguing about some of these encounters was their furtive nature. Lincoln comes across as a slim shadowy figure almost akin to a spy. Bob Maynard from Oklahoma recalled that before "the [1860] election he traveled all over the South and he came to our house and slept in old Mistress' bed. Didn't nobody know who he was." Ninety-seven-year-old Margret Hulm of Humphrey, Arkansas, recalled answering the door one day "and when I opened it there stood a big man with a gray blanket around him for a cape. He had a string tied around his neck to hold it on. A part of it was turned down over the string like a ghost cape." He stayed all night. "We heard after he was gone that he was Abraham Lincoln and he was a spy." Rose Mercer of Oklahoma claimed she "saw him and shook hands with him" just before his election to the presidency. He came through Alabama "riding on a grey mule." The people of

the state said they would kill him, “but he came through spying as to the conditions of the slaves.” Jordon Smith of Texas “seed Abe Lincoln once when he came through Anderson County, but he didn’t none of us know who he was.” Charlie Davenport from Adams County, Mississippi, told Edith Wyatt Moore that he was fifteen years old when “honest Abe Lincoln, what called hisself a railsplitter, come here to talk wid us. He just went through de country jest a rantin and preachin ‘bout us bein his black brudders. Old Marse didn’t know nothing ‘bout hit ‘cause hit was sorta secret like.” It is hard to accept that Lincoln did any of these things ascribed to him. But the important point is that the clandestine nature of the visitor and his visitations conveys the secretive nature of slave aspirations for freedom. It further illustrates the dangerous implications of emancipation in a wartime slaveholding region.

These former slaves’ recollections, memories, and stories of seeing, encountering, and experiencing Lincoln demonstrate the importance of emancipation and its inefaceable link to the wartime president. And some contemporaries were not averse to exploiting this connection. South Carolinian Mary Scott proudly displayed a picture of Lincoln to her FWP interviewer. Thinking it was a screen star from a New York newspaper, the interviewer asked Scott who had told her it was Lincoln? She replied that “[s]ome preacher” had told her. (Why would he have done this? Ignorance? Ingratiation? Money?) Henry Gibbs from Clay County, Mississippi, believed he saw the man once and the same man came to the house “pretending to be crippled.” “When we was out of sight,” recalled Gibbs, “dat man put them crutches across his shoulder. I always believed that man was Lincoln.” Charity Austin of Raleigh, North Carolina, recalled Lincoln’s visit: “He wus just the raggedest man you

ever saw.” He “said he wus huntin’ his people; and dat he had lost all he had.” They fed him, after which they heard he was in the White House. “We knowed den it wus Abraham Lincoln.” Eighty-one-year-old Mary Wallace Bowe of North Carolina recalled a visit from a peddler. He “was de uglies’ man I ever seed.” He sat down on the porch looking parched. Mistress Fanny gave him some milk. “All de time Mis’ Fanny was lookin’ at de things in de pack an’ buyin’, de man kept up a runnin’ talk.” Some weeks later, Mis’ Fanny got a letter from the peddler saying “he was Abraham Lincoln heself; dat he was peddlin’ over de country as a spy.”

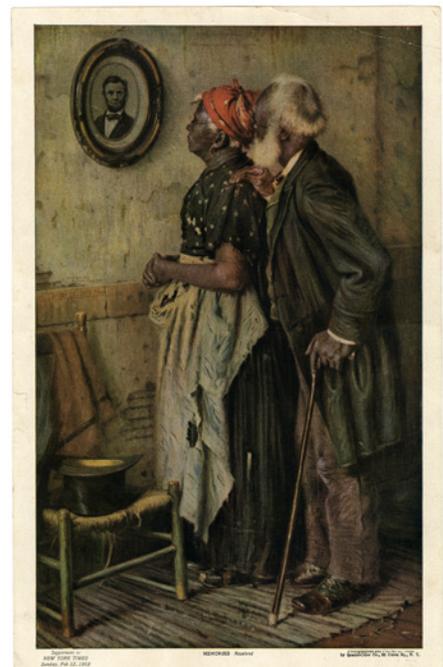
It is evident that many former slaves invested Lincoln with an important meaning primarily associated with liberation. This investiture was never forgotten. Moreover, some contemporaries exploited this association for their own purposes. They deserve some credit for peddling the image of Lincoln as the Great Emancipator. Families and kin also peddled such stories. Sarah Walker, Virginia Newman, Charlie Davenport, and others all learned about their freedom this way. Since many of the octogenarians interviewed in the 1930s would have been children during the 1860s, we cannot overlook the central role played by families and communities in constructing a positive view of Lincoln.

But perhaps the greatest peddler has been a national tradition creating and distributing the image of Lincoln as the Great Emancipator. This began almost immediately after the president’s shocking assassination once he had “saved” the Union and “freed” the slaves. It has been propagated ever since through public remembrance of the past based upon written records, oral traditions, personal reminiscences, endlessly repeated and recycled stories and tales, pictorial images, patriotic rituals, statuary, sanctified sites, movies, television dramas,

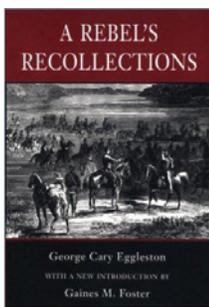
and so forth. A clear illustration of this powerful tradition was the image of Lincoln the rail-splitter in former slaves’ recollections. It is only since the 1980s that scholars have begun to seriously question and document the limitations of Lincoln the Great Emancipator, although the 2009 bicentennial of Lincoln’s birth as well as the 2012 Stephen Spielberg movie suggest this has yet to trickle down to the popular level.

This does leave us with an intriguing question. A number of former U.S. slaves were adamant about the limitations of the Great Emancipator. Their recollections anticipated the more recent critical analysis of U.S. emancipation as being a top-down directive. On the other hand, many former slaves held positive memories of Lincoln despite their frequent fictitious form. What then does this say about the divergent paths of older cultural memories of the Great Emancipator and recent historical scholarship on slaves’ self-emancipation?

Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie is a professor of history at Howard University.



Memories, Harry Roseland (1905) 71.2009.081.0342



A Rebel's Recollections

by George Cary Eggleston (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1875; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996)

Reviewed by **David Dew**

A Rebel's Recollections by George Cary Eggleston was published in 1875. Ten years

after the end of the war, the author believes that "the only thing necessary now to the final burial of the animosity existing between the sections is that the North and the South shall learn to know and understand each other." His purpose is to foster that understanding by presenting the point of view of a Confederate soldier, based on his own experience.

Eggleston was born in Vevay, Indiana, in 1839. When Eggleston was seventeen, he inherited a plantation in Amelia County, Virginia, where he led a privileged life. He voted against Virginia's leaving the Union but enlisted in the Confederate Army after Virginia's secession and served the entire war under Generals J.E.B. Stuart and Fitzhugh Lee. After the war, he embarked on a career as a journalist, editor, and writer. He wrote a number of novels as well as reminiscences of the Civil War. Eggleston died in 1911.

A Rebel's Recollections contains nine chapters, each presenting a theme or aspect of the war. In "The Mustering," Eggleston hopes to make the reader understand the Southern position—particularly the position of Virginia—by explaining Southern beliefs about the war and why men enlisted in the Southern cause. Virginians believed absolutely in the right of secession and a primary loyalty to one's state. Honor, Eggleston explains, was the issue for Virginia, even though most Virginians dreaded war and did not want it.

In another chapter Eggleston describes the character of Confederate soldiers, whom he describes as a "vast mob of rather ill-armed young gentlemen" whose ideal of soldiering was drawn from Sir Walter Scott. These Southern soldiers did not respect military rank, but they felt deeply about differences in social status. They fought for duty rather than under orders, and they fought even after there was little chance of success. Eggleston focuses on the Confederate volunteer soldier, and he criticizes conscription as bringing into the Confederate army "a good deal of material which was worse than useless."

Eggleston devotes a chapter to extolling the virtues of Southern women and praising their sacrifice. He tells of wom-

en's "starvation parties" and romanticizes Southern womanhood by quoting a Confederate general who opined that Virginia women are "worth a regiment apiece."

Eggleston also discusses Confederate currency and rampant inflation and describes needing baskets of money to buy things. Another chapter describes illiterate mountain men he met in the ranks. Eggleston helped them fill out commissary requests, and for his help he was elevated to the rank of Sergeant-Major. He also met street thugs from Baltimore who would fight anyone they felt had insulted their officers.

Eggleston served with J.E.B. Stuart and devotes a chapter to the officer he calls the "Chevalier of the Lost Cause." Eggleston admired Stuart greatly and declares him to be "the greatest cavalry officer that ever lived." But Eggleston believes that the proper use of the horse in the Civil War was not as cavalry but as dragoons and that Union General Philip Sheridan made better use of his horsemen and deserves a greater reputation than Stuart.

Eggleston's descriptions of Stuart and of Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and some lesser-known generals is where this book really begins to live for reader. Eggleston believes Lee was "the best organizer in the country" and asserts that the ordinary soldier absolutely believed in Lee's invincibility. He argues that Lee's advice to the men at the end of the war to "stay at home, go to work, and hold your land" prevented a large-scale exodus of disheartened young men to foreign countries and bloody post-war guerrilla actions. Stonewall Jackson, Eggleston says, was an enigma, but "without doubt...next to Lee, the greatest military genius we had."

What makes Eggleston's book most valuable, however, are chapters titled "Red Tape" and "The End, and After." Much of the literature about the Civil War focuses on the military campaigns and the strategies or miscalculations of those campaigns. Eggleston spends very little time on those themes. Instead, he wants the reader to understand the Confederate mind and motivations and the weaknesses that were crucial to the downfall of the Confederacy as he perceived them.

In "Red Tape" Eggleston lays the primary blame for the Confederate defeat on the Confederate government and its commissary department. The govern-

ment was fatally flawed because it was constitutionally weak, he argues, but it grew into a despotism that tolerated no questioning of its authority. The army was efficient, well drilled, and well led, but the government was incompetent. Eggleston partly blames that flaw on the Southern view that honor dictated the best men must fight, which left lesser men to fill the government posts. He calls Jefferson Davis the "grand master of incapacity" and faults Davis for meddling in military matters while being absorbed in petty details and favoritism. He further blames the commissary department for wasting resources and being so tied up in red tape that the armies starved.

Finally, Eggleston describes the end of the war. He asserts that by 1864 the South had to know the cause was lost but could not admit it. There was a "weariness" among the troops, but the thinking was if the South could just hold on, Providence would somehow provide the victory. The end came, Eggleston says, with utter disorganization of the government and the army. The assassination of Lincoln was terrible news that brought on the fear of harsher treatment for the South, and Southerners distrusted Andrew Johnson as a renegade.

George Cary Eggleston's *A Rebel's Recollections* is a valuable primary source for those interested in the Civil War. The reader can study events of the war through the eyes of an especially interesting participant—a Confederate soldier born in the North. The author's narrative provides insights into a monumental time period without the filters of interpretation and reinterpretation. Eggleston states that he is trying to get the reader to understand the Confederate point of view without justifying that point of view. He presents his perceptions without rancor but with some romanticism and a subtle sense of humor.

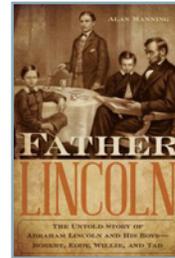
The book is most valuable for its character studies and for its critique of the failures of the Confederate government. In those areas, a book written 141 years ago might spur further analysis. But important as this primary source is, *A Rebel's Recollections* is limited by the viewpoint of the writer, who must base his understanding of a huge event on his own a very small part in it. He wants the reader to understand the South, but the reader senses that Eggleston "pined" for the "lost cause."

David Dew is a retired teacher and discussion leader for the Lincoln Book Group at the Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana.



Reading with Lincoln

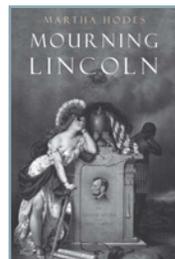
FALL 2016



Father Lincoln: The Untold Story of Abraham Lincoln and His Boys – Robert, Eddy, Willie, and Tad

ALAN MANNING
ROMAN & LITTLEFIELD, 2016

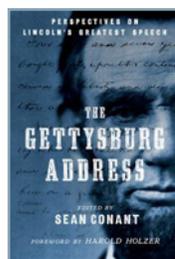
The author seeks to show Abraham Lincoln as a father, who at first faces the normal challenges of balancing career and family. Obviously, the normal challenges become severe as he navigates a war which threatens to divide his nation. As an example of new insight, Manning examines Lincoln’s relationship with his son Robert, which has been portrayed as somewhat distant and cool. In a review of the book in the *Wall Street Journal* (July 23, 2016), historian Harold Holzer suggests that: “In truth, Robert enjoyed much quality time with his father, and Mr. Manning supplies examples to spare.” The book gives a detailed look at the Lincoln family in the context of the time.



Mourning Lincoln

MARTHA HODES
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2015

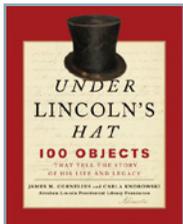
Hodes relies heavily on firsthand accounts of reactions to Lincoln’s assassination by “drawing on a remarkable range of diaries, letters, and other contemporary documents.” (Eric Foner) “This book is a timely reminder that wars rarely end on the battlefield, Through the lens of Lincoln’s death, Martha Hodes vividly portrays a scarred and bitter nation that has laid down its arms yet embarked on a conflict that endures 150 years after Appomattox.” (Tony Horwitz)



The Gettysburg Address: Perspectives on Lincoln's Greatest Speech

EDITED BY SEAN CONANT; FOREWORD BY HAROLD HOLZER
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2015

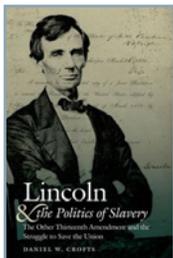
Fifteen scholars have contributed to this volume, eight under the first section titled “Influences” and seven under “Impacts.” Volumes and volumes have been written with the intent of explaining the 272 words which Abraham Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg on November 19, 1863. Historian James M. McPherson writes of the book: “No famous speech is shorter than Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, and none has been analyzed at greater length. Can anything important be said about the speech that has not already been said? The essays in this volume demonstrate that the answer is yes. They offer fresh and stimulating insights on the origins, meaning, impact, and continuing relevance of the Address.”



Under Lincoln's Hat: 100 Objects That Tell the Story of His Life and Legacy

ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY FOUNDATION
LYONS PRESS, 2016

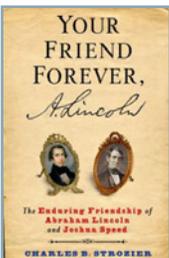
Taken from the world class Lincoln Collection at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, this book focuses on 100 artifacts which add much to the reader’s understanding of our Sixteenth President. The images range from a page taken from his sum book to the gloves that he wore to Ford’s Theatre on April 14, 1865.



Lincoln and the Politics of Slavery: The Other Thirteenth Amendment and the Struggle to Save the Union

DANIEL W. CROFTS
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS, 2016

This book examines the underreported story of Lincoln’s willingness, in order to avoid war, to accept a Resolution from Congress which proposed a “different” Thirteenth Amendment than the one we celebrate today. The document dated December 1, 1860, read: Article XIII. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service of said State.



Your Friend Forever, A. Lincoln

CHARLES STROZIER
COLUMBIA, UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2016

There is no doubt that the friendship between Abraham Lincoln and Joshua Speed was a significant factor in the lives of both men. Beginning with the moment that the newly arrived Lincoln walked into Speed’s store in Springfield and accepted the offer to share a room over the store, the two became fast friends and confidants. As both historian and psychoanalyst, Strozier brings a unique perspective to this relationship.

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