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Lincoln LORE

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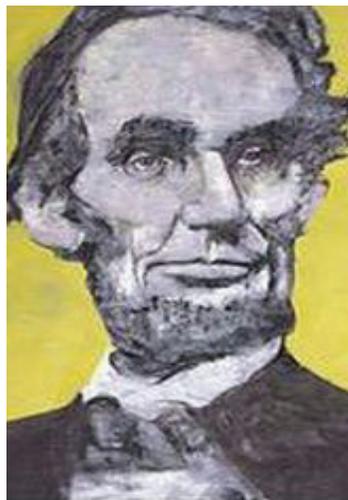
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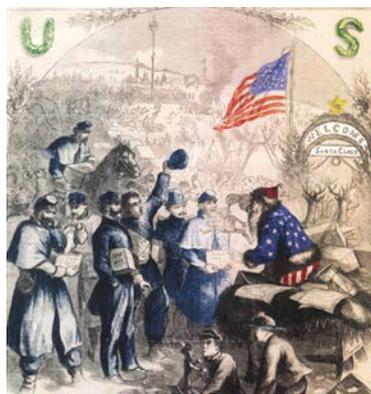
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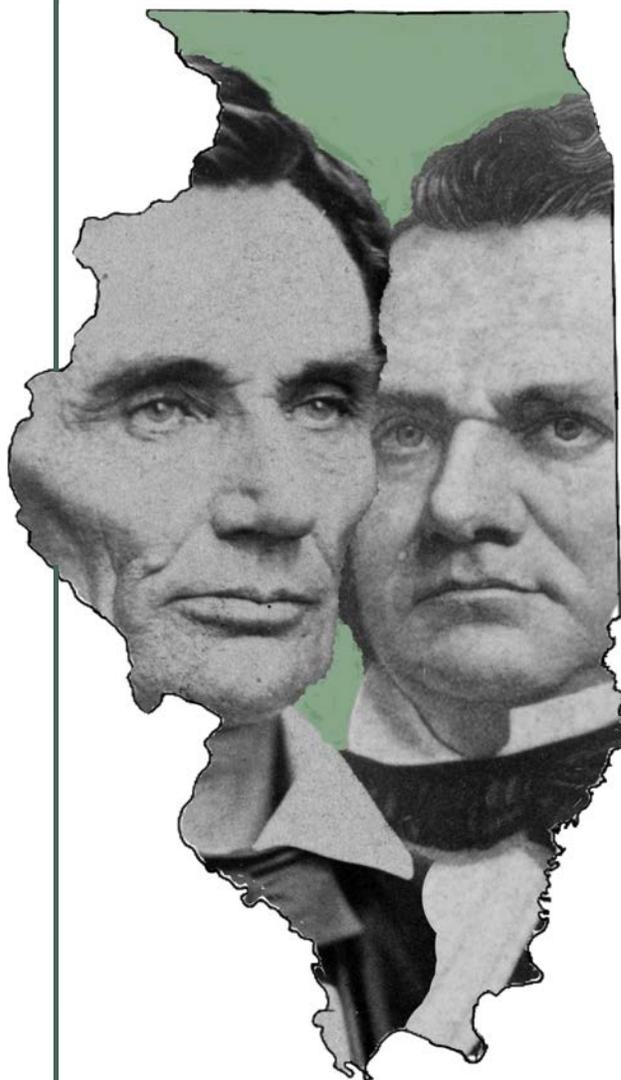
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The images on the cover are part of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection's Lincoln Family Album that was the personal photo album of the Lincoln family. To see more, see pages 14-15. (LFA-0091 Tad Lincoln, LFA-0484 Willie Lincoln, LFA-0486 Robert Lincoln).



The Debate over the Debates

How Lincoln and Douglas Waged a Campaign for History

Harold Holzer

As most readers of nineteenth-century history know, the 1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates sparked an explosion of public interest in Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, and the sport of political debating itself. The encounters not only riveted the tens of thousands of eyewitnesses who packed Illinois town squares and fairgrounds to hear them, but also captivated the hundreds of thousands more around the country who devoured every word of their arguments in the newspapers.

Often forgotten, however, is that what these readers got to examine in 1858 depended very much on the political party with which they (and their favorite newspapers) were affiliated. And what Democrats and Republicans saw was quite different. In the age of Lincoln and Douglas, Republicans read Republican-affiliated papers,

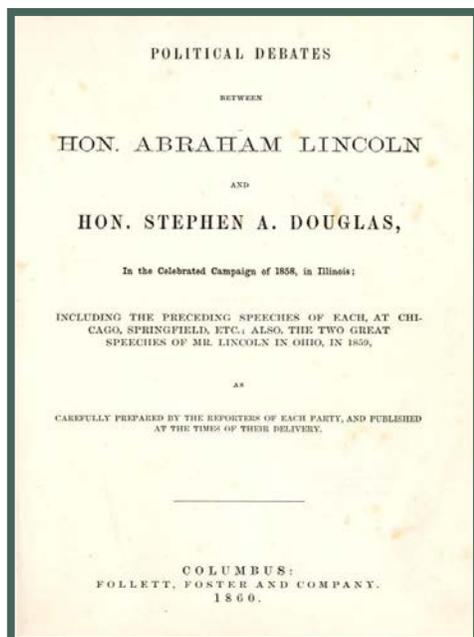
while Democrats read pro-Democratic journals. And the politically slanted debate coverage each published differed so markedly they seemed to be reporting entirely different events. The reprinted debate transcripts varied dramatically as well, recorded on the spot, but with entirely different results, by separate stenographers hired by Chicago's pro-Republican and pro-Democratic dailies.

The debates have been republished many times since 1858. But following their initial appearance in book form in 1860, they have almost always featured the Republican newspaper versions of Lincoln's remarks, and the Democratic reprints of Douglas's, just as they were first transcribed for, edited by, and issued in, the pro-Republican *Chicago Press and Tribune* and the pro-Democratic *Chicago Dai-*

ly Times, respectively.¹ For a century and a half, most readers have relied on, accepted, and cited these "official" party transcriptions even though they were undoubtedly burnished before their initial appearance in newspapers.² How they came to be permanently enshrined in book form constitutes a compelling story in itself.

The actual debates proved unrestrained, highly entertaining, if not always eloquent free-for-alls. They seem even more so in their original, unedited, unvarnished, and seldom-reissued form—that is, the way *opposition* stenographers recorded them on the scene—sans editorial amelioration—even if it might reasonably be argued that a Republican stenographer might as easily misreport a Democratic speech as a loyal Democrat might mangle a Republican one.

Even as the debates progressed, a secondary debate erupted over these partisan transcripts. The Republican press charged that Democratic reprints garbled Lincoln's utterances and refined Douglas's. The Democratic press unleashed similar attacks on Republican iterations. By way of example, the *Chicago Times* insisted that the



Political Debates, 1860

Tribune was guilty not only of shamelessly marring "The Little Giant's" debate speeches, but of "re-writing and polishing the speeches of...poor Lincoln," who, it taunted, "requires some such advantage." The *Tribune* countered that *Times* mutilations left Lincoln's actual words so "shamefully and outrageously...emasculated" that if doctoring prose became a crime, "the scamp whom Douglas hires to report Lincoln's speeches would be a ripe subject for the Penitentiary."³

The still-relevant issue—the accuracy of the debate transcripts we generally accept—remains unresolved to this day. But it was Lincoln, loser of the campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1858, who subsequently won the campaign over how posterity remembers them. Stung as he was by his defeat—and with it, the implicit rejection of his debate arguments—Lincoln within weeks grew "desirous of preserving in some permanent form, the late joint discussions between Douglas and myself."⁴ With no private secretary to help him, he proceeded to purchase "a

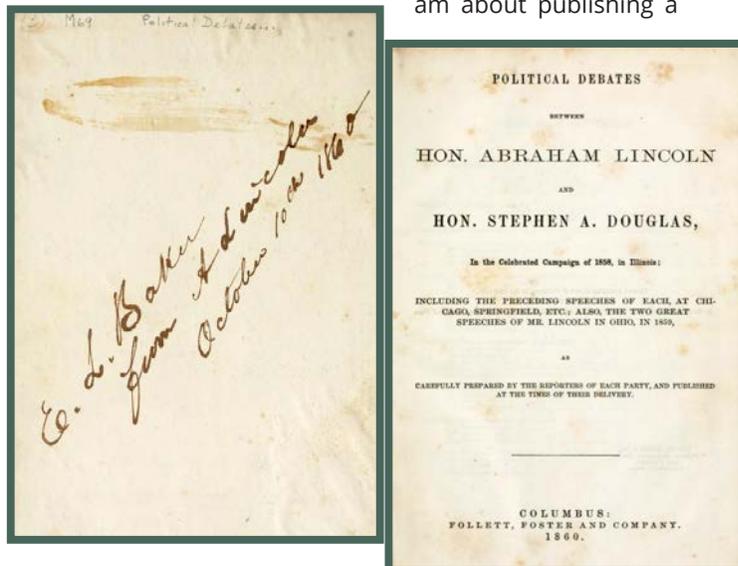
book binder to paste the speeches in consecutive order," obtained two sets of the complete run of transcripts from both the *Tribune* and *Times* (in case some transcripts appeared on back-to-back pages), and in short order began cutting them out and neatly gluing them in his new "Scrap-book."⁵ It was Lincoln who determined to use the Republican versions of his transcripts, and the Democratic record of his opponent's. Adopting these authorized, party-sanctioned printings, he reasoned, "would represent each of us, as reported by his own friends, and thus be mutual, and fair." But he did proceed to make minor corrections to his own remarks, offering Douglas the opportunity to correct typographical errors in his, if he so desired. Twisting the knife a bit, Lincoln left no doubt that he believed he had more of a right to make editorial changes than did his rival, explaining somewhat dubiously: "I had no reporter of my own, but depended on a very excellent one sent by the Press & Tribune, but who never waited to show me his notes or manuscripts."⁶ Even a pro-Lincoln man would have been forced to admit that Douglas had enjoyed no more time to review and amend his speeches immediately after their delivery than had Lincoln.

Still, it was Lincoln who seized the initiative to republish the debates; Lincoln who cannily realized that they might yet help him in future endeavors by further circulating his verbal battles with a national figure as prominent as Senator Douglas. At first, Lincoln elicited no interest in the project from publishers, but during a barnstorming tour through Ohio in 1859, he found a buyer through a fortuitous accident. Apparently he had taken the bulky scrap-book along with him (no doubt hoping to attract interest along the way), then carelessly left it behind one day in his hotel room. In

making inquiries to secure its safe return, he intrigued a local Republican leader who thought it might impress the Columbus publishers Follett, Foster & Co. It did. The book appeared under their imprint just before the 1860 race for president got underway. And it became so successful that it served almost to campaign nationally in Lincoln's behalf in an age in which presidential candidates did no campaigning on their own.⁷ The book sold 30,000 copies in the spring and summer of 1860.

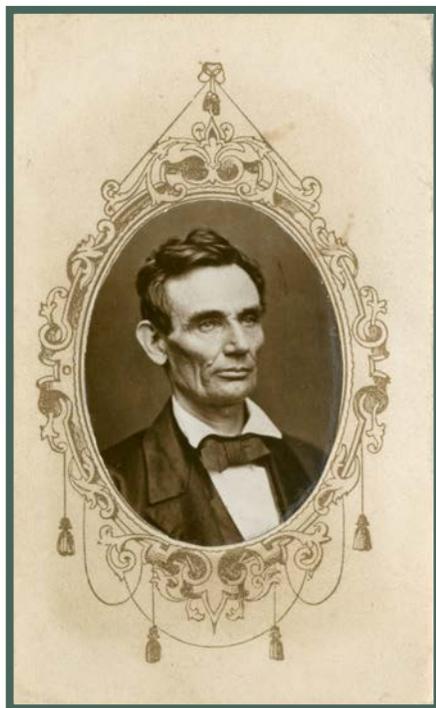
Douglas was not grateful. As far as his camp was concerned, the republication of the transcripts only reinvigorated the 1858 debate over their accuracy, a matter he clearly felt remained unresolved. Moreover, Douglas may well have feared that a new edition could remind Southern voters that, during the debates, Lincoln had cornered him into conceding the right of a local jurisdiction to ban, as well as welcome, slavery. Choosing to cast doubts about the book before it appeared, the Democratic press charged that Lincoln had unfairly re-edited his "manuscripts" while denying the same privilege to his once and current foe.

James W. Sheahan, editor of the pro-Douglas *Chicago Times*, wrote provocatively to Lincoln in late January 1860: "I see it stated that you have furnished some gentlemen of your party in Ohio with *revised* copies of your speeches [emphasis added]." To this sly insult Sheahan added a long-overlooked, veiled threat to outrace Lincoln for their reissue. "I am about publishing a



Political Debates, Given to E. L. Baker from A. Lincoln

book," Sheahan warned. "In it I propose to include one or more, possibly all of your speeches delivered in the joint discussions between Judge Douglas & yourself."⁸ Sheahan was in fact preparing only a campaign biography of Douglas, but Lincoln had no way of knowing and ample reason to think that the *Times* might rush forward a pre-emptive rival book. Lincoln refused to cooperate, telling Sheahan he had "no copies" of his speeches "now at my control" to provide the *Times*, true enough, having sent his only set to Follett & Foster; but he made no offer to secure additional copies. "You labor under a mistake, somewhat injurious to me," Lincoln further informed Sheahan, "if you suppose I have *revised* the speeches, in any just sense of the word. I only made some small verbal



Abraham Lincoln, OC-0003

corrections, mostly such as an intelligent reader would make for himself, not feeling justified to do more." Perhaps worried about the Democratic attack, Lincoln decided to codify that very argument in the preface to the actual book, steadfastly maintaining that its contents were "reported and printed, by the respective friends of Senator Douglas and myself, at the time—that is, his by his friends, and mine by mine. It would be an unwarranted liberty," the prologue rather self-righteously maintained, "for us to

change a word or a letter in his, and the changes I have made in mine...are verbal only, and very few in number."⁹

The Follett & Foster project went forward, with no sign of a competing volume from the Douglas camp. Feeling exposed, Douglas predicted that the permanent record collected by Lincoln would be "partial and unfair," with Lincoln's speeches "revised, corrected, and improved," and his own, "ambiguous, incoherent, and unintelligible." Lincoln's entire project, Douglas bristled, constituted an "injustice."¹⁰

Unjust it well might have been for Lincoln to publish his debates scrapbook without Douglas's review and permission. But it was also a brilliant political and public relations strike, all the more remarkable because Lincoln conceived it when allegedly wallowing in melancholy after coming up short on Election Day 1858.

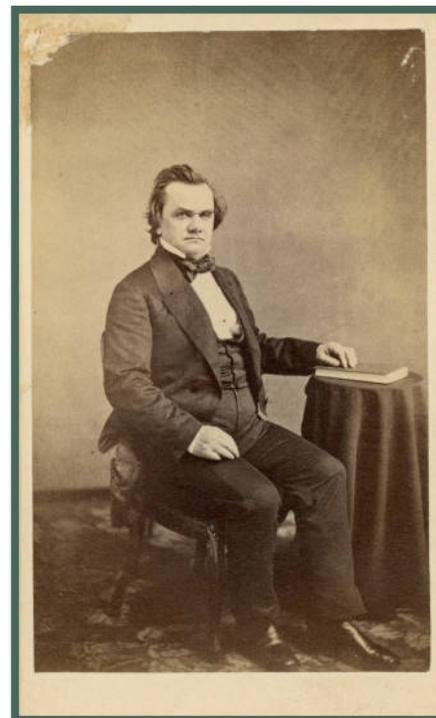
Lincoln had lost that election, but "won" the debates in part because he provided the source material for all subsequent book versions through 1993. The debates came down to us not as they were originally argued in the seven towns that hosted them in 1858, but as Lincoln wanted his own—and succeeding—generations to remember them, beginning with voters in the presidential campaign of 1860. It is no surprise that most readers and writers still believe, as James M. McPherson once put it, that Lincoln won the debates "in the judgment of history—or at least of most historians."¹¹

Harold Holzer is Jonathan F. Fanton Director of Roosevelt House Public Policy Institute at Hunter College. His next book is *Monument Man*, a biography of Lincoln Memorial Sculptor Daniel Chester French.

Endnotes

¹An intentional exception was my book, *The Real Lincoln-Douglas Debates: The Complete, Unexpurgated Text* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), which printed the "opposition transcripts"—Democratic versions of Lincoln's remarks, and Republican versions of Douglas's.

²Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *Rude Republic: Americans and their Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 163. The authors



Stephen Douglas LN-1708

note that "urgent partisan rhetoric" was "a staple of the political press."

³*Chicago Times*, October 12, 1858; *Chicago Press & Tribune*, October 11, 1858.

⁴Lincoln to Henry Clay Whitney, November 30, 1858, in Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953-1955), 3:343.

⁵Lincoln to Charles H. Ray, November 30, 1858; Lincoln to Henry Clay Whitney, December 25, 1858, *Collected Works*, 3:341, 347

⁶Lincoln to William A. Ross, March 26, 1859, *Collected Works*, 3:373.

⁷Douglas defied tradition by speaking in public in the South and was roundly mocked for the effort.

⁸James Sheahan to Lincoln, January 21, 1860. Sheahan was intentionally imprecise here; he was not actually contemplating a rival edition of the debates, but working on a campaign biography of Douglas, who was not only a fellow Democrat but an investor in the paper.

⁹Lincoln to James W. Sheahan, January 24, 1860, *Collected Works*, 3:515.

¹⁰Robert W. Johannsen, ed., *The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), 489.

¹¹James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 187.

Abraham Lincoln on Civil Liberties

By Hon. Frank J. Williams

Imagine, if you will, that the United States suffers an unexpected attack. The president deploys the armed forces and assumes extraordinary powers that go well beyond what the Constitution seems to allow. Thousands of persons suspected of aiding the enemy are arrested and held without charge or tried before military tribunals. Talk abounds of deporting members of a particular ethnic group from the country. The president meets frequently with evangelical ministers, trying to assure their active support for his military conflict as an epic struggle between good and evil, inspired by the country's divinely appointed mission to spread freedom and democracy throughout the world.

This period is not the early twenty-first century. Instead, the period is the 1860s, the president, Abraham Lincoln, and the conflict the American Civil War. History never really repeats itself. But the uncanny resemblances between that era and events in the United States since September 11, 2001, have pushed to the forefront of historical discussion such questions as the status of individual rights in a

national emergency and the permissible limits on the rule of law in wartime.

"Congressional leaders were outraged by the president's decision to deny American citizens a most basic constitutional right."

"Newspaper editors condemned the president. Lawyers, jurists, civic leaders, academicians, clergy, and others joined in the attack."

"It was not believed that any law was violated," the president said in response to his many critics."

Is this a news clipping from 2001 through 2007, during President George W. Bush's decision to authorize wiretaps without court approval, to detain both U.S. & non-U.S. citizens accused of terrorist acts without charging or trying them?

Though such a conclusion would be understandable, it, too, is wrong. Rather, the clipping describes the reaction to President Abraham Lincoln's decision to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, detain U.S. citizens, and to try them before a military tribunal.

Lincoln has always provided a lens

through which Americans examine themselves. Every generation reinvents Lincoln in its own image. He has been variously described as a consummate moralist and a shrewd political operator, a lifelong foe of slavery and an inveterate racist.

Today, people, governments, and businesses can communicate at the touch of a button. It's hard to remember a day without the internet, but its introduction and assimilation into daily life was a mere twenty years ago. Despite our advances, our country has entered a time separate from, yet similar to, the time of President Lincoln's administration.

Since 2001, our country has lived in a shadow cast by the September 11, 2001, attacks. The detention of enemy combatants and President Bush's decision to allow military tribunals spawned much heated discussion world-wide and within our nation. President Barack Obama campaigned against military detentions and for closing Guantanamo Bay in his election 2008 election campaign. When he was elected, he temporarily stopped the use of military tribunals, but within months reinstated their use. Throughout his administration,

President Obama continued many of President Bush's same policies. Today, President Donald Trump is intent to follow a similar path that both Presidents Obama and Bush traveled. In making this choice to utilize such tribunals, our commanders-in-chief walk a fine line between protecting the civil liberties all Americans hold so dear and guarding the safety of each citizen.

Throughout our nation's history, our leaders have been criticized for taking seemingly extra-constitutional measures. Upon closer examination of the situations facing Abraham Lincoln, many parallels can be drawn to the current atmosphere in this country. Today, years after the start of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, our country still lives in the shadow caused by the attacks on September 11, 2001. Today, not only does our nation have a continuing presence in both those nations, but is fighting a new threat: ISIS; along with Al Qaeda, and many other terrorist organizations. But to fight terrorist organizations, and not countries, required and still requires a different set of rules than the set we have used since the inception of our nation.

In facing emergencies during the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln found himself in many difficult political positions. In the words of historian James G. Randall: "No president has carried the power of presidential edict and executive order (independently of Congress) so far as he did . . . It would not be easy to state what Lincoln conceived to be the limit of his powers."

It has been noted how, in the eighty days between the April 1861 call for troops at the beginning of what became the Civil War and the convening of Congress in special session on July 4, 1861, Lincoln performed a whole series of important acts by sheer assumption of presidential power:

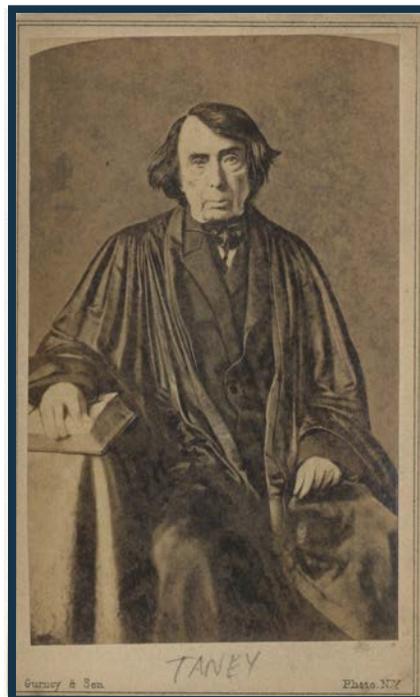
- increased the size of the army and navy;

- appropriated money for the purchase of arms and ammunition without congressional authorization;

- declared a blockade of the southern coast which is an act of war, which, arguably, recognizes a belligerent nation

-and, of course, suspended the precious privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

The writ of *habeas corpus* is a procedural method by which one who is imprisoned can petition the court to have his or her imprisonment reviewed. If the court finds the imprisonment does not conform with the law, the individual is entitled to immediate release. With suspension of the writ, this immediate judicial review of the imprisonment becomes unavailable. This suspension triggered the most heated and serious constitutional disputes of the Lincoln administration.



Roger B. Taney, OC-1006

Lincoln proclaimed, not "civil war" in those words, but the existence of "combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings." He called forth the militia to "suppress said combinations," which he ordered "to disperse and retire peacefully" to their homes. Lincoln considered these actions to be a "rebellion."

We all know that only Congress is constitutionally empowered to declare war, but suppression of rebellion has been recognized as an executive function, for which the prerogative of setting aside civil procedures has been placed in the president's hands.

By 1861, events in Maryland ultimately provoked Lincoln's suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. Lincoln's defenders argued that "events" had forced his decision. Ft. Sumter was fired upon on April 12, 1861. On April 19, the Sixth Massachusetts militia arrived in Washington after having literally fought its way through hostile Baltimore. On April 20, Marylanders severed railroad communications with the North, almost isolating Washington D.C. from that part of the nation for which it remained the capital. Lincoln was apoplectic.

He had no information about the whereabouts of the other troops promised him by Northern governors, and Lincoln told Massachusetts volunteers on April 24, "I don't believe there is any North. The Seventh Regiment is a myth. Rhode Island is not known in our geography any longer. You are the only Northern realities."

On April 25, the Seventh New York militia finally reached Washington after struggling through Maryland. The right of *habeas corpus* was so important that the president actually considered the possible bombardment of Maryland cities as an alternative to suspension of the writ. Lincoln authorized General Winfield Scott, Commander of the Army, in case of "necessity," to bombard the cities, but only "in the extremist necessity" was Scott to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*.

In Maryland, there was at this time a dissatisfied American named John Merryman. Merryman's dissent from the course being chartered by Lincoln was expressed in both word and deed. He spoke out vigorously against the Union and in favor of the South. He destroyed bridges and tore down telegraph lines isolating Washington, D.C., from the rest of the nation. Thus, he not only exercised his Constitutional right to disagree with what the government was doing, but also engaged in attacks to destroy the government.

This young man's actions precipitated legal conflict between the president and Chief Justice of the United States, Roger B. Taney.

On May 25, 1861, Merryman was arrested by the military and lodged in Fort McHenry, Baltimore, for various

alleged acts of treason. Shortly after Merryman's arrest, his counsel sought a writ of *habeas corpus* from Chief Justice Taney, alleging that Merryman was being illegally held at Fort McHenry.

Taney, already infamous for the *Dred Scott* decision, took jurisdiction as a circuit judge. On Sunday, May 26, 1861, Taney issued a writ to fort commander George Cadwalader, himself an attorney, directing him to produce Merryman before the Court the next day at 11:00 a.m. Cadwalader respectfully refused on the ground that President Lincoln had authorized the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

To Taney, Cadwalader's actions were constitutional blasphemy. He immediately issued an attachment for Cadwalader for contempt. The marshal could not enter the fort to serve the attachment, so the old justice, recognizing the impossibility of enforcing his order, settled back and produced the now famous opinion, *Ex Parte Merryman*.

Notwithstanding the fact that he was in his eighty-fifth year, the chief justice vigorously defended the power of Congress alone to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. The chief took this position in part because permissible suspension was in Article I § 9 of the Constitution, the section describing congressional duties. He ignored the fact that it was placed there by the Committee on Drafting at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 as a matter of form, not substance. Nowhere in his written decision did he acknowledge that a rebellion was in progress and that the fate of the nation was, in fact, at stake. Taney missed the crucial point made in the draft of Lincoln's report to Congress on July 4, 1861:

"The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed, were being resisted, and failing of execution, in nearly one-third of the States. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution? [A]re all the laws, *but one*, to go unexecuted, and the government itself go to pieces, lest that one be violated?"

By addressing Congress, Lincoln had ignored Taney. Nothing more



Clement Laird Vallandigham, LN-1997

was done about Merryman at the time. Merryman was subsequently released from custody and disappeared into oblivion. Two years later, Congress resolved the ambiguity in the Constitution and permitted the president the right to suspend the writ while the rebellion continued.

Five years later, after the war, the Supreme Court reached essentially the same conclusion as Taney in a case called *Ex Parte Milligan*. The Court in *Milligan* said that *habeas corpus* could be suspended, but only by Congress; and even then, the majority said civilians could not be held by the army for trial before a military tribunal, not even if the charge was fomenting an armed uprising in a time of civil war where the civil courts were operating as they were in Indiana, unless Congress authorized such tribunals.

Lincoln never denied that he had stretched his presidential power. "These measures," he declared, "whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon, under what appeared to be a popular demand, and a public necessity; trusting, then as now, that Congress would readily ratify them." They did in summer 1861.

Lincoln thus confronted Congress with a *fait accompli*. It was a case of a President deliberately exercising legislative power, and then seeking congressional ratification after the event. There remained individuals who adamantly believed that in doing so he had exceeded his authority.

Ohioan Clement Laird Vallandigham, the best-known anti-war Copperhead of the Civil War, was perhaps President Lincoln's sharpest critic. He charged Lincoln with the "wicked and hazardous experiment" of calling the people to arms without counsel and authority of Congress; with suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*; and with "coolly" coming before the Congress and pleading that he was only "preserving and protecting" the Constitution and demanding and expecting the thanks of Congress and the country for his "usurpations of power."

Vallandigham was speaking at a Democratic mass meeting at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, on May 1, 1863, when he was arrested by Major General Ambrose E. Burnside. He was escorted to Kemper Barracks, the military prison in Cincinnati, and tried by a military commission. He was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for the duration of the war.

After being denied a writ of *habeas corpus*, he applied for a writ of *certiorari* to bring the proceedings of the military commission for review before the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the Supreme Court's opinion, *Ex Parte Vallandigham*, his application was denied on the grounds that the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction over a military tribunal.

Of course, when the Court addressed the issue in *Ex Parte Milligan*, after the war was over, it held that the writ of *habeas corpus* could only be suspended by Congress. The Court stated that

"[t]his court has judicial knowledge that in Indiana the Federal authority was always unopposed, and its courts always open to hear criminal accusations and redress grievances; and no usage of war could sanction a military trial there for any offence whatever of a citizen in civil life, in nowise connected with the military service." *Ex parte Milligan*, 71 U.S. 2, 121-22, 18 L. Ed. 281 (1866).

Lincoln's suspension of *habeas corpus* was specifically ratified by Congress at the end of 1862, permitting suspension nationwide.

Many years later, in 1942, the United

States Supreme Court decided *Ex Parte Quirin*, a case in which civil German saboteurs detained for trial by military commission appealed a denial of their motions for writ of *habeas corpus*. The Supreme Court, refusing to review the case, held that “military tribunals ... are not courts in the sense of the Judiciary Article [of the Constitution].” Rather, they are the military’s administrative bodies to determine the guilt of declared enemies and pass judgment.

Ex parte Quirin became the foundation of President Bush’s claim that the government has the right to hold “enemy combatants”—even Americans—indefinitely, without evidence, charge or trial. That legal basis is still used today, despite President Obama’s attempt to close the prison at Guantanamo Bay. President Trump has stated publicly that he not only intends to keep Guantanamo Bay in use as a military prison, but that he hoped to add other enemy combatants there.

Others used the military trials of the conspirators of John Wilkes Booth, who helped Booth assassinate President Lincoln. During that time, Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, wished to convict the conspirators in a military tribunal, while Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and former Attorney General Edward Bates both argued it was unconstitutional. President Andrew Johnson requested that the Attorney General James Speed write an opinion on the legality of a military trial for the conspirators. Speed concluded his memorandum, stating:

“[I]f the persons who are charged with the assassination of the President committed the deed as public enemies, as I believe they did, and wheth-

er they did or not is a question to be decided by the tribunal before which they are tried, they not only can, but ought to be tried before a military tribunal.”

After Speed wrote the memorandum, President Johnson ordered the use of a military commission for trial, and after a seven-week trial, all were convicted. Some were sentenced to be hanged, while others were sentenced with prison terms from life imprisonment to six years in prison.



Ambrose Burnside, LN-0434

I never thought, as a veteran, lawyer, and a judge, that I would be living through a situation where the issue of homeland security and civil liberties, would once again be in conflict as it was during the Civil War.

As we were during Lincoln’s era, we are once again a nation at war, and the laws of war are different. I know that this is a difficult concept to grasp, because most people today are not used to thinking in terms of wartime and peacetime. But in reality, the laws of war ARE different.

Think about this: our country lost 750,000 people over the four years of the Civil War. We could lose that many people in one day if we were attacked by terrorists using a chemical, biological, or other weapon of mass destruction.

In his 1991 Pulitzer prize-winning book, *The Fate of Liberty*, historian Mark E. Neely, Jr., closes by admitting: “If a situation were to arise again in the United States when the writ of *habeas corpus* were suspended, government would probably be as ill-prepared to define the legal situation as it was in 1861. The clearest lesson is that there is no clear lesson in the Civil War—no neat precedents, no ground rules, no map. War and its effect on civil liberties remains a frightening unknown.”

Neely’s point is well taken today—since September 11, 2001, many scholars and citizens have questioned

how President Bush’s reactions and actions to the problems of national security and war have on his legacy and civil liberties. President Obama was, in part, elected for his promises to change those policies. He was unable to realize his goals laid out in 2008, and incorporated some of President Bush’s reasoning into his own.

While “it is encouraging to know that this nation has endured such troubles before and survived them,” measures regarded as severe in Lincoln’s time seem mild when compared to those of ISIS, Osama Bin Laden, or Saddam Hussein.

After Osama Bin Laden and his forces of Al Qaeda admitted to master-minding the horror that was September 11th, hundreds of suspected Al Qaeda and Taliban associates, not U.S. citizens, were arrested and detained in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, as “enemy combatants.” President Bush proposed the use of military tribunals to try those individuals charged with terrorism. Such commissions do not enforce national laws, but a body of international law that has evolved over the centuries.

Our soldiers are required to follow certain guidelines, most simply stated to be the “rules of war.” General Order Number 100, or the Lieber Code, was issued by Abraham Lincoln to define the requirements by which U.S. soldiers were to conduct themselves during wartime. The Lieber Code was the basis for the Geneva Convention and the genesis of the Hague declarations.

During the American Civil War, Abraham Lincoln also declared martial law and authorized such forums to try terrorists because military tribunals had the capacity to act quickly; to gather intelligence through interrogation; and to prevent confidential lifesaving information from becoming public.

During Lincoln’s time, the Union Army conducted at least 4,300 trials of U.S. citizens by military commission, which reflected the disorder of the time. Lincoln answered his critics with a reasoned, constitutional argument. A national crisis existed and in the interest of self-preservation he had to act. At the same time, he realized Congress

had the ultimate responsibility to pass judgment on the measures he had taken.

These confounding problems remind me of the burglar who, while robbing a home, heard someone say, "Jesus is watching you." To his relief, he realizes it is just a parrot mimicking something it had heard.

The burglar asked the parrot, "What's your name?" The parrot says, "Moses."

The burglar goes on to ask, "What kind of person names their parrot Moses?"

The parrot replies, "The same kind of person that names his Rottweiler Jesus."

Our culture and nation are confronting many Rottweilers

Today's commissions are composed of military personnel or civilians who are commissioned sitting as both trier of fact and law. Initially, any evidence may be admitted as long as, according to a reasonable person, it will have probative value. The defendant is entitled to a presumption of innocence and must be convicted beyond a reasonable doubt. Only two-thirds of the panel, however, is needed to convict. Now, the Uniform Code of Military Justice lays out these rights and protects the due process rights of enemy combatants as it does for members of the country's armed forces.

During the Bush administration, I was chosen to be one of five civilians who sat on the Military Commissions Review Panel. This panel was charged with reviewing cases that went before us and determining whether or not a material error of law had occurred. Upon a finding of such error, the panel could return the case for further proceedings, including dismissal of the charges. Appeals were able to be made to the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals as a right and by writ of *certiorari* to the U.S. Supreme Court.

When a case came before us, we had the option of granting the parties oral arguments. The other panel members and I believed in hearings and briefs for these appeals. We addressed important issues, and we wanted everyone involved to have a full and fair opportunity to present their case. We were required to issue written opin-

ions upon making a decision in these cases.

Like Lincoln's critics during the Civil War, many have expressed their concern about the modern use of military tribunals.

Today, the issue of whether or not military tribunals should exist is simply one layer of this complex debate. The Bush administration did not do a good job explaining the law of war, the process of the military commissions, and the differences between civil liberties during wartime versus peacetime. The public is used to our regular system of dispensing timely and evenhanded justice through the courts. However, the laws of war are different from those we have come to understand.

It is not clear whether the 9/11 terrorists and detainees apprehended in the United States or abroad, are protected under America's criminal justice system. Initially, President Bush proposed that those detained as enemy combatants would neither be protected by the international law of war nor the four Geneva Conventions. However, he reversed himself when many countries indicated that if detainees would not be entitled to the Geneva Convention protections, they would be hesitant to turn over any alleged terrorists in their custody. President Bush argued that he, as the commander in chief, had the prerogative to choose in which forum captured enemy combatants could be tried.

Furthermore, our own Department of Defense indicated that if this country refused to apply the international law protections, Bush would have put U.S. troops in Afghanistan and Iraq at risk if they were captured. Afghanistan and other unfriendly countries would likely refuse to apply such protections as well. These rights, protected by the Geneva Convention, govern the humane treatment of prisoners of war, include the prohibition of murder, torture, and mutilation.

To address some of the confusion, the Pentagon issued regulations to govern tribunals. Under Military Commission Order No. 1, issued in March 2002, the secretary of defense was vested with the power to "issue orders from

time to time appointing one or more military commissions to try individuals subject to the President's Military Order and appointing any other personnel necessary to facilitate such trials."

Despite efforts to clearly regulate the parameters of these tribunals, criticism has remained. A *New York Times* editorial issued after the establishment of these regulations noted that, despite the fact that the idea of military tribunals for suspected terrorists is less troubling than it was at inception, "there is still no practical or legal justification for having the tribunals. The United States has a criminal justice system that is a model for the rest of the world. There is no reason to scrap it in these cases."

The rebuttal to this argument has been that with over ninety million civil and criminal cases in our justice system each year, the federal courts may be ill-equipped to efficiently adjudicate terrorism cases. Unique issues like witness security, jury security, and preservation of intelligence have and will cause even more extraordinary delay.

So what is the best way to handle cases of those detained as enemy combatants? Who has jurisdiction over such matters—federal courts or military tribunals? Do United States citizens detained as enemy combatants warrant different protections than foreign detainees?

Actually, both have jurisdiction. The president may decide that military tribunals are an avenue for trial. Trials have also been held in U.S. District Courts as well. During the 2003-2004 United State Supreme Court term, the Court agreed to consider three cases in which jurisdiction and authority over enemy combatants were at issue.

The Supreme Court first considered the case of *Rasul v. Bush* brought by foreign detainees captured abroad during the hostilities between the United States and the Taliban and detained at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

The detainees challenged their detention by filing petitions in the District Court for the District of Columbia. The district court determined that because the petitioners were held outside of the United States, it did not

have jurisdiction to hear their petitions. The court of appeals affirmed.

The United States Supreme Court granted petitioners' writ of *certiorari* and after hearing arguments, opined that because petitioners were being held at an American naval base, over which the United States exercises "complete jurisdiction and control," "aliens held at the base are entitled to invoke the federal courts' authority" by filing writs of *habeas corpus*.

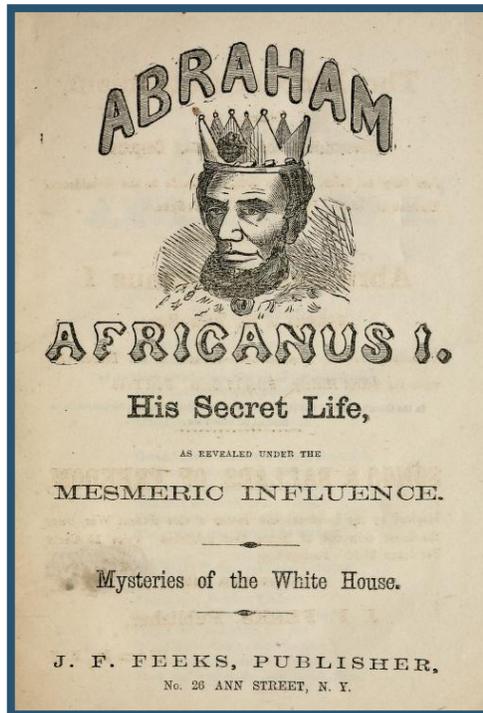
The Supreme Court remanded the case to the district court, finding that it did indeed have jurisdiction over challenges made by foreigners relative to their indefinite detention in a facility under United States control.

The Court next heard arguments in *Hamdi v. Rumsfeld*. Unlike the petitioners in *Rasul*, Yassar Hamdi was an American citizen. He was fighting with the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001 when his unit surrendered to the Northern Alliance, with which American forces were aligned. He was held at a military brig in Charleston, South Carolina, for two years without being formally charged.

In his appeal to the Supreme Court, Hamdi challenged the government's treatment of him as an "enemy combatant". The Supreme Court held that due process requires that citizens detained in the United States be given a meaningful opportunity to contest their detention before a "neutral decisionmaker."

The Court stated that the "neutral decisionmaker" could be either the federal judicial system or a military tribunal provided such tribunal allowed him to challenge the factual basis for his detention. The burden is initially on the detainee. Hamdi had also asked the Supreme Court to find that the lower court erred by denying him immediate access to counsel after his detention and by disposing of the case without the benefit of counsel. The justices found that because counsel had been appointed since their granting of *certiorari*, there was no need to decide the issue.

The Supreme Court was also presented with *Padilla v. Rumsfeld*. The petitioner, Jose Padilla was a United



Abraham Africanus, 71200908400101

States citizen detained in a military brig in Charleston, South Carolina. He was being held as an enemy combatant. The threshold questions raised by the Padilla case were 1) whether he properly filed his petition in the proper court and 2) whether the president possessed the authority to detain Padilla militarily. Because the United States Supreme Court ruled that Padilla improperly named Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and filed his petition in the wrong jurisdiction, it did not reach the second issue regarding the president's authority over this United States citizen accused of terrorism.

The decisions made by President Bush increasingly came under attack during his administration, and even after the Supreme Court's decisions in *Hamdi* and *Rasul*, the legal waters remain murky regarding citizens and noncitizens detained as enemy combatants.

Another case has wound its way up to the United States Supreme Court. In 2004, Federal District Court Judge Robertson heard the matter of *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*. Captured and originally detained in Afghanistan, Petitioner Hamdan was transferred to the detention facility at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base, Cuba. Hamdan challenged the government's plans to try him in front of a military tribunal instead of before a court martial.

The District Court held that before a prisoner can be tried by a military

tribunal, there must be a hearing in order to first determine whether the terms of the Geneva Convention apply. If they do apply, then the defendant is entitled to have his case heard under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, and the defendant would receive the same procedural safeguards as any American citizen.

A three-judge panel of the U.S. Federal Appeals Court overturned the district court ruling stating that the president *does* have the authority by the post-9/11 congressional legislation to establish military tribunals, try, and punish enemy combatants who have violated the laws of war. The panel court also held that the Geneva Convention *does not apply* to members of al Qaeda.

On November 10, 2005, the Senate voted to prevent captured "enemy combatants" at Guantanamo Bay the right to seek writs of *habeas corpus*. In an amendment sponsored by Senator Lindsey Graham, that was passed 49 to 42, Guantanamo detainees, non-U.S. citizens, would have one appeal to the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals at the conclusion of the military proceeding, including review thereof if the sentence is ten or more years of imprisonment or death. But they would no longer have a right to the writ of *habeas corpus*. On January 11, 2006, President Bush signed the Detainee Treatment Act incorporating these provisions.

After that, the Supreme Court heard the appeal of Hamdan with Chief Justice John G. Roberts, Jr., who was a member of the Circuit Court Panel, recused. Arguments were held in March 2006, and on June 29, 2006, the United States Supreme Court decided the case of *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, 126 S. Ct. 2749 (2006). In this 5-to-3 decision, the court ruled that President George W. Bush did not have the power or authority to create military tribunals in Guantanamo, but four of the justices indicated that the Congress could authorize the president, and that is exactly what the Congress did. On October 17, President Bush signed the Military Commissions Act of 2006.

In 2008, the Supreme Court considered *Boumediene v. Bush*, in which several individuals imprisoned at Guantanamo Bay challenged congress-

sional action denying them their ability to file a petition in federal court. In that case the Supreme Court held that, despite being labeled enemy combatants, the individuals are not prevented from petitioning the courts seeking a writ of *habeas corpus*.

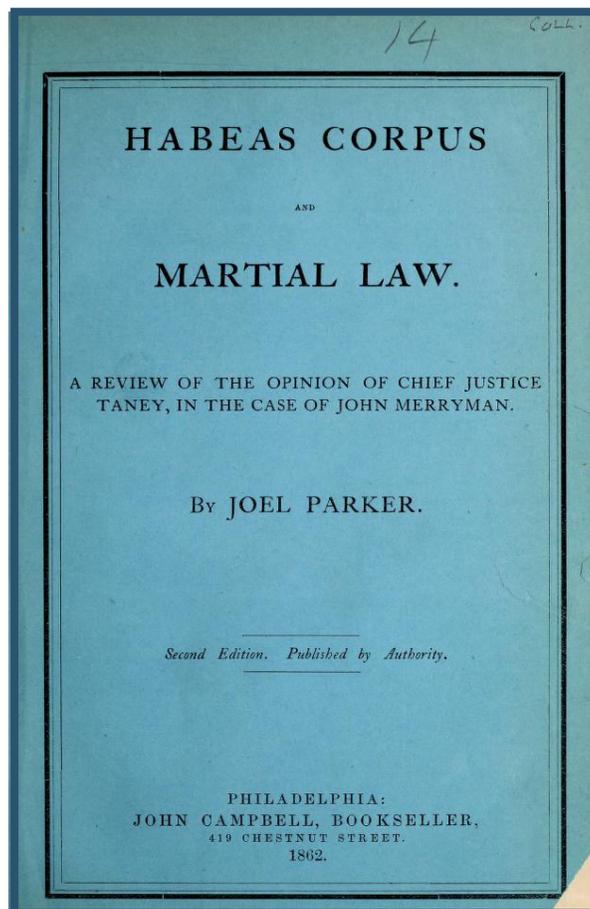
These issues are more exacerbated today than during Lincoln's time because of the ever-shrinking global village in which we all live. During the Civil War, Lincoln was concerned about the war's implications with Britain and France. Today people are even more acutely aware of how the United States is perceived by its citizens and our allies, especially on matters of human rights and freedom.

The length of the war we fight today is much different than the Civil War. The Civil War, despite its high cost in lives, only lasted four years. The war started today originated on September 11, 2001, meaning that these wars have lasted for more than sixteen years. Today, our nation has fought four times as long as we did in the Civil War. However, we are less aware of and exposed to the current war than citizens were during the Civil War. And that affects how we both feel and think about civil liberties with regards to war.

It is clear that the argument over Lincoln and civil liberties was as robust in his own time as in ours and deserves an equally careful reexamination by modern historians. That Lincoln emerges from the perennial controversy that afflicted his administration over civil liberties with a reputation for statesmanship may be the most powerful argument for his judicious application of executive authority during a national emergency.

Lincoln's legacy is that of a great leader. Both President Bush and President Obama's legacies have yet to fully take shape in the public's eye. However, Lincoln's words that the United States was "the last best hope of earth," still resonate for survival of democracy in the world.

Lincoln's success, I think, can be distilled into four basic tenants. First, Lincoln was clear and confident in his belief that everyone should have an equal chance in the race of life—devoid of tyranny and terrorism. So



Joel Parker, *Habeas Corpus and martial law* (1862) 71200908409222

strong was his conviction that he was willing to challenge the political hierarchy in order to attain that goal. And people resist change.

Lincoln's actions drew swift and severe disapproval. But, in keeping with the second tenant of leadership, he held true to his principles, remaining steadfast even in the face of criticism. Lincoln's critics did not confine their attacks to his professional decision making. He also suffered continuous assaults on his personal character. Lincoln's height (6'4") and long arms led newspapermen to label him a "baboon," a "gorilla," the "Illinois beast," and "Abraham Africanus I" for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. He was called a "political coward," "timid and ignorant," "pitiable," and "two faced." Lincoln responded to the lat-

ter by saying, "if I had another face would I use this one?"

The third leadership quality that Lincoln possessed was the significance he placed on nobility, honor, and character—in himself and in others. He so eloquently professed this element of his leadership philosophy in one sentence, "I desire so to conduct the affairs of this administration that if at the end, when I come to lay down the reins of power, I have lost every other friend on earth, I shall at least have one friend left, and that friend shall be down inside me."

And finally, the characteristic that perhaps best evidences Lincoln's leadership, was his ability to thrive in the midst of the fray and in the midst of a noble crusade—a focused pursuit of justice.

As the following story shows, Lincoln was sometimes too consumed by this noble pursuit.

The trial was proceeding poorly for Melissa Goings, charged with murdering her husband. Her attorney, Abraham Lincoln, called for a recess to confer with his client, and he led her from the courtroom.

When court reconvened, and Mrs. Goings could not be found, Lincoln was accused of advising her to flee, a charge he vehemently denied. He explained however, that the defendant had asked him where she could get a drink of water, and he had pointed out that Tennessee had darn good water! She was never seen again in Illinois! Rough justice to be sure.

The point of the story is that when we judge history or historic individuals, we need to look at the events and the persons within the context of the times in which the events occurred and the individuals lived—and not through the wrong end of the telescope.

From time out of mind, warriors have been asked to lay down their bodies, their lives, on the martial altar. Modern wars have also visited agonies of deprivation on civilian populations.

In a total war like World War II, the lines between battle front and home front blurred, compelling far-reaching economic mobilizations and requiring civilian moral and material support — not to mention political approval—to maintain a fighting force in the field.

War leaders have long understood the utility of nurturing the feeling that “we’re all in this together,” combatant and noncombatant alike, whether the privations on the home front were truly necessary or not. The sentiment of shared sacrifice binds soldier to civilian. For better or worse, that sentiment is what has made successful modern warfare possible.

During the Vietnam War, the Lyndon Johnson administration scarcely dared ask the affluence-intoxicated American public to share even a modicum of the afflictions endured by the troops in Asia.

The contrast between the country’s sorry experience in Vietnam and its achievement in World War II suggests that some measure of civilian sacrifice, illusory or not, may be necessary to sustain the will to go the bitter distance in the war on terror.

Lincoln’s wartime decisions raised the really tough issue that many continue to evade: When should we give up some liberties in the name of security?

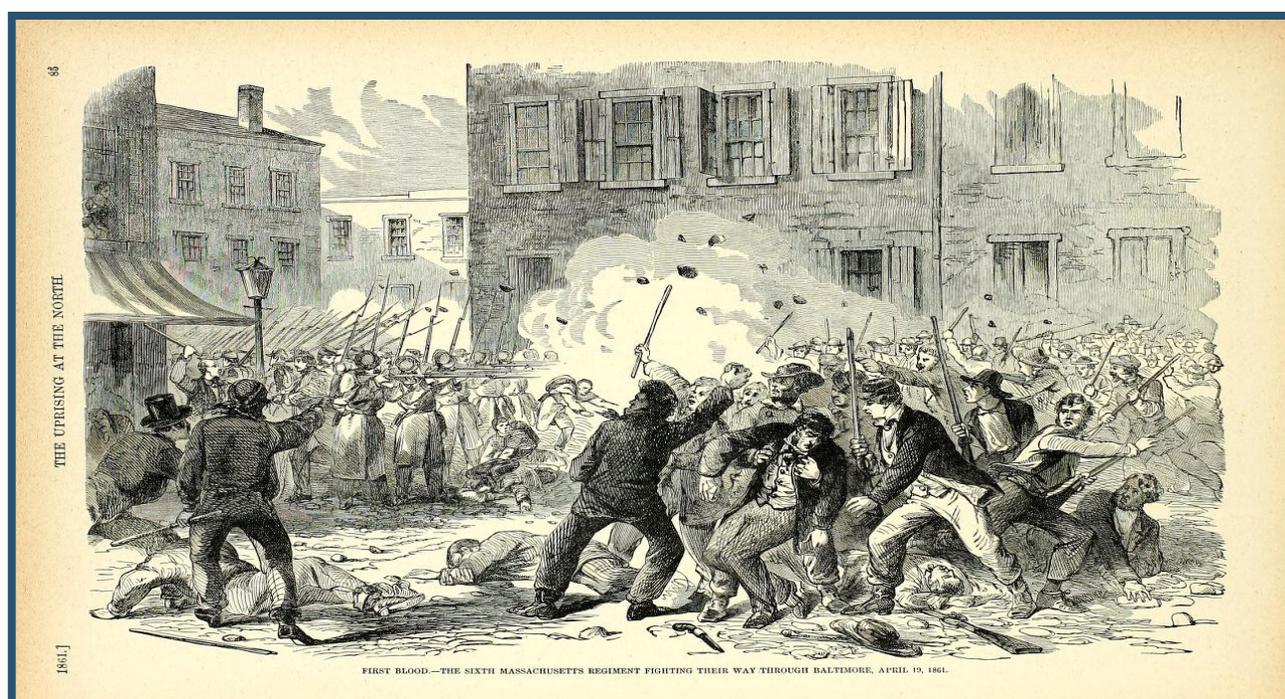
There are times when dangers are so immediate and so terrifying that we do need to sacrifice some freedoms to stop them. And the Civil War was one of those times. For sixteen years we as a nation have tried to balance the objectives of both individual liberty and national security. All of us need to continue thinking and talking about when we would give up some liberties to save the Union today. If we faced a rash of suicide bombers striking several American cities at the same time, how much would our national conversation change? Worse yet, how would our conversation change if a “dirty bomb,” nuclear attack, small pox or anthrax attack occurred? It is only through discussion today that we can perfectly or imperfectly ensure that we balance these two objectives as best we can—and as Lincoln did.

In his message to Congress in 1862, Lincoln addressed the pressures of protecting civil liberties and the nation. His words are as applicable today as they were 155 years ago. He wrote to Congress addressing his “remunerative emancipation” plan. Lincoln’s plan called for the payment to slave owners in return for their slaves’ release. Lincoln told Congress the following:

“Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if adopted, would shorten the

war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money and of blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national prosperity, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that we here—Congress and Executive—can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united, and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means, so certainly, or so speedily, assure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not ‘can any of us imagine better?’ but ‘can we all do better?’ Object whatsoever is possible, still the question recurs, ‘can we do better?’ The dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.”

Hon. Frank J. Williams is the founding Chair of The Lincoln Forum and the retired Chief Justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court. He teaches at the U.S. Naval War College and serves as a mediator and arbitrator. In 2003, he was appointed a judge of the U.S. Court of Military Commissions to hear appeals from enemy Combatants at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.



Baltimore riot 1861, Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War, Vol. 1, p. 85
71200908406574

The Lincoln Family Album

Compiled by Jane Gastineau,
Lincoln Librarian at the Allen
County Public Library, Fort
Wayne, Indiana

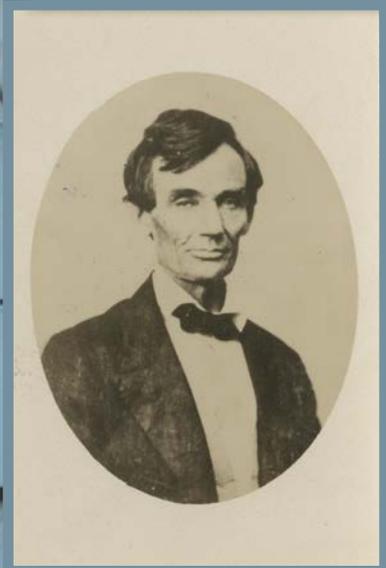


Mary Todd Lincoln (1863) LFA-0078

Mary Lincoln was still dressed in mourning following the death of Willie Lincoln the previous year when this photograph was taken.

Like many middle-class women of her era, Mary Todd Lincoln kept a photograph album. The introduction of small, inexpensive cartes-de-visite photographs and the specially constructed albums to hold them had made collecting photographs popular and affordable after 1860, and Mary collected photographs of her famous contemporaries as well as pictures of her family and friends. Her collection was passed down to Robert Todd Lincoln and his descendants. Each generation added family photographs.

The Lincoln Family Album Collection contains more than 600 photographs collected by four generations of the Lincoln family. You can view the entire collection by typing <https://bit.ly/2Jq8TNY> into your web browser.



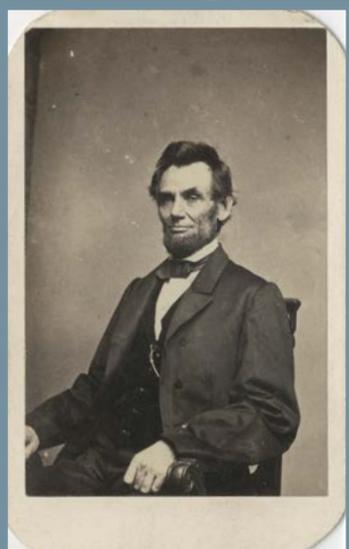
**Abraham Lincoln
(Aug. 13, 1860) LFA-0006**



Willie Lincoln (1861) LFA-0484
Ten-year-old Willie struck a debonair pose with hat and cane. This photograph is the last one of Willie included in the family album—Willie died of typhoid fever on February 20, 1862.



Tad Lincoln (1861) LFA-0091
Eight-year-old Tad also posed with a cane.



**Abraham Lincoln (Jan. 8,
1864) LFA-0054**

The Lincolns never had a family photograph taken. After Abraham Lincoln's assassination, artist Francis Carpenter created this composite of the family using photographs of the individuals as models. Willie Lincoln, who died in 1862, is shown in the portrait on the wall. The rest of the family is focused on the book in Lincoln's lap. This family image quickly became one of the most popular Lincoln pictures.



**Lincoln and Family (1865)
LFA-0123**



Robert Todd Lincoln (May 1861) LFA-0486
Eighteen-year-old Robert, a student at Harvard University, posed for this photograph at Mathew Brady's Washington, D.C. studio.



Mary Harlan Lincoln LFA-0508
On September 24, 1868, Robert Lincoln married Mary Harlan of Mount Pleasant, Iowa.



Robert Todd Lincoln (1913) LFA-0560
On April 30, 1913, Robert Todd Lincoln inscribed this photograph to his granddaughter, Peggy. He wrote, "To Mary Lincoln Beckwith from her affectionate grandfather, Robert T. Lincoln."

Jack, Mamie, and Jessie Lincoln (c1889) LFA-0506
Robert and Mary Harlan Lincoln had three children—Mamie (b. 1869), Jack (b. 1873), and Jessie (b. 1875).



Jack (Abraham II) Lincoln (May 1885) LFA-0499
Jack Lincoln posed standing beside his Star Bicycle dressed in his cyclist's gear and with a bicyclist's bugle hanging from his shoulder.



Mamie (Mary) and Lincoln Isham (c1915) LFA-0555
Mamie Lincoln married Charles Isham on September 2, 1891. She posed with their teenaged son, Lincoln Isham (1892-1971).

The Beckwith Family (c1912) LFA-0561
Jessie Lincoln Beckwith posed with her two children—Peggy (Mary) (b. 1898), and Robert (b.1904) Beckwith. The Beckwith children, who died in 1975 and 1985 respectively, were the last direct descendants of Abraham and Mary Lincoln.



Abraham Lincoln's Cyphering Book

Nerida F. Ellerton and
M. A. (Ken) Clements

The oldest extant handwritten manuscript of Abraham Lincoln is his cyphering book, which comprised written solutions to arithmetic problems that he solved when he was at school. The most detailed description and analysis of the manuscript is to be found in chapter 6 of our book, *Abraham Lincoln's Cyphering Book and Ten Other Extraordinary Cyphering Books*, published by Springer in 2013. In the text which follows "Abraham Lincoln" will usually be referred to as "AL". AL's cyphering book was, indeed, extraordinary.

In the 1820s, relatively few school children in midwestern states such as Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee prepared cyphering books. We currently own about 500 cyphering books prepared by North American school children during the period 1667–1861, but only 11 of those were prepared in the 5 midwestern states—the midwest was a frontier in the early 1800s, paper was scarce, and expensive, and schools were often several miles from the pupils' homes. Teachers capable of helping children to learn to cypher were hard to find, and arithmetic textbooks were expensive and usual-

ly hard to come by. It was one thing for a student in Boston, or New York, or Philadelphia to prepare a cyphering book, but another for a student in the frontier regions to prepare one. As far as we know, only 22 pages (11 leaves) survive from AL's cyphering book. Two leaves are held privately, and the others are at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (Springfield, Illinois), Brown University, Chicago History Museum, Columbia University, Harvard University, Indiana Historical Society, Indiana University, the Library of Congress, the University of Chicago, and Yale University. This unusual scattering of the pages of a manuscript is a direct result of the original cyphering book having been separated into individual leaves by Lincoln's former law partner, William Herndon, who, following Lincoln's assassination in 1865, was given the manuscript by Lincoln's step-mother, Sarah Bush Johnson Lincoln. Herndon sometimes rewarded an "informant" (a person who provided him with information about aspects of Lincoln's life) with a leaf from the cyphering book. Ultimately, it was only individual leaves which remained, and these became scattered across the nation. What AL wrote in his cyphering book was not entirely consistent with statements he would later make about what he did at school. In an autobiographical statement written in 1859, AL stated that he cyphered to the "rule of three," but analysis of the 22 pages shows that, in fact, he cyphered beyond the rule of three. Although Dennis Hanks, who lived with the Lincoln family for much of their Indiana years, told Herndon that AL did not cypher to the double rule of three, on both sides of the leaf now held at Harvard University AL was specifically concerned with the double rule. It is likely that when writing his 1859 autobiographical statement the future President deliberately wanted to give an impression that he was an "intelligent, ordinary man" who had had only a very limited education. Our analysis of the 22 extant pages indicated that each page of AL's cyphering book testifies to the future President's determination to understand what he was writing about. AL did not copy solutions from textbooks or from other cyphering books. That observation fits with the evidence

of Lincoln's stepmother, of Dennis Hanks, and of many of those who went to school with Lincoln, that he was always readin', writin' and cypherin'. It is almost certain that most of the entries in his cyphering book were made at school, where there were flat surfaces on which he could write.

At home, he was known to have worked out his arithmetic on wooden surfaces (such as walls, and the backs of shovels), and only when at school did he enter solutions to problems in his cyphering book. Those of AL's classmates who gave evidence to William Herndon were unanimous in their view that AL was easily the most academically capable of the students at the schools he attended, and they all noted his dedication to cyphering. AL's cyphering book was prepared over at least three years—in fact, we believe it was probably prepared over a period of six or seven years.

The first two pages are concerned with simple subtraction, and the handwriting is less mature than on later pages. We would conjecture that the first two pages were prepared in 1819 or 1820, at Andrew Crawford's school. Some of the later pages were dated 1824, and 1826, by Lincoln. AL attended school in winter months only, and it is impressive that, somehow, he kept the pages of his cyphering book together over a period of years, so that he might continue to cypher in it when he next returned to school. When, on March 1, 1826, he was writing on the last page of his manuscript, he was moved to write "no room." He was 17 years of age and had run out of pages, space, and time for cyphering. It was now time for him to move on to the next phase of his life. Our recent research on AL's cyphering book has indicated that the order in which the pages were prepared by Lincoln was consistent with a centuries-old abbas tradition for school arithmetic. That tradition originated in India and in Arab-speaking nations, was taken up by Western European nations around 1200 CE, and was translated to North America in the seventeenth century. The cyphering era closed in the United States in the 1860s. We now clarify several issues relating to the cyphering tradi-

tion, especially as that tradition relates to AL's cyphering book.

What is a Cyphering Book?

A cyphering book is a handwritten manuscript, probably prepared before 1860, which focused on mathematical content and had the following four properties: 1. It was written either by a student (usually a boy, who was at least 10 years old), or by a teacher who wished to use it as a model which could be followed by students preparing their own cyphering books.

1. Usually, all entries appeared in ink—as handwritten notes, or problem solutions, or as illustrations. Headings and sub-headings were often presented in decorative, calligraphic style, and occasionally, water-color illustrations were prepared.

2. It was dedicated to setting out rules, cases, model examples and exercises associated with a sequence of mathematical topics. Although most cyphering books were specifically concerned with arithmetic, especially commercial arithmetic, some were dedicated to algebra, or geometry, or trigonometry, or to mathematics associated with mensuration, navigation, surveying, fortification, etc.

3. The topics covered were sequenced so that they became progressively more difficult. Typically, the first few topics were numeration, the four operations of arithmetic and their applications (especially with regard to money, and measurement), reduction, and the so-called "single rule of three" (often referred to as the "golden rule"). For those few students who went further than this, there were more advanced topics—such as the double rule of three, simple and compound interest, loss and gain, discount, tare and tret, equation of payments, alligation, fellowship, arithmetic and geometric progressions, and mensuration.

What is the Rule of Three?

What is "the rule of three," which Lincoln specifically mentioned in his 1859 biographical statement? The single rule of three, which summarized the arithmetic of direct proportion, was hugely important for commercial transactions of the 17th, 18th

and 19th centuries. But what did it assert, and why was it so important? Probably the best way to answer that question is to discuss an example from Abraham Lincoln's cyphering book. One of the pages (which was headed "The Single Rule of Three") showed Lincoln's solution to the problem: "If 1 lb sugar cost 4½ what cost 48 lb?" It can be presumed that the unit "pence" should have been given after the 4½. In textbooks of the time, a solution to this problem would have begun with the following summary statement:

lb. : Pence :: lb. Pence
1 : 4½ :: 48 : ?

With this special notation, the 1, 4½, and 48 were regarded as the first, second and third terms, respectively, and the rule for obtaining the fourth term was "multiply second by third and divide by first." Thus, the answer (in pence) to the given "sugar" problem would be found by multiplying 4½ by 48, and then dividing by 1. For students who did not feel the need to understand what they were doing, the rule merely described what could be done in order to get a correct answer. For them, the "reason for the rule" was unimportant. But AL always wanted to understand not only what he was doing, but also why he was doing it. His solution to the problem is shown in Figure 1. The first step should have been to multiply 4½ by 48, but that was far more difficult for AL to do than might have been expected—because by tradition, learning to multiply common fractions and decimals came well after the rule of three in the *abbaco* sequence. In other, words, AL would not have known how to multiply 4½ by 48 because he had never learned how to multiply fractions. However, he avoided the fractions difficulty by adopting a standard procedure. He converted the 4½ pence to 18 farthings (since there were 4 farthings in a penny, 4½ pence equaled 16 farthings plus 2 more farthings); he then applied the rule-of-three method to get 864 (farthings). He then divided this by 4 to get 216 (pence), and divided that by 12 to get 18 (shillings). This can be seen in Figure 1.

The year when Abraham did this was probably 1824 or 1825. U.S. coins for decimal currency were first minted in the early 1790s, so one might ask why

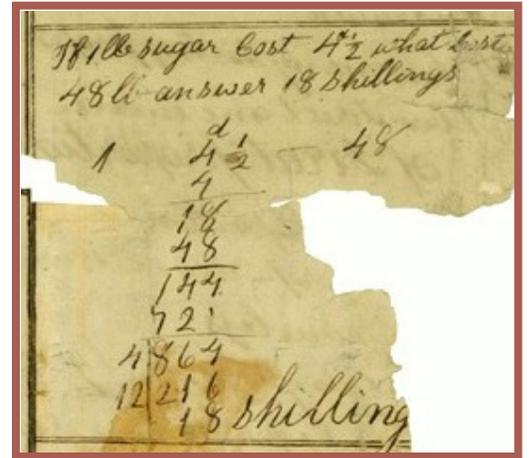


Figure 1: Abraham Lincoln uses the rule of three (c. 1825). The top section of the problem is from part of a leaf from Lincoln's cyphering book,

Lincoln Manuscripts. Brown Digital Repository. Brown University Library. <https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:72542/>

The lower section of the problem is from part of a leaf from Lincoln's cyphering book, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/ead/pdf/lincolnms-0004-061.pdf>

AL was solving problems which used the old English currency of pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings? The short answer to that question is that the old English currency was still legal tender in all parts of the United States—though, in fact, pounds, shillings, pence and farthings had different values in different states! The rule of three dominated school arithmetic for centuries, but by about 1850 it was becoming less popular. After all, "if 1 lb of sugar cost 4½ pence then, surely, 48 lbs would cost 48 times 4½ pence. One did not need to think in terms of "multiplying second by third and dividing by first." Slowly, but surely, educators began to insist that students thought about meanings and their implications, rather than simply applying a rule which they had been told was true. After AL had solved problems using the rule of three he proceeded to tackle problems which required the use of the "double rule of three." Sometimes this was called the "rule of 5" because there were 5 known terms (and a sixth had to be determined). The first problem of this type that he solved in his cyphering book was: "If 100£ in 12 months gain 7£ interest what principal will gain 3£-18S-9d in 9 months?" Such problems also had a special rule which could be applied. Abraham's solution to the problem is shown in Figure 2. The modern reader would have great difficulty following what AL did, but the future President knew what he was doing and arrived

at the correct answer (75 pounds). Following his excursion into the double rule of three, Abraham then tackled problems involving simple interest, compound interest, and discount. These later topics required him to go a fair way beyond the single rule of three—something which, 35 years later Abraham did not acknowledge (when he claimed that at school he cyphered to the rule of three).

Casting-Out-Nines in the Lincoln Cyphering Book

Some writers who have examined AL's cyphering book have commented that he made numerous errors, especially in relation to what was known as "casting-out-nines." On checking the manuscript, we found that Abraham made very few errors overall. The casting-out-nines technique appeared 18 times altogether—but, in fact all 18 occurrences can be found on just 4 pages, all of which were dedicated to multiplication or division. Casting-out-nines was a check that was often used, especially with multiplication or division, as a safeguard against making calculation slips. We explain the method by showing how Abraham used it to find the product of 34567834 and 23423. In order to begin the check, one needed to add the digits for each of the two numbers, and then get the remainders after dividing the sum of the digits for each of the two numbers by 9. Thus:

$$3+4+5+6+7+8+3+4 = 40$$

and, on dividing that sum by 9, one gets 4 and 4 remainder. It is the remainder, 4, which is important for the check. Then, for the second number: $2+3+4+2+3 = 14$

Dividing this by 9 gives 1 and 5 remainder—again, it is the 5 which is important for the check. The next step is to multiply the two remainders: $4 \times 5 = 20$ and if this divided by 9 one gets 2 and 2 remainder. This third remainder should equal the remainder after the sum of the digits in the answer to the original multiplication is divided by 9. That answer was 809682375782 and the sum of the digits is 65. When 65 is divided by 9 one gets 7 and 2 remainder—and that remainder is equal to the remainder obtained earlier. Hence, it would be concluded that no error had been made in the calculations.

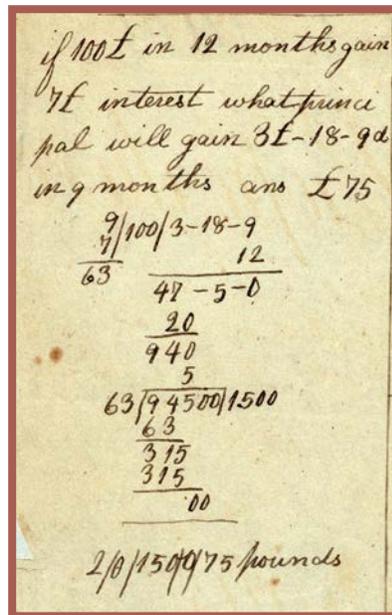


Figure 2; Abraham Lincoln applies the double rule of three

Part of a leaf from Lincoln's mathematical exercise book, c. 1825, MS Am 1326
Gift of Christian A. Zabrniskie, 1954, Houghton Library, Harvard University

AL's calculations are shown in Figure 3, in which his casting-out-nines check is shown within a small circle, slightly to the left of his calculations. The casting-out-nines check was not infallible. Sometimes it could suggest an answer was correct when, in fact, it was not. A more reliable check was to divide the answer to the multiplication task by one of the original numbers. Abraham did that (see Figure 3). The result of such a division should be the other original number. Of the 18 casting-out-nines checks in Abraham's cyphering book, 17 were correct, and 1 was not. The incorrect check is shown in Figure 4, and the writing was almost certainly done by someone other than AL.

The error was to include two 9s in the check—the 9s should have been zeros. So, our conclusion is that in his cyphering book, AL himself carried out 17 casting-out-nines checks, and got all of them correct. Someone else—hopefully not a teacher—did one check, and got it wrong. Furthermore, whoever made that error also seemed to believe that the product of 30000 and 3000 was 90000 (see Figure 4). On the second page of his cyphering AL penned his famous ditty, "Abraham Lincoln, his hand and pen, he will be good, but God knows when." This was followed by an excerpt from a hymn by Isaac Watts. It is unlikely that the Watts inclusion was written at the

time when the arithmetic on the page was written. The handwriting is much more mature than other writing on the first and second pages. It is likely that at some later period AL was looking for space to write the excerpt from Watts, and he then decided to use vacant space in his cyphering book.

Most of the extant pages of the cyphering book were probably prepared during the 1824–1825 and 1825–1826 winters, when AL was attending Azel Dorsey's subscription school. It is received tradition that during his school days AL had five teachers—in Kentucky there were Zachariah Riney and Caleb Hazel, and in Indiana, Andrew Crawford, James Sweeney, and Azel Dorsey. These individuals ran subscription schools—Abraham probably attended Crawford's school in the winter of 1819–1820, Sweeney's school in the winter of 1821–1822, and Dorsey's school during the winters of 1824–1825 and 1825–1826. In our research, however, we found reference to a fourth Indiana teacher, James Davis Bryant (or Briant). According to Goodspeed Brothers and Company (1885), Bryant "taught all through this portion of the county, and Abe Lincoln was one of his pupils" (p. 412). Bryant was born in 1800, probably in Kentucky. It appears to have been the case that he was an itinerant teacher who taught in several schools in Spencer County in the early 1820s. The fact that very few Lincoln biographers and story tellers have referred to James Bryant as one of AL's teachers begs comment. In and around the Pigeon Creek and Rockport, region Azel Dorsey was highly regarded both as a teacher and a prominent citizen in the community. As his popularity within the local community grew, he took on wider official duties and the demands on his time became greater.

We conjecture that Dorsey asked Bryant to take on some of his teaching responsibilities, while he (Dorsey) attended to other matters in town. The possible presence of a fourth Indiana teacher for AL would go some of the way toward explaining the appearance, in AL's cyphering book, of problems from American arithmetic textbooks by Stephen Pike and Zachariah Jess and, on the final two pages, of problems from the British arithme-

tic textbook by Francis Walkingame. According to several of William Herndon's informants, AL cyphered with all of his Indiana teachers, but the 22 extant pages are all that remain, and most of them were prepared during the last two winters that AL attended school. We conjecture that during those winters Bryant allowed AL to copy from textbooks by Pike, Jess, and Walkingame which Bryant owned—or, alternatively, to copy from a cyphering book that Bryant himself owned which included questions from those three authors.

Did Abraham Consult an Arithmetic by Nicolas Pike or by Stephen Pike? Several of Herndon's informants who went to school with Abraham mentioned that he referred to "Pike's arithmetic," but it is not clear whether that arithmetic was written by Nicolas Pike (probably in the 1790s) or by Stephen Pike (written at some time between 1810 and 1824). Arguments could be presented for either possibility, or even for the possibility that AL had the book by Nicolas Pike at home, and the teacher (perhaps Bryant) had the text by Stephen Pike at school. Many of the problems which AL solved could be found in editions of Stephen Pike's book, but several of Herndon's informants mentioned that AL had an old arithmetic at home. There is not enough evidence to make a strong conclusion on the issue.

Conditions in the Schools Where Abraham Prepared his Cyphering Book

During the winter of 1824–1825 the constant shrill of young voices coming from the 15-or-so children who attended Azel Dorsey's subscription school house, which was located about two miles from 15-year-old AL's home in Pigeon Creek, in rural Indiana, would not have surprised any of the locals. Dorsey's school was a

"blab-school" and, as such, students were expected to talk aloud, mainly to themselves, for most of the school day.

Although we cannot provide many specific details about Dorsey's school, such schools were usually of the log-cabin variety, having just one room, dirt floors, and, of course, no interior bathroom facilities. In-

side, there was a large, crudely-constructed fireplace, and rows of split logs provided seating for the students.

At the front, there was a teacher's table, and chair, and along one of the walls was a long, rectangular opening—sometimes covered with greased paper—which, together with candles, was a major source of light in the dim, wintery weather which prevailed. Beneath the rectangular "window" was a flat, slightly sloping bench which was used by those who needed to write in their books. There was only one teacher, and the children were of all ages and sizes—from small 3-, 4-, or 5- year olds to mature young women and farm boys. In non-winter months most of the older boys were expected to work in the fields. There were no blackboards, no slates, hardly any textbooks, limited supplies of rag paper, and home-made ink and quill pens. For most of a school day students were expected to blab continuously. When a student was called to the teacher's desk for individual recitation, the other students kept on blabbing. Blab schools were common in the remote regions of Kentucky and Indiana—indeed, almost all schools which young Abraham attended, were of the blab variety. It is likely that most of the entries in AL's cyphering book were made during school hours, because the wood-slab table located immediately below the rectangular "window" was the best place to write in order to achieve the desired outcome of neat

penmanship and calligraphic headings. According to Ida Tarbell, Thomas Lincoln did not like Abraham reading or studying much in their home, but his step-mother succeeded in getting Thomas to allow AL to spend time at home on his school work. At school, AL's writing instrument was a turkey-buzzard quill pen used with home-made brier-root ink. The cyphering tradition demanded that all entries into a cyphering book should be correct, and therefore AL had to work out solutions to problems before having them checked by the teacher and before writing them in his book. Abraham was well-known for having a strong memory, and it is likely that once he was happy with a solution to a problem he would com-

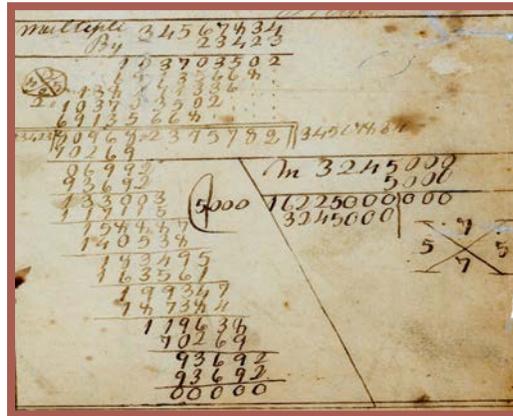


Figure 3: Abraham Lincoln "casts out nines."
Part of a leaf from Lincoln's cyphering book, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.



Figure 4: Who made the error in this casting-out-nines check in Abraham Lincoln's cyphering book?
Part of a leaf from Lincoln's cyphering book, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.

mit it to memory and then, after having explained it to the teacher during a recitation session, would enter it into his precious cyphering book. Abraham Lincoln's cyphering book pages are the earliest known handwritten manuscripts penned by the 16th President. Through these pages we are given a glimpse of the character and skills of a young lad, growing up in Indiana, and destined to change the face of the world. We feel privileged to have held and examined most of these extant pages. His cyphering book represents the start of a lasting legacy that set him on track toward an understanding of the power of numbers well beyond the rule of three. Indeed, we sense that through this beginning, he became intrigued and captivated by the logic and beauty of mathematics.

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Entertainment in Lincoln's Springfield (1834-1860)

Richard E. Hart

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This essay is a summary of the book "Entertainment in Lincoln's Springfield (1834-1860)" by Richard E. Hart and published by the Abraham Lincoln Association in November of 2017.

The public entertainments within a community are a good barometer of how its residents use their free time and what type of entertainments draw them together. In early Springfield, Illinois, on long winter nights, the folks not only enjoyed entertainment, but they also welcomed an opportunity to get out of a cooped-up winter house and pass some time with other Springfieldians in a night out of "entertainment."

For many years while scrolling through low tech microfilm of the *Sangamo Journal* and the *State Register*, the two newspapers of Lincoln's Springfield, I noticed advertisements for various "entertainments." I thought that it would be interesting to collect these ads and share them with the Lincoln world, but the time to do that was something I didn't have. Several years ago, however, techie geniuses created a new website that contained these Springfield newspapers in a searchable form—it is called GenealogyBank. (<http://genealogybank.com>.) I thank those techie geniuses for their contribution to historians and their gift of time that allowed me to search in this quick and easy format and create *Entertainment in Lincoln's Springfield* (1834-1860).

The population of Springfield in 1830 was less than 1,000. During that decade, much of the "entertainment" was in the form of lectures by residents—Milton Hay, Dr. Anson G. Henry, Edward Baker Dickenson to name a few. In step with a national phenomenon—the creation of local lyceums—two lyceums were formed and provided a platform for Springfield men to learn and debate topics of current interest. Some of these lectures were free and open to the public. Others were open only to "members," and sometimes in the early days women were excluded. There were occasions when women were invited to attend, but they were never invited to lecture. That honor was reserved for men. During the 1830s, the locals lectured, debated, sang songs, participated in choirs, and performed popular theatrical pieces. This was the standard fare for entertainment during the 1830s. The earliest record of these entertainments and the first advertise-

ment for what can be considered as "entertainment" in Springfield was for the Sangamon County Lyceum. The ad appeared in the *Sangamo Journal* and was dated January 4, 1834. The entertainment was to be held on Thursday evening, January 9, at the Presbyterian Meeting House and the question for discussion was *Ought the General Government appropriate funds in aid of the Colonization Society?* Thereafter, on most succeeding Thursday evenings during January and February 1834, the Sangamon County Lyceum met for discussions, lectures, and debates. Titles of future Lyceum lectures and debates included: *Ought capital punishment be abolished? Do the signs of the present times indicate the downfall of this Government? Ought Texas to be admitted into the Union? Ought Aliens be permitted to hold civil office? Habits and foods natural to man. The Influence of poetry upon National Character.*

In 1838, The Young Men's Lyceum requested Abraham Lincoln, a twenty-eight-year-old newly arrived Springfield lawyer, to address its members. They met at the Baptist Church on Saturday evening, January 27, 1838, and Lincoln spoke on *The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions*. Much has been written about this Lincoln lecture. It has been scrutinized and debated by historians, who cite the lecture as a foreshadowing of Lincoln's later public policies and addresses.¹ This is the most enduring of all the Springfield entertainments.

Here is how William Herndon, who would become Lincoln's law partner in 1844, described the event:

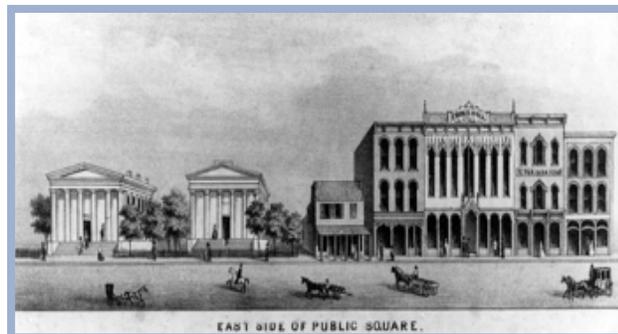
...we had a society in Springfield, which contained and commanded all the culture and talent of the place. Unlike the other one [The Sangamon County Lyceum] its meetings were public, and reflected great credit on the community ... The speech was brought out by the burning in St. Louis a few weeks before, by a mob, of a negro. Lincoln took this incident as a sort of text for his remarks ... The address was published in the Sangamo Journal and created for the young orator a reputation which soon extended beyond the limits of the locality in which he lived.

By 1840, Springfield's population had grown to 2,579. During that decade, as well as the preceding decade, there was no "place" dedicated to indoor performances. Entertainments

were held in churches and other public places. The hall of the House of Representatives and the chamber of the Senate in the State Capitol were favorite venues after about 1844.

The Springfield population in 1850 had grown to 4,533. That decade saw the coming of the railroad, and after about 1853 specific places were dedicated to the commercial performing arts. These were not public places, but rather private entrepreneurial businesses. They were usually on the upper floor of a three-story building around the Public Square. There were a number of these: the Concert Hall on the north side of the Public Square, Cook's Hall on the East Side of the Square (rebuilt after a fire in 1858), the Masonic Hall at Fifth and Monroe, Chatterton's Hall, Clinton's Hall, and Gray's Saloon. When the Metropolitan Hall opened in early 1856 with 1,200 seats, it was by far the largest amusement hall in Springfield as well as in the State of Illinois.

After the February 13, 1858 fire, the east side was rebuilt with four, three-story brick buildings. One of them housed a large public hall on



East Side of the Public Square: Circa 1860. Cook's Hall is the third building from the right.

the second floor. It came to be known as Cook's Hall and was a popular place for public gatherings, theatrical performances, balls and parties, and drills of the Springfield Grays.

In the 1850s, Springfield was fortunate to be on the tour route of many traveling entertainments as they moved between Chicago and St. Louis, often stopping in Springfield for a "gig." These "entertainments" were commercial ventures requiring the purchase of tickets to be entertained by traveling artists in an astounding variety of performing arts: singers, family bell ringers, opera singers, minstrel singers, magicians, pantomimes, lecturers on a number of subjects includ-

ing science and education, violin and flute concerts, holiday celebrations and balls, panoramas, readers of plays and performers of plays from Shakespeare to Irish farce, band concerts, and balloon ascensions, Fourth of July celebrations, and celebrations of the birthdays of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Robert Burns.²

Many of the names of those “entertaining” in Springfield are familiar to us even today. Horace Mann would be surprised to know that 150 years after his 1859 lecture in Springfield, one of the city’s principal businesses is Horace Mann Insurance. Titans in mid-nineteenth-century American political and intellectual life lectured in Springfield between 1839 and 1860 and included the following abolitionists: Samuel Hanson Cox, D.D., an “eccentric” orator who would sometimes lapse from English into Latin; Rev. Joseph Parish Thompson; Rev. Henry Ward Beecher; James Rucker; Dr. Jonathan Blanchard; Rev. John Mason Peck; Ralph Waldo Emerson; Elihu Burritt; Rev. Theodore Parker; and Joshua R. Giddings. Their lecture titles gave no indication that the speaker was an abolitionist or that the speaker might speak about abolition.

On Monday evening, January 10, 1853, Ralph Waldo Emerson gave the first of three lectures in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the Illinois State House. His first lecture was titled *Wealth and The Anglo-Saxon*. Orville Hickman Browning, Whig, Republican, United States Senator, and Secretary of the Interior, was present and made the following diary entries about his three evenings with Emerson lectures.

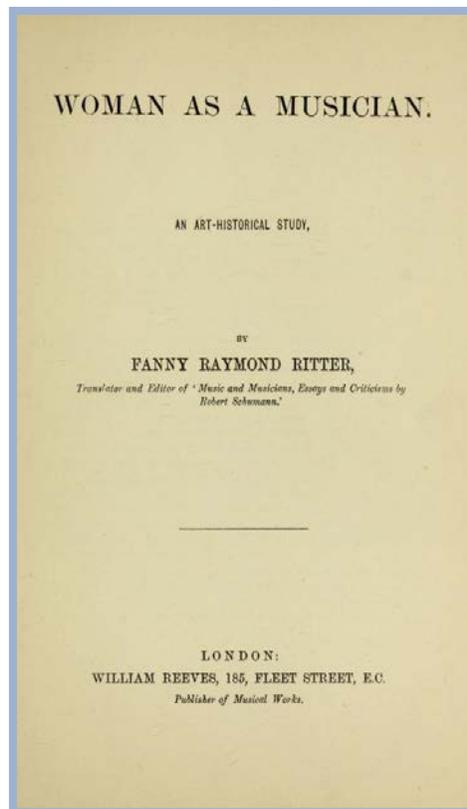
Monday January 10 At night I attended in the hall of the house, and heard a lecture from Ralph Waldo Emmerson [sic] on the Anglo Saxon. His language was chaste, strong and vigorous—much of his thought just—his voice good—his delivery clear, distinct and deliberate—his action nothing. He limned a good picture of an Englishman, and gave us some hard raps for our apishness of English fashions & manners.

Tuesday, Jan'y 11 1853 Heard Emmer-son's [sic] lecture in the hall of the House of Rep; upon power. He is chaste & fascinating, and whilst I cannot approve all his philosophy, I still listen with delight to his discourses. They contain much that is good, and are worth hearing.

Wednesday, Jan'y 12 1853 Went to Ridg-

leys to supper, and attended Miss Julia [Ridgley] to the State House to hear Emmersons [sic] third lecture on culture.³

Unlike Emerson’s name, most of the names of the entertainers are not recognized by today’s reader. Fortunately, technology in the form of Google search provides biographical information in an instant, unveiling the shadows of the past. One minstrel was said to have been Mark Twain’s model for his descriptions of minstrel shows. Another entertainer, a French ascensionist, was said to have been the aero naught for Emperor Napoleon III in the Franco-Austrian War, one year after his ascension for an astounded Springfield audience.



Fanny Raymond Ritter, *Woman as a Musician: An Art-Historical Study*, <https://archive.org/details/womanasmusiciana00ritt>

In the category of “she went on to become” was Fanny Raymond Ritter, America’s first female musicologist. Fanny was born sometime between 1830 and 1840, most likely in England, and died in Poughkeepsie, New York in 1891. Her father was most likely Richard Malone, an Irish entertainer who immigrated to America and toured with his daughters in a family act using the stage name Raymond.

Fanny was a young lady when she made her Springfield appearance in

Abroad and at Home, a vocal concert by Malone Raymond and family—Fanny, Emily and Louisa. They appeared on Friday evening, August 29, 1851, at American House, Springfield’s finest hotel located at the southeast corner of Sixth and Adams streets, opposite the Illinois State House.

Fanny excelled as a salon musician, teacher, vocalist, and keyboardist. She was described as a fine organist and “the mistress of the German language, in the songs of Schubert, Schumann, and Robert Franz.” Fanny was also sought after as a translator, writer, and historian. Beginning in 1859, her translations, including Wagner’s essays, were published. Her first original article appears to have been “A Sketch of the Troubadours, Trouveres, and Minstrels” for the *New York Weekly Review* on August 13, 1870. Fanny did original research as early as 1868 when she is credited with writing explanatory notes for her series of “historical recitals” performed at both Vassar and in New York. Many of these essays were then compiled in a book entitled *Lyre, Pen, and Pencil* published in 1891. Her efforts culminated in the translation of Robert Schumann’s *Gesammelte Schriften und Texten* published in book form in 1876.

One of Fanny’s most significant essays, *Woman as a Musician: An Art-Historical Study* was written in 1876 for the Centennial Congress of the Association for the Advancement of Women. Fanny’s essay was the first specifically musical writing of its kind and as such was a catalyst for dialogue in American musical circles concerning women’s place in music.

Some of the itinerant entertainers were scoundrels, leaving unpaid advertising bills from their local stay. One soprano had been the former wife of the King of Bavaria and the mistress of many European notables. When she lectured on “fashion,” William Herndon did not like that at all. He lectured the night following her appearance, scolding those who had attended and lecturing all on the general decline in community standards.

But, the most interesting, salacious tidbit from all of the entertainments involved a pianist, Sigismund Thalberg. He had been decorated by every European potentate. While touring Illinois, the mother of a young member of Thalberg’s troupe shot at him for “fiddling” with her daugh-

ter. The report is that Thalberg quietly left Illinois and headed back to Europe on the sly and in disgrace.

The saddest story involves a young boy named Nicholas Goodall, a flute player genius. Nicholas appeared at the Masonic Hall in Springfield on February 21, 1855. He was wildly popular and extended his Springfield stay. He was even invited to parties in private Springfield homes. There is no evidence to put Abraham Lincoln at any of his concerts, but he was in Springfield during this time and may have attended.

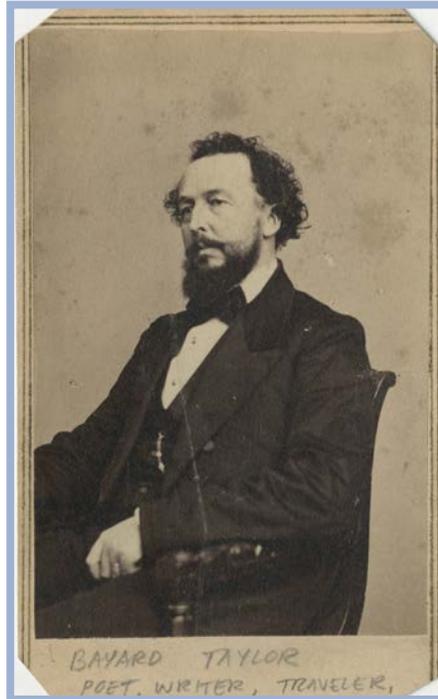
On the evening of April 14, 1865, Nicholas was purported to have been present at Ford's Theatre where his father was first violinist in the orchestra. It is said that young Nicholas witnessed the assassination of Lincoln and thereafter fell into a hopeless depression. His father placed Nicholas in an institution for the insane. Nicholas lived there and in the local alms house until his death at age thirty-two in 1881. No doubt Abraham Lincoln attended some of these entertainments during his residency in Springfield from April 1837 to February 1861. He loved Shakespeare and the theater. There were a number of performances of that sort that he may have enjoyed—Mr. Emmett, reading *Othello* and *Richard III*, Mr. Boothroyd reading Shakespeare, Mrs. Macready reading scenes from *Macbeth*, Charles Walter Couldock reading *Macbeth*, Miss M. Tree reading *Hamlet*, and Rev. Henry Giles lecturing on *Women of Shakespeare*.

Abraham Lincoln most likely attended several of the Springfield entertainments. *Entertainment in Lincoln's Springfield* notes the dates when Lincoln was in Springfield and could have possibly attended entertainments. The amazing fact, however, is that some of the entertainments that appeared in Springfield later appeared in Washington, D.C., and were attended by President Lincoln. Perhaps he also saw the entertainment in Springfield as well.

Bayard Taylor was one of those who appeared in Springfield and Washington. Taylor gave three lectures in Springfield on Monday, Friday, and Saturday, March 12, 16, and 17, 1855. He spoke in Metropolitan Hall, which seated 1,200, at the invitation of the Young Men's Christian Association. He charged twenty-five cents for an attendee to hear him speak on Japan,

India, and *The Philosophy of Travel*. Abraham Lincoln was in Springfield.

Taylor arrived in Springfield in a driving rain and found the town a mud hole. In 1859, he published his impressions in the first volume of *At Home and Abroad*. There he wrote:



Bayard Taylor, OC-1007

I must do Springfield the justice to say that it has its sunshine side, when the mud dries up with magical rapidity and its level streets become fair to look upon. The clouds cleared away on the morning after my arrival, and when my friend, Captain Diller, took me to the cupola of the State House and showed me the wide ring of cultivated prairie, dotted with groves of hickory, sugar-maple, and oak, which inspheres the capital of Suckerdom, I confess that it was a sight to be proud of. The young green of the woods and the promising wheat-fields melted away gradually into blue, and the fronts of distant farm-houses shown in the morning sun like the sails of vessels in the offing. The wet soil of the cornfields resembled patches of black velvet—recalling to my mind the dark, prolific loam of the Nile Valley.

In 1862, during the administration of President Lincoln, Taylor entered the United States diplomatic service as Chargé d'Affaires under the minister to Russia at St. Petersburg. On Friday, December 18, 1863, Bayard gave a lecture on Russia at Willard's

Hall, in Washington, D.C. President Lincoln attended the lecture and a week later suggested to Bayard that he prepare a lecture on "Serfs, Serfdom, and Emancipation in Russia."

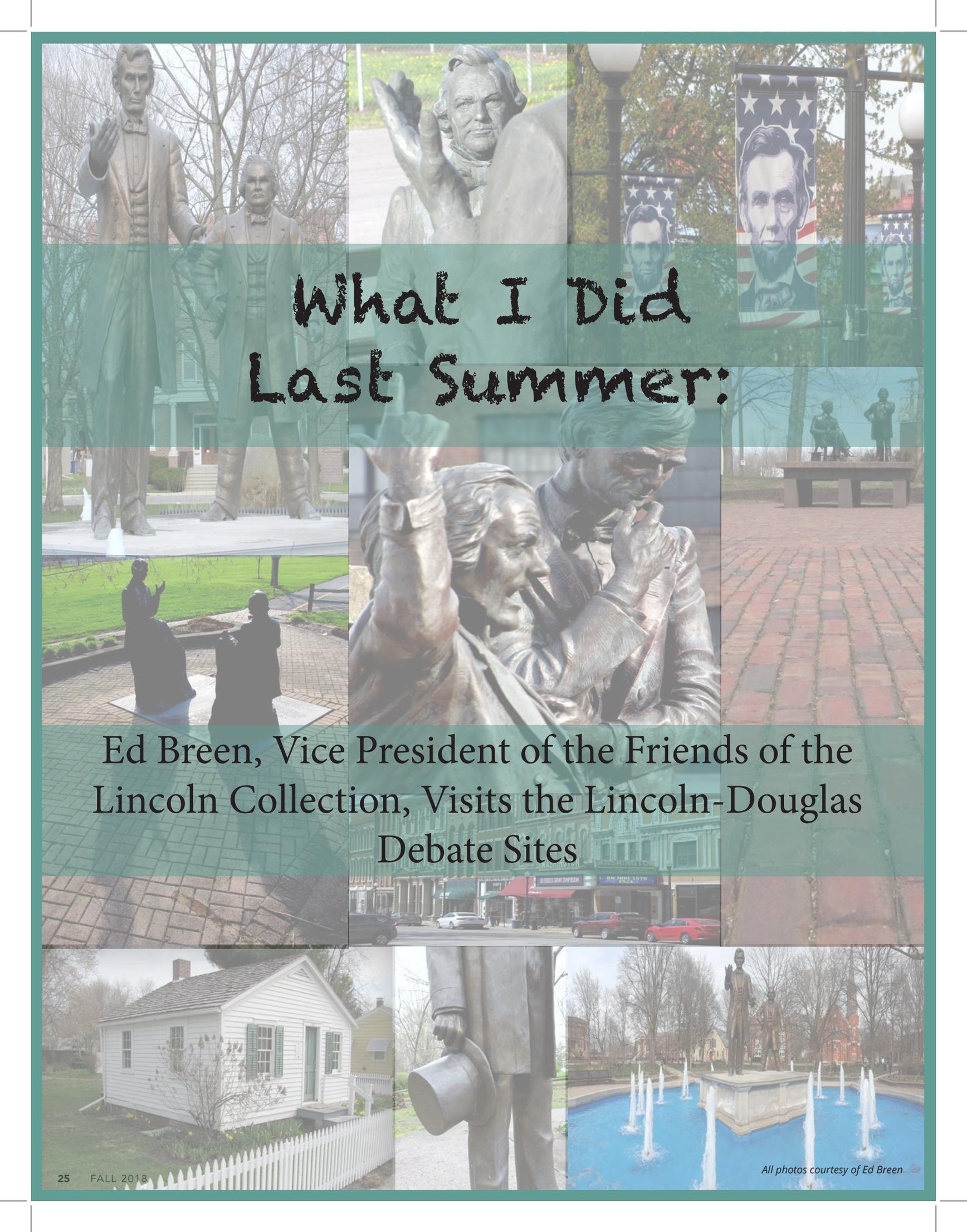
Lincoln's Springfield was indeed a small town on the western frontier of the United States. Such or similar descriptions have led many to assume that it was a backwater, a sleepy, uninvolved, intellectually barren place. Young John Hay, the recent class poet at Brown University, wrote to his friend back east that there was not much going on in Springfield and not anyone worth talking to. Abraham Lincoln's office was next door. Such are the errors of youthful perception.

To the contrary, Springfield was home to a vast array of interesting entertainments. From 1834 until the end of 1860, there were over three hundred entertainments given in at least twenty-two separate Springfield venues. While minstrel shows are offensive by today's standards, most of the other entertainments are similar to those that remain current today. They would not be found in the popular culture of our time, but rather they would be classic fodder for PBS, National Geographic history programs, or today's performing arts centers. They would find it hard to compete with today's popular movie and television culture, and that speaks highly of the entertainments of Lincoln's Springfield!

Richard Hart is an attorney in Springfield, Illinois, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Abraham Lincoln Association.

Endnotes

1. The full text of the speech may be found in the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 1, pp. 108-115. *Journal*, Saturday, January 27, 1838, p.2; "The Springfield Lyceums and Lincoln's 1838 Speech," by Thomas F. Schwartz, *Illinois Historical Journal*, Vol. 83, No. 1, Spring 1990, pp. 45-49. University of Illinois Press on behalf of the Illinois State Historical Society.
2. There were other forms of entertainment: circuses, the annual state fair when it was held in Springfield, and a slew of dancing classes, which are not covered in this study. See the author's *Circuses in Lincoln's Springfield* (2013).
3. *The Diary of Orville H. Browning, 1850-1881* (2 vols. ed.), Springfield, Illinois, Illinois State Historical Society.



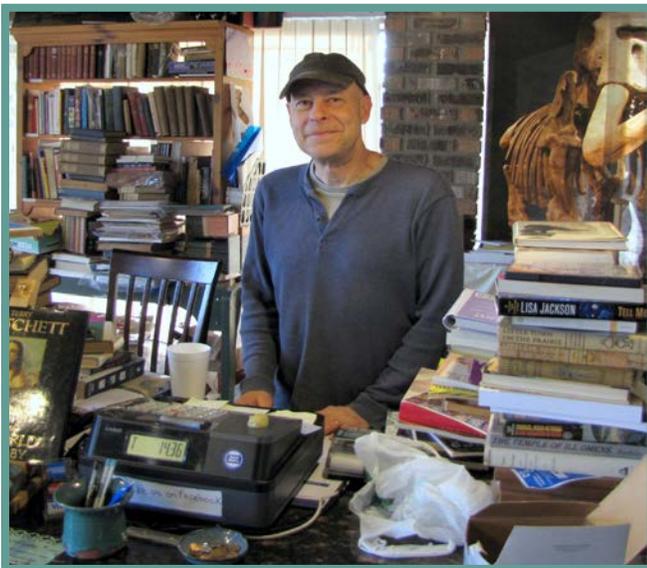
What I Did Last Summer:

Ed Breen, Vice President of the Friends of the Lincoln Collection, Visits the Lincoln-Douglas Debate Sites

Joe Judd sat behind the counter of his used book store at 303 Lincoln Avenue on the west side of Charleston, Illinois, and talked about what it meant to him and others in town that their town was among the seven communities across the Illinois landscape where the future of the United States of America was argued, discussed, and disputed 160 years ago this year.

“Debate” is the proper term. Judd’s town of Charles-

ton was one of the seven sites, one in each Illinois Congressional District, (except for Chicago and Peoria, where the two had already spoken, one after the other) where the two great political heavyweights of the era—Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas — went toe-to-toe on lawns, platforms, hurriedly-erected stages and a couple of fairgrounds. These were the “Lincoln-Douglas Debates,” the bedrock arguments on



in Ottawa on August 21st and concluded in Alton, on the banks of the Mississippi River, on October 15.

“Oh, yes, it still means a lot. It’s a part of who we are,” Judd said, “but I don’t know that the young people really understand that. They may be think it was just two old men.”

Judd, a man in middle age who graduated from Eastern Illinois University, just across the street from his bookstore, worked in Chicago and came back to Charleston (pop. 21,133) to raise his daughters. The town, like all of the towns on this particular circuit, is struggling with its economy. Jobs have departed from Charleston, the student population is about half of three decades ago, partly because the State of Illinois can’t afford to maintain the university as it once was.

“But you know,” Judd said with something resembling Chamber of Commerce pride, “Lincoln’s father and step-mother are both buried here, just a couple of miles from right here. Lincoln came through here after his election on his way to Washington and he stopped to see his step-mother out there in that little cabin. It’s

still there. It would be like today if a President, with all his stuff packed in his car, stopped to see his mother living in a trailer at the edge of town.”

Thomas and Sarah Bush Lincoln are buried in Shiloh Cemetery just south of Charleston, the seat of Coles County and it was at the Coles County fairgrounds, a few miles to the north, that the debaters squared off on that Saturday in 1858, the day that local historian Charles Coleman described in his book on Coles County as “the biggest day in the history of Charleston.”

The site – as with all seven sites— is preserved and revered by the



residents. There are Lincoln and Douglas statues, modest, smaller-than-life, and a museum maintained and staffed by volunteers.

Statuary, the figures of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas, is found at all sites, except Quincy, where a larger-than-life bronze relief tablet marks the downtown spot and tells the story. Just across the street, of course, is the fine old Lincoln Hotel, now known as the Lincoln Douglas Apartments on Fourth Street.

Freeport, Ottawa, Alton and Quincy all possess central downtown squares where the debates were staged. Some – Ottawa and Alton, in particular -- are lavish: Heroic bronze figures and carefully landscaped surroundings. But perhaps most interesting is Gales-



how to correct what a 21st Century observer, Condoleezza Rice, called “America’s birth defect”: Slavery. What John C. Calhoun and others had once called “our peculiar institution.”

In Charleston, the confrontation between the two U.S. Senate candidates – Douglas the Democrat, Lincoln the fledgling Republican – was on September 18, 1858, midway through a schedule that had begun



burg, which makes the most of the convergence of Lincoln and his monumental biographer Carl Sandburg, who was born and reared in Galesburg and attended Knox College, the site of the fifth debate on October 7, 1858.

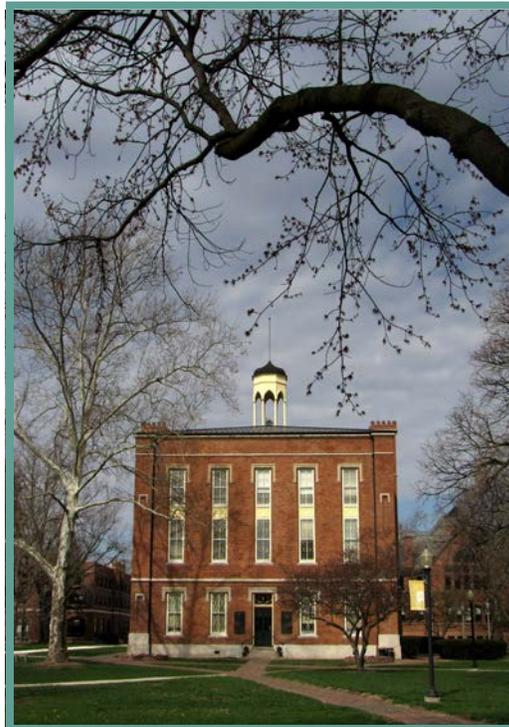
A platform was hurriedly constructed against the east wall of “Old Main,” the administrative building at the college, which appears pretty much unchanged today.

One problem: The raised platform, necessary if the estimated crowd of 20,000 was to see or hear the speakers, blocked the door leading from the building. Thus did the two politicians crawl through a window adjacent to the door and emerge on the stage.

The window is preserved. So is the red upholstered chair beneath the window which Mr. Lincoln allegedly rested in before climbing to the window. “Oh, go ahead and sit in it if you’d



like,” said Melody Diehl, Student Loans Coordinator for the college, whose office is adjacent to the historic waiting room and window. “We let everybody sit in it. Most of the commencement speakers stop here and sit in the chair. Madeleine Albright did, John Po-



desta did. Lots of famous people. Go ahead, you won’t break it.”

Halls of “Old Main” are lined with maps, photographs and artifacts, including a bronze Lincoln life mask and a painting depicting the enormous and partisan crowd which had assembled just beyond those doors.

And while there are no life-size statues of Lincoln and Douglas here, there is a larger-than-life rendering of Carl Sandburg at the heart of the downtown square. His childhood home is also

an attraction south of downtown and within 100 yards of the once-sprawling and still active Galesburg railroad yards. White frame house, picket fence and a paving brick sidewalk. The house and visitor center are open Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

Throughout the 420-mile expanse from Freeport, hugging up against adjacent Wisconsin, south to Jonesboro, wedged in at that time only a few miles from the slave-holding states of Kentucky and Missouri, are the remnants of the Illinois frontier. Two-lane blacktop roads link most of the towns. Family farms, both large and small, dot the landscape on both sides of the roads. These communities, by and large, are what remain. Tree-lined streets, architecture too ornate and expensive to be built or maintained today. Courthouse squares and in each of these special places bound together by history, special parks set aside to mark what happened all those years ago.

Jonesboro is the smallest of the towns, population 1,749. Said Lincoln of Douglas on his arrival in Jonesboro: “Did the Judge talk of trotting me down to Egypt to scare me to death? . . .” (Southwestern Illinois has long carried the moniker of “Little Egypt” because the central town of the region is named Cairo). The Jonesboro appearance, third in the sequence, was the most distant from the Midwestern Illinois frontier— geographically and culturally— and also the most sparsely attended; the crowd was estimated at 1,500. It





is also the most rural of the settings. The bronze statues are surrounded by live oak timber, including a massive oak believed to have been there on that September day 160 years ago.

It is surrounded by the Trail of Tears State Forest, a commemoration of the forced removal through the area of the Cherokee Native Americans. And that is the most abiding of impressions from the seven-town tour: That the evidence of events past is inescapable across the arc of Illinois from Wisconsin south to the Ohio River.

alds and talked about his town. Yes, that date, August 21, still looms large. "We went there on school trips when I was in third grade and again in sixth grade," he said, motioning in the direction of Washington Park in downtown Ottawa where the debate occurred. Adjacent to the park is a half-block-long urban mural painted in 2007 depicting what went on across the street in the park all those years ago.

"The kids in Ottawa Township High School now go to the park and read aloud the texts from the debates that day," the young Ottawan said. "But, you know, the thing we talk about more is the radium poisoning, the places that are still contaminated."

That all began in 1922 when the Radium Dial Company set up shop in a former high school building in Ottawa and hired hundreds of young women to paint wristwatch dials, using radioactive paint that caused the watch dials to glow in the dark. Thus were wearers able for the first time to roll over in bed in the middle of the night, glance at their wristwatches, satisfy their curiosity and go back to sleep.

The result, as we know in a better



Thus did the glow of wristwatches overshadow that August day in Ottawa.

This article will continue in the Winter 2018 issue of Lincoln Lore.



The Lincoln and Douglas debates, certainly the focus of 1858, were but a slice of the continuum of history across this western frontier of the Old Northwest Territory, the huge swath of America created by Ordinance in 1787, territories (and later, states) in which slavery was prohibited by statute.

In Ottawa, Ryan Prusynski, a teenager, served up fries at McDon-

informed era, was massive radioactive contamination of both people and places in Ottawa. Residents, particularly the young women applying the paint, ingested huge doses of Radium radiation that led to illness and death from anemia, bone fractures and necrosis of the jaw. The federal Environmental Protection Agency has been a constant presence in Ottawa since 1986 and some areas of the community are still uninhabitable.

