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AN INTERVIEW WITH GARY W. GALLAGHER

Gary W. Gallagher, the John L. Nau III Professor in the History of the Civil War Emeritus at the University of Virginia, is one of the most influential historians and sought-after speakers on the Civil War era. In November he and Joan Waugh will present at the Forum on "What Caused the Civil War." He will also participate in a panel discussion on the future of Confederate monuments. We are grateful that he joined us for an interview.

JW: Your very first article in Civil War Times Illustrated was about Abraham Lincoln and colonization. When and how did you first become interested in Lincoln?

GG: As a boy, I read Sterling North's Abe Lincoln: Log Cabin to White House, a title in Random House's Landmark Books series. I enjoyed many of the Landmark biographical volumes—including those on Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, as well as this one on Lincoln. A bit later, I bought a copy of the paperback edition of Lloyd Lewis's Myths after Lincoln, part of Grosset's Universal Library, which had a brief introduction by Carl Sandburg. Finally, I read and re-read Bruce Catton's sections on Lincoln in The American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War and in his Army of the Potomac trilogy. I wrote on Lincoln and black



colonization as an honor's paper in undergraduate school and revised and enlarged that as my M.A. paper in graduate school at the University of Texas at Austin. The article for Civil War Times Illustrated, which appeared while Jack Davis was the editor, was titled "The A'Vache Tragedy" and represented a much-abbreviated version of the M.A. paper.

JW: Lincoln certainly cared a great deal for the Union, but modern scholarship often seems to underestimate the importance of "Union" to 19th-century Americans. What did "Union" mean to Civil War-era Northerners? And why were they willing to sacrifice so much to preserve it?

GG: I wrote The Union War (Harvard University Press, 2012) because I believe, after more than 40 years of teaching and lecturing about the Civil War era, that very few Americans appreciate the importance of the concept of Union in the 19th century. One of the hardest things to get students and others to understand is why huge numbers of men in the loyal states would risk their lives in a conflict that never posed a direct threat to their families, farms, homes, and towns. The answer lies in a very widespread devotion to the meaning of the Union. Those who venerated the Union claimed that petulant slaveholding oligarchs, unhappy with the results of a presidential election untainted by corruption at the polls, had dismantled the constitutional edifice built on the Revolutionary generation's sacrifices. The Union represented the cherished legacy of the founders, a democratic republic with a constitution that guaranteed citizens political liberty, a voice in their own governance, and a chance to better themselves economically. From the perspective of loyal Americans, the United States was an exceptional nation—a republic that stood as the only hope for democracy in a Western world that, since the failed European revolutions of the 1840s, had fallen more deeply into the stifling embrace of oligarchy. They joined Lincoln in seeing the Union as the "last best, hope of earth." Slaveholding aristocrats who established the Confederacy, insisted untold Unionists, posed a direct threat not only to the long-term success of the American republic but also to the broader future of democracy. Should armies of citizen-soldiers fail to restore the Union, forces of privilege on both sides of the Atlantic could pronounce ordinary people incapable of self-government and render irrelevant the military sacrifices and political genius of the Revolutionary fathers.

JW: Why do you think that historians missed the importance of Union for so long?

GG: I often have wondered about this. Again, part of the reason I decided to write *The Union War* grew out of my sense that Union has been underappreciated. Many books nod in the direction of Union's importance but seldom take the time to explain the phenomenon. This results in skepticism about how central it was to the loyal citizenry's war effort. For modern audiences, a war to end slavery makes more sense than one waged in behalf of the nebulous concept of Union (the word itself, in its mid-19th-century meaning, has disappeared entirely from our vocabulary). The recent emphasis on slavery, emancipation, and race—both in scholarship and popular culture—also militates against more attention to Union. The idea of a war that began to save the continued on page 3



MESSAGE from the CHAIR an it really be 25 years since we began planning the first Lincoln Forum symposium? As we meet for Forum XXIV the answer must be yes. Frank Williams and I are now the sole fortunate survivors of that initial brainstorming session in North Palm Beach, Florida, with our late and lamented co-conspirators Bob Maher, Maynard Schrock, Chuck Platt, and David Long. As we near our silver anniversary we remember and salute the pioneers who helped launch us.

We are enormously pleased that so many enthusiasts, students, teachers, and scholars have enrolled for this year's symposium—including a record-breaking number of first-timers. As we prepare to enjoy and learn from the 2019 speakers and panelists—and to enjoy another precious annual reunion among old and new friends—perhaps we should identify some early goals for our big anniversary year. Here are two priorities:

Let's all work at Forum XXIV to encourage our first-timers to become second- and third-timers. We share the responsibility to communicate our Lincoln stories and Forum experiences with our newest friends (not just from the stage) to improve our return ratio.

Let's commit to keeping the Frank J. Williams student scholarship and Virginia Williams teacher scholarship programs alive and well. Donations have lagged a bit this year, so I encourage you to be as generous as possible in 2019 so we can continue to welcome deserving scholarship winners without dipping into our reserve funding.

As I complete my first full year—and prepare for my first symposium—as chair, I want to thank all of you who have registered to return for our annual program, and extend special gratitude to new and veteran colleagues who have worked so hard to make the transition seamless and Forum XXIV special: Henry Ballone, Elaine Henderson, Pat Dougal, Jonathan White, Michelle Krowl, George Buss, Edna Medford, Craig Symonds, and unsung (enough) heroes like Angela Mayer, Tom Horrocks, and Dan Weinberg—the list goes on.

Your ideas for the big anniversary year are most welcome. Mail, e-mail, or stop me at the Wyndham with your thoughts. If we know that you're coming we will bake a cake!

Harold Holzer, Chairman

PROFILING OUR FORUM ADMINISTRATOR, ELAINE HENDERSON



The Lincoln Forum's "resident manager," Elaine Henderson, now has a full year of experience under her belt running the organization's administrative side. But our Administrator already counts herself a longtime resident of Gettysburg—in her case by way of Indiana, Belgium, Washington, Michigan, and Connecticut.

Born in South Bend—the only Hoosier in a houseful of New Yorkers—her unique journey continued in Brussels, where she grew up, and continued in the nation's capital, where she attended the National Cathedral School. From there, in 1976, she was accepted into the Honors College at the University of Michigan, where she won a Hopwood Award for freshman non-fiction writing and earned a BA in history—"mostly European," she admits if pressed.

As Elaine puts it, she soon developed "a talent for condensing cumbersome tomes into short, bright paragraphs" (for instance, she happily reduced 20 hours of spoken text down to three for Jake Boritt's *The Gettysburg Story: Audio Battlefield Tour*).

She worked for 22 years as an editor of encyclopedias for Grolier, concluding her distinguished career there as executive editor. Ever the encyclopedist, she is currently writing a book of site-specific snippets for tourists and armchair travelers on the hidden history of Paris.

Elaine left publishing in 2008 to become managing director of the Lincoln Into Art Gallery on Gettysburg's historic Baltimore Street, where she works in partnership with her own life partner, artist Wendy Allen (although she still likes to keep a hand in editing whenever possible). **continued on page 9**

AN INTERVIEW WITH GARY W. GALLAGHER

continued from page 1 Union but turned into one with twin goals of Union and emancipation is powerful in the literature. In one sense this surely is accurate—the war *did* achieve both goals, as everyone knows. But the two were never equivalent in the minds of the overwhelming mass of the loyal white citizenry. First to last for them, it was a war for Union, one that, in the end, embraced emancipation as one of the tools necessary to defeat the rebels and save the Union. Lincoln's last annual message to Congress, dated December 6, 1864, clearly addressed the relative importance of Union and emancipation for the loyal citizenry. The president, seeking to reassure the widest swath of the electorate, affirmed that "maintenance of the Union" stood as "the common end" of the war effort and emancipation "among the means to secure that end."

JW: The Civil War seems to be experiencing a decline in public interest. Visitation at historic sites and battlefield parks has decreased steadily in recent decades, and the number of college history majors is plummeting. Why do you think this is happening?

GG: The Wall Street Journal's article about waning interest in the Civil War has triggered considerable discussion. In terms of visitation at National Park Service sites, I believe how NPS counting methods have changed over the years might explain at least some of the apparent drop (I find John Hennessy's take on this persuasive). It is also important to acknowledge that interest always fluctuates, with various factors bringing surges as in the late 1980s and early 1990s because of the 125th anniversary celebrations and Ken Burns's immensely popular The Civil War. The Wall Street Journal failed to place Civil War visitation within the context of lower attendance at historical sites of various kinds. A predilection for "visiting" sites online also plays a role, I suspect, though to what degree I cannot say.

My own experience suggests continuing vitality for the Civil War in many quarters. In more than twenty years at the University of Virginia, I saw no fall-off in enrollments. And that despite offering my Civil War class at 8:00 A.M., a time most students shun. I also have worked with hundreds of high school and middle school teachers during the past twelve years. Conversations with them suggest enthusiastic engagement with the subject among students across the United States. Finally, Joan Waugh and I have co-convened Civil War-related conferences at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, over the past twenty years. Aimed at a popular audience, they consistently have attracted large and enthusiastic crowds. All of this evidence is anecdotal, but it suggests very different groups of Americans continue to be drawn to the Civil War.

JW: What can people, be they professional historians or Civil War enthusiasts, do to maintain interest among young people?

GG: The key to maintaining interest lies, as has always been the case, in presenting the incredibly important and dramatic story of the Civil War era in compelling fashion—whether in well-written books that can reach a wide readership, well-taught courses that attract students at every level, effective documentaries that gain an audience, or theatrical films that speak to people (Glory, Gettysburg, and Lincoln come to mind among movies produced in the last 30 years). I do worry that fewer young people seem to be devoted readers, so my path to becoming entranced with the war, which depended on Bruce Catton and Douglas Southall Freeman and other able narrative writers, likely will become increasingly less important. I feel certain that social media can play a positive role, but my experience, as an outsider who neither tweets nor has a presence on Facebook, makes me very skeptical of that often loathsome world.

JW: Much of your work has focused on Confederate military history, and we look forward to hearing you discuss the Confederate monument issue at the Forum in November. Have these public debates over the Confederate flag and Confederate monuments influenced the way professional historians approach the Civil War?

GG: Recent controversies over Confederate symbols and the memorial landscape have made it more difficult to explore Confederate figures or topics. Many of my graduate students have written perceptively about the Confederacy, among them Bill Blair, Peter Carmichael, Caroline Janney, Aaron Sheehan-Dean, and Jaime Martinez. Their books have won prizes and made a significant mark. But I believe the current environment, heavily infused with ideology and posturing at both ends of the political spectrum, renders it problematical for young scholars to write about the Confederacy lest it harm their careers. I find this very distressing. I experienced some of this more than twenty years ago when I published The Confederate War (Harvard University Press, 1997). The fact that I argued for the presence of Confederate nationalism and disagreed with scholars who advanced the then-popular notion that the Rebels really did not struggle that hard-something the levels of mobilization and loss seem to counter—opened me to charges of being a neo-Confederate. Actual neo-Confederates hated the book because I called the Confederacy a republic founded in an effort to protect slavery. I have two folders in my personal files—one labeled "Hate Mail Calling Me a Neo-Confederate" and one labeled "Neo-Confederate Hate Mail." One item in the latter expressed a wish that I would develop a "virulent case of pancreatic cancer."

JW: What do you see as the most important trends in Civil War history today? And do you think the field is moving in healthy directions?

GG: Members of The Lincoln Forum know very well that for many decades, historians of the Civil War primarily dealt with causation, high politics, and conventional military operations three topics that remain essential to a basic familiarity with the whole subject. Over the past half-century, the literature has become much richer and more expansive. We know far more than previously about common soldiers, about women in the United States and the Confederacy, about African Americans and the process of emancipation, about white Unionists and other dissenters in the Confederacy, about guerrilla operations, about the conflict in a global context, and, increasingly, about the American West as part of the war's overall mosaic. Scholars also have accorded considerable attention to the so-called "dark side" of the conflictto its brutality, atrocities, cowardice, vicious activity by irregular bands, and physical and psychological wounds that left some veterans profoundly damaged. As the founding editor of the Civil War America series at UNC Press, I helped attract and shepherd into print more than 110 titles between the late 1980s and the second decade of the 21st century—always with the goal of casting the widest possible net in terms of topics. I see this phenomenon as one of the great strengths of the field.

But as the field of Civil War-era history has become increasingly complex, there has been an understandable tendency to place a new subject as close as possible to the center of the entire story and to question many long-accepted analytical frameworks. The traditional juxtapositions of North versus South, slaveholders versus non-slaveholders, and United States versus Confederacy have come into question, as has the four-year time frame that typically delineates the subject in the popular *continued on page 11*

THE DEBATE OVER ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND

By Matt Maguire

Abraham Lincoln has appeared in songs since he first ran for president in 1860.1 Some songs laud his honesty, others lament his death, and still others offer criticism. Civil War-era lyrics collected as part of the WPA Slave Narrative project in the 1930s demonstrate the various ways ex-slaves sang about the former president. While many of the songs depicted Lincoln in a positive light, some were less than complimentary. At least one former slave remembered singing these words: "Jeff Davis rides a big gray horse, / Lincoln rides a mule; / Jeff Davis is a fine old man, / and Lincoln is a fool."2



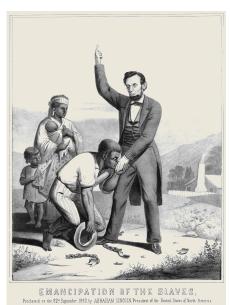
W.E.B. Du Bois

Over the years since Lincoln's death, many African Americans have grappled with questions related to Lincoln's merit as the "Great Emancipator." In contemporary black culture, this complex debate even appears in hip-hop music. Hip-hop is a driving cultural force for many young African Americans, and it has been used to push public discourse and analyze difficult societal problems. As such, the sentiments expressed in the genre offer a profound and authentic depiction of how many contemporary African Americans perceive the 16th president.

In the internet age, no musically-oriented blog or website has garnered as much grassroots attention as Genius.com, which has been popularly dubbed "Rap Genius" due to its utility to hip-hop fans. The site features the largest database of song lyrics on the internet, as well as an interface that allows fans and artists to provide and access analytical explanations of the meaning behind song lyrics. Additionally, Genius.com features a search tool, which allows users to keyword search more than 25 million songs, albums, artists, and annotations. According to Genius, nearly 1,100 songs mention the name, "Lincoln." (This number does not include songs that use other allusions to him, such as "Honest Abe.") Almost all of these "hits" fall into one of three categories, of which the latter two hold historical significance.

The first of these categories can be described as simple punch lines. These songs offer little in terms of historical analysis, instead using Lincoln's name as an opportunity to convey humor, tact, or other literary skills. They also often use double entendre, referring to the Lincoln brand of automobile or calling \$5 bills "Lincolns."

very common punch line calls attention to the assassination of Lincoln, sometimes using it to signify the presence of



violence. In "Not Tonite," Stokeley Goulbourne states that he "killed that show like Lincoln."4 Jermaine Cole makes a similar allusion in his song, "Dead Presidents," which discusses the desire to acquire wealth. Referencing how American currency depicts the faces of many notable dead presidents, Cole states that he would resort to violence for monetary gain if necessary: "for the presidents, I'll treat [others] like Lincoln." Kirsnick Ball, a member of the popular rap trio Migos, notes his fear of violence in the group's song "M&M's": "I feel like President Lincoln and Malcolm X, they trying to assassinate me."6 Simple punch lines like these do not offer much insight into the evaluation of Lincoln's larger historical role, but they do serve as a reminder of how deeply embedded Lincoln's assassination and likeness are in African American popular culture.

The second category into which most Lincoln references fall can be described as positive depictions. These lyrics reinforce the idea of Lincoln as the "Great Emancipator," making note of his synonymy with freedom, celebrating his accomplishments, and lauding him for his virtues. Many depict Lincoln as the pinnacle of honesty. Jermaine

Cole, for example, raps "[my] name should be Abe Lincoln 'cause I cannot tell a lie,"7 while Jared Pellerin, claims that "I'm so honest I would put Lincoln to shame."8 While the famous "I cannot tell a lie" tale would be more accurately attributed to George Washington and his mythological cherry tree, it is clear that Lincoln is celebrated for his virtue in hip-hop lyrics like these. These and other positive depictions align with the scholarship of historians such as James M. McPherson, who argues that Lincoln



James Weldon Johnson

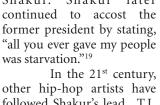
was a "principled opponent of **James Weidon Jonnson** slavery" and the most essential actor in emancipation. 9 Furthermore, they echo the sentiments of some black Union soldiers, one of whom remarked that "Lincoln gave us our freedom."10

Todd Shaw's "Money in the Ghetto," a commentary on the contemporary struggles of African Americans, gives an approving explanation of Lincoln's place on American currency: "Abraham Lincoln got shot and died, freed the slaves so they put him on the five."11 In a comparable vein, Percy Miller remarks that "Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves and started smilin" in his song, "Black and White."12 Even braggadocious lyrics give Lincoln credit. In "Battle Cry," Joell Ortiz claims that his rhymes are so enlightening that they will "free y'all. I'm hip-hop's Abe Lincoln." 13 Other prominent Lincoln brags include when Donald Glover claims he is "off the chain, man, I Abraham Lincoln'd this,"14 or when Che Grant drops the innuendo that "it's like [his] girl was Lincoln, cause she tryna take my chains off."15 In this vein of music, hip-hop artists and their listeners understand Lincoln as synonymous with emancipation, continuing a rich tradition of African Americans celebrating the actions of what James Weldon Johnson called "Lincoln's ready hand." 16

However, as is common in assessing notable historical figures, hip-hop's evaluation of Abraham Lincoln is not homogenous. Lincoln references in hip-hop can also be quite negative. Prompted by the writings of black intellectuals like W.E.B. Du Bois, the work of journalists like Lerone Bennett, and the scholarly arguments about self-emancipation put forward by historians such as Leon Litwack and Ira Berlin, a more negative perception of Lincoln is prominently

SELF-EMANCIPATION IN AMERICAN HIP-HOP

demonstrated in both early and contemporary hip-hop lyrics. In the 1990s, Tupac Shakur rejected the idea of Lincoln as the "Great Emancipator," echoing instead Lerone Bennett's view that Lincoln's emancipation came from a place of "necessity, not conviction."17 "Emancipation Proclamation? Please, Lincoln just said that to save the nation,"18 quipped Shakur. Shakur later continued to accost the former president by stating,





Thomas Ball's Emancipation Group, 1876

followed Shakur's lead. T.I. (Cliff Harris Jr.), Vince Staples, Nas (Nasir Jones), and The Game (Jayceon Taylor), have all recounted similar sentiments. Taylor and Harris Jr., for example, have delivered harsh rebukes of Lincoln's wartime policies. In "Blood Diamonds," Taylor celebrates Lincoln's assassination: "John Wilkes Booth killed Lincoln and you thought he freed slaves? What the f—k you thinkin'? F—k Lincoln."²⁰ Harris Jr.'s song "Warzone" expresses the same lack of faith in and respect for the legacy of Lincoln, claiming that "the jig's up, the Constitution and Emancipation Proclamation's just a f—kin' piece of paper."21 Staples, on the other hand, simply remarks that "Abraham Lincoln never kept none of my [N-words] safe, he only gave them prison dates and Church's Chicken dinner plates."22

To these contemporary artists, the myth of Lincoln as "Great Emancipator" is just that—a myth. Without elimination of societal injustices that continue to plague many in the black community, according to Taylor, Harris Jr., and Staples, emancipation itself means nothing. To Nasir Jones, this sentiment could not ring more true. "Abe Lincoln did not free the enslaved, progress was made 'cause we forced the proclamation, f—k your proclamation," rhymed Jones in 2018.²³

Jones's argument is not a new one, but it is certainly the most mainstream musical exposure the self-emancipation thesis has received. In arguing that slaves "forced" Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, Jones is echoing the arguments of social historians who emphasize the place of runaway slaves in "the process of emancipation," noting that the pressure exerted on the Union Army by these desperate individuals made the choice to avoid emancipation "senseless to the point of absurdity."24 In so doing, Jones and others like him offer a strong rejection of Lincoln as the "Great Emancipator."

Just as historians David Silkenat and John Barr found in their analysis of WPA slave narratives, there is no monolithic "black" view of Abraham Lincoln. Some hip-hop songs treat him as a figure worthy of admiration, while others a villain to be heaped with scorn. In surveying hip-hop's extensive dialogue on Abraham Lincoln, it is possible to see a wealth of opinions, theories, and beliefs about the nation's 16th president, and the ways that hip-hop artists have engaged with both popular and scholarly debates over emancipation.

(Matt Maguire graduated from Christopher Newport University in 2019 and is now studying law at the University of

Tennessee College of Law. He wrote this paper for Prof. Jonathan W. White's seminar on Lincoln and race during the Spring 2019 semester.) 👤

Note: In a few instances offensive words have been modified.

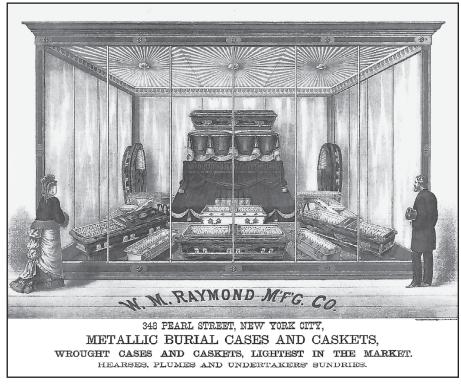
- See, for example, The Wide-Awake Vocalist: Or, Rail Splitters' Song Book: Words and Music for the Republican Campaign of 1860 (New York: E. A. Daggett, 1860).
- ² Quoted in David Silkenat and John Barr, "'Serving the Lord and Abe Lincoln's Spirit': Lincoln and Memory in the WPA Narratives," Lincoln Herald 115 (2013): 80-81. Some ex-slaves reversed these lyrics to say, "Jeff Davis is de fool."
- ³ Search results for "Lincoln" at Genius.com. Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent lyrics are cited from https://genius.com (accessed April 15, 2019).
- ⁴ Stokeley Goulbourne, "Not Tonite" (2018).
- ⁵ Jermaine Cole, "Dead Presidents" (2007).
- ⁶ Kirsnick Ball, "M&M's" (2014).
- ⁷ Jermaine Cole, "The Cure" (2012).
- ⁸ Jared Pellerin, "In The Morning" (2016).
- ⁹ James M. McPherson, *Drawn with the Sword: Reflections on the Amer*ican Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 192-207.
- ¹⁰ Thomas Morris Chester, quoted in Allen C. Guelzo, "How Abe Lincoln Lost the Black Vote: Lincoln and Emancipation in the African American Mind," Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association 25 (Winter 2004): 5.
- ¹¹ Todd Shaw, "Money in the Ghetto" (1993).
- ¹² Percy Miller, "Black and White" (1998).
- ¹³ Joell Ortiz, "Battle Cry" (2011).
- ¹⁴ Donald Glover, "Different (Feel it All Around)" (2010).
- ¹⁵ Che Grant, "Red Mercedes (Remix)" (2017).
- ¹⁶ James Weldon Johnson, "Fifty Years" (1913), poem commemorating the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, quoted in Guelzo, "How Lincoln Lost the Black Vote," 13.
- ¹⁷ Lerone Bennett, "Was Lincoln a White Supremacist?" Ebony Magazine 23 (February 1968): 40.
- ¹⁸ Tupac Shakur, "Words of Wisdom" (1991).
- ¹⁹ Tupac Shakur, "Panther Power" (2000).
- ²⁰ Jayceon Taylor, "Blood Diamonds" (2012).
- ²¹ Cliff Harris Jr., "Warzone" (2016).
- ²² Vincent Staples, "Trigga Witta Heart" (2011).
- ²³ Nasir Jones, "Not For Radio" (2018).
- ²⁴ Ira Berlin, "Who Freed the Slaves? Emancipation and its Meaning," in Union & Emancipation: Essays on Politics and Race in the Civil War Era, ed. David W. Blight and Brooks D. Simpson (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1997), 113.

MARKETING A MURDER: W. M. RAYMOND AND THE LINCOLN FUNERAL IN NEW YORK

By Harold Holzer

New Yorkers have seldom been embarrassed about their commercial culture—even in the midst of Civil War-era tragedy. In April 1861, when Major Robert Anderson arrived in the city after surrendering Fort Sumter, New York merchants hiked the prices on American flags and soon sold out their stock. Newspapers attributed the sales to "flag mania." Four years later, when Abraham Lincoln's body arrived in town en route to Springfield, purveyors of black crepe and mourning badges advertised their wares in the press and enjoyed a profitable run on their products. Assassination was good for business.

For marketing audacity, however, nothing quite matched the New York "chutzpah" (no doubt known by another word in 1865) of the W. M. Raymond Company, self-described "proprietors and manufacturers" of "metallic burial cases and caskets . . . the lightest in the market." Raymond & Co. had promoted their wares in an oddly exotic print showing a well-dressed couple peering into a casket-shaped giant box (meant to represent a ghoulish showroom window) filled with their "coffins, hearses, plumes and undertakers' sundries." A pair of coffins are shown standing end-on-end on either side of the display, as if awaiting the man and woman looking inside.





hen Abraham Lincoln's funeral came through town, and while there was no evidence that his remains had been transported in a Raymond casket, the company promptly issued a lithograph of *President Lincoln's Funeral in New York*, showing the horse-drawn, flag-festooned cortege riding past City Hall and up Broadway as crowds look on and soldiers line the route. Mass-mourning was a perfect moment to promote funeral products, so W. M. Raymond placed its name, specialty, and 348 Pearl Street address at the top of the print—as if to suggest they had been responsible for the Lincoln hearse—in case anyone in town had need of their specialty.

It was mourning in America—and if clients wanted to go in grand style, like Lincoln, Raymond wanted to make sure they knew precisely where to come calling for the best permanent housing in New York.

The Lincoln Forum Bulletin welcomes contributions from members and historians—articles and photos alike. Send to editor Jonathan W. White at jonathan.white@cnu.edu. The editor particularly thanks the contributors to the current issue.

TEACHER SCHOLARS ENJOY 23RD SYMPOSIUM

By Ruth Squillace

Last year, The Lincoln Forum renamed both its annual, all-expense-paid teacher and student scholarships in honor of Chairman Emeritus Frank J. Williams, and his wife Virginia, who has served the Forum alongside "the Chief" for 24 years. The scholarships, awarded each year to selected applicants from across the country, are now known as The Frank J. Williams Student Scholarship and The Virginia Williams Teacher Scholarship.

The Forum welcomed four teacher-scholars to Lincoln Forum XXIII, selecting from 38 qualified applicants from 23 states. The 2018 recipients of the Virginia Williams Teacher Scholarship boasted impressive resumes. Like many past scholars, they actively pursue opportunities in the historical world and use them as catalysts for further growth. In turn, they make ongoing valuable contributions to their respective schools, and the councils, organizations, and round tables to which they belong.

Heidi Kwalk, a Long Beach, California, teacher at Weaver Elementary School, instructs 32 students in a blended 4th and 5th grade classroom. Hers is a quintessentially "American" story. Uprooted from South Korea as a child, her displacement eventually stimulated affinity for the Lincoln story. She developed a passion for the teaching of history, and is now pursuing a Masters of American History program at Adams State University. She aims to make history come alive for her young and eager learners. While attending The Lincoln Forum, Kwalk felt particularly inspired by Kate Masur's They Knew Lincoln, as it encouraged her to "look for unheard voices in histories.... For each unit I have to teach, I will now be more mindful to look for different perspectives." The most memorable Forum experience for her was the opening ceremony. "When teachers were introduced individually, that was a touching moment. It was an honor to be recognized among such 'rock star historians' and it encouraged me to continue to teach the history of Lincoln and his time to the best of my ability."

Skyline High School AP U.S. History teacher **Melinda Reay** of Salt Lake City, Utah, commented that she "enjoyed being able to be in Gettysburg during the anniversary of The Gettysburg Address." Reay noted that "the tour of the battleground was wonderful. I most enjoyed the lectures by Andrew Delbanco and Frank J. Williams." A dedicated educator, she has participated in numerous workshops and seminars. Through Harvard University, she is currently collaborating with a nationwide team of educators throughout the nation to refine an interactive game created to teach high school students about the Declaration of Independence. Recently, she combined knowledge acquired from travels to Germany and her participation in a Civil Rights Landmarks Fellowship to develop curriculum on the impact of monuments and lessons from the Charlottesville riot.

In her application, scholarship recipient **Lisa Smith** exuded enthusiasm for her roles as both student and teacher. Smith stated: "Education is the real protection of democracy and students today will soon be active, civic participants in the United States. It is the job of teachers nationwide, especially social studies teachers, who are tasked with preparing today's youth, to become knowledgeable about our country's history and government, in order to improve and advance society. I have made it my goal to teach the next generation about the history of the United States and



Ruth Squillace, Kevin Wagner, Harold Holzer, Heidi Kwalk, Melinda Reay, Frank J. Williams, & Lisa Smith

the impact it has made on our lives today." Of her experience at the Forum, this 8th-grade American History teacher at Cross Timbers Middle School in Grapevine, Texas, shared: "David Blight's lecture was outstanding. All the lectures made me think about Lincoln and the Civil War in different ways that will impact my classroom. I enjoyed seeing some women dressed in period costumes, and if I return, I want to do the same thing!" No surprise, given that she wears a top hat and beard anytime she teaches her students about Abraham Lincoln.

Pennsylvania State History Teacher of the Year recipient **Kevin Wagner** lives and teaches in Carlisle. He used his time at the Forum to seek "alternative perspectives from which to view historical topics or persons for my students." Speaking to that objective, Wagner remarked that Kate Masur's lecture provided him with much needed insights into the view of African Americans on Lincoln. The other standout experience for him was when he and the other teacher scholarship recipients participated in a dramatic reading of excerpts from *Lincoln in the Bardo* with its author, George Saunders. Wagner recalled, "This was a very special treat for me as an educator, as I was a fan of this book since it was first published." Through his varied engagements, he looks forward to encouraging others to join the Forum and apply for scholarships.

The teacher scholarship selection committee is comprised of Lincoln Forum Advisory Board members Ken Childs, Esq., of Columbia, SC; Ron Keller, Associate Professor of History and Political Science at Lincoln College in Lincoln, IL; and Ruth Squillace, Lincoln Forum Teacher Scholarship Initiative Coordinator and high school social studies teacher in Long Island, NY.

Several prior teacher scholarship recipients have become Lifetime Members and continue to attend the annual symposium. Many sustain ongoing connections through participation in online groups dedicated to U.S. History, Civics, and AP teaching.

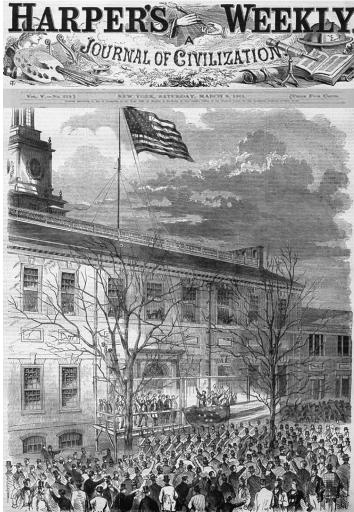
Through academic opportunities at the Forum, the lives of teachers and students have been positively impacted. We urge you to consider a contribution to The Lincoln Forum Scholarship Program. Please direct your checks to The Lincoln Forum c/o Henry F. Ballone, Treasurer, 23 Rochelle Pkwy., Saddle Brook, NJ 07663. The next class of Forum Teacher Scholars will be introduced at the 24th annual symposium in November.

THEY SAW LINCOLN: A YOUNG PENNSYLVANIAN SEES

By Daniel Glenn

A thick crowd gathered at Independence Hall on February 22, 1861, to see President-elect Abraham Lincoln raise a flag over the Old State House in Philadelphia. Amid the throng were an eighteenyear-old man and his grandfather, who had traveled from Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, to catch a glimpse of the Railsplitter on his way to his inauguration. This was not the first time Samuel W. Pennypacker had encountered Lincoln's oratory. The previous year, he had read a transcript of Lincoln's Cooper Union Address, and he found Lincoln to be "a man of great ability" and his arguments "absolutely unanswerable." Now Pennypacker would get to see the Illinois politician in person, and the spectacle made quite an impression on him. He described the events of February 22nd in a letter to his uncle:

On Thursday Grandfather and I went down to the city in order to get a glimpse of the new President[.] In the afternoon we went to Rev. John Street's [home at 812 N] Sixth above Brown and had a very good view of him and the cavalcade as they came down Sixth Street from the Depot. After supper we started out with the intention of going to his reception and stayed at the Girard House with Uncle George P. until nearly eight o'clock when we found that the street was completely blocked up with people and



Lincoln hoisted a 34-star flag at Independence Hall in celebration of the recent admission of Kansas into the Union.

that there was no possibility of getting to the Continental so they let us out the back way and we returned to the Hotel. At the Girard I saw Ex-Gov. A.H. Reeder of Kansas who is a singular looking short round man wearing spectacles.2

Yesterday morning before light we left the Revere³ thinking we would get to the State-house early and obtain a good positionhowever we found that quite a number of people had collected, and we placed ourselves on the State-house steps and expected to Samuel W. Pennypacker have a good view of all the



proceedings as the platform was only a few feet in front of the steps. But when the crowd had become very large they brought two or three divisions of police and began to clear us out. Gen. [William F.] Small told us we must leave the steps—Grandfather remonstrated with him but all to no purpose and so we were compelled to leave and got jammed up with our backs against the wall about twenty feet from the platform.

The police had a great time driving back the crowd in front—they threw themselves on them with their maces and were nearly ten minutes in effecting it. It was the largest multitude I ever saw, perfectly solid, and extending as far as I could see. For some time before seven o'clock we could hear them clapping and shouting within the Hall which sounded very pleasant but that was all the benefit we had of it—however at that hour Mr. Lincoln made his appearance surrounded by a number of functionaries who almost obscured him. We saw him make a speech and afterward at our request (I mean the crowd's) the lesser celebrities quit the stand and almost left him alone in his glory. He took off his coat and hat seized the rope, and the flag ran up to the top of the State House very easily and prettily without any hesitation or accident to make the omen a bad one.

Rumor said that Lincoln was a horribly ugly man and rumor never told a greater falsehood—he is quite a good looking man with some resemblance to his photographs but very little. He has dark hair & whiskers. I believe every one who saw him was favorably impressed with him, and we made our way out of the crowd with high hopes and expectations and doubtless feeling very patriotic[.] Grandfather thinks he's a Henry Clay.4

In his remarks inside Independence Hall, Lincoln emphasized the importance of the Declaration of Independence to the present national crisis and his own political philosophy, stating, "I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated, and were given to the world from this hall in which we stand. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence . . . It was that which gave promise that in due time the

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT AT INDEPENDENCE HALL

weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that *all* should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in that Declaration of Independence." Lincoln wondered aloud whether the nation could "be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it can't be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful." Then, reflecting on the death threats he had recently received, Lincoln stated: "But, if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle—"he paused before adding, "I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it." Sadly, in four years Pennypacker would experience that grim reality.

Following Lincoln's assassination in April 1865, his body returned to Illinois on a funeral train that stopped at the various places he had visited as president-elect. As the coffin passed through the streets of Philadelphia on April 22, 1865, Pennypacker—now a young law student—climbed to the roof of a building to watch the funeral procession go by. The next day he woke up early to see Lincoln's body lying in state at Independence Hall. He pushed and prodded his way through the crowd and into the Old State House, where the president lay.

News of Lincoln's assassination sent shockwaves throughout the North. In the wake of Lincoln's death, Pennypacker observed that throughout Philadelphia, "Along with the warm glow of love for one who had been so gentle, considerate and wise, arose the desire to tear into pieces those who had harmed him." Violence against Copperheads and Southern sympathizers broke out in cities throughout the North, including Philadelphia. Pennypacker shared these sentiments. He wrote of his desire to "set my teeth in the throat of some rebel and that the inability to gratify the impulse was a deprivation."

Pennypacker remained an admirer of Abraham Lincoln for the rest of his life. Like Lincoln, he also was a politically ambitious Republican, serving as Pennsylvania's 23rd governor from 1903 to 1907. On the one hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth, February 12, 1909, he delivered an oration at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which he concluded with the words, "The God who rules over the universe, holding the nations in the hollow of His hands and watching the fall of the sparrows, showed forth His loving kindness when to the American people he gave Abraham Lincoln."

(Daniel Glenn is co-editor of Untouched by the Conflict: The Civil War Letters of Singleton Ashenfelter, Dickinson College, with Jonathan W. White (Kent State University Press, 2019). A graduate of Christopher Newport University, he now studies law at William & Mary Law School.)

Image of Pennypacker courtesy of Pennypacker Mills, County of Montgomery, Schwenksville, PA.

- ¹ Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1918), 81.
- 2 Andrew Horatio Reeder (1807-1864) was governor of the Territory of Kansas from 1854 to 1855.
- 3 The Revere House was a hotel that boasted 130 furnished rooms, located at 227 N. Third Street.
- ⁴ Samuel W. Pennypacker to Uncle, February 23, 1861, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- ⁵ Roy P. Basler, et al., eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:240. Lincoln's words at the flagraising are on pp. 241-242.
- ⁶ Pennypacker, *Autobiography*, 100; Jonathan W. White, "A Terrible Loss," *The American Scholar* 84 (Spring 2015): 31-41.
- ⁷ The Law Association of Philadelphia: Minutes of the Meetings and Exercises Held at the Rooms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Commemoration of the Centennial of the Birth of Abraham Lincoln. Orations by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker [and] Colonel Alexander K. McClure, February 12, 1909 (Philadelphia, 1909), 11.

PROFILING OUR FORUM ADMINISTRATOR, ELAINE HENDERSON

continued from page 2 Wendy and Elaine have been loyal Forum attendees—and exhibitors—since 1997, and together they provide the Forum's annual "Wendy Allen Award" for distinguished contributions to the Lincoln field by an organization or group—which comes in the form of a handsome print of her interpretation of an iconic

Elaine officially succeeded Betty Anselmo as Forum Administrator in 2018.

Lincoln image that Wendy provided for the Forum.

"Apart from the thrill of being schooled by many of the world's greatest scholars," Elaine says, "I love being a part of such a warm and knowledgeable community of people, who understand how important it is to keep Abraham Lincoln's legacy alive. And, let's face it: Who can resist spending three days a year with Harold Holzer and Frank Williams, two of the most brilliant, caring, insightful—and funniest—men on the planet! But foremost, the Forum is family."

Elaine has thoroughly enjoyed her first year on the job. "Honestly," she says, "at first I was hesitant to accept the post because Betty is an impossible act to follow. However, Pat Dougal and Henry Ballone have been so patient and generous, guiding me through many of the processes, that I've been able to relax more, knowing I'm in the best of hands—and that has made all the difference. Plus, getting to know both of them better has been a real treat."

Her goals for future symposia are simple—but ready to evolve: "Offhand, I can't think of a thing that needs to be changed. But I've been on the sidelines for the past several years, running the gallery in town while Wendy has been exhibiting at the Forum—so, hopefully I'll have a better answer next year. Meantime, I'd say my goals are to help expand membership and keep expenses under control—and to get better acquainted with all of our members."

When she is not working on symposium details with our Gettysburg bookseller, the battlefield tour company, or our Wyndham Hotel headquarters—laboring together with superb deputy administrator Pat Dougal—Elaine can be found at the gallery welcoming clients and visitors, organizing shows, and working on civic activities such as the rehabilitation of Baltimore Street, Lincoln's route to the Gettysburg soldiers' cemetery on November 19, 1863.

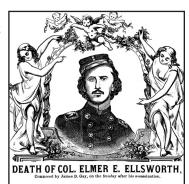
If the Forum's gifted multi-tasker seems to have all the answers, don't be surprised—and never be shocked if she puts a response in the form of a question. Elaine Henderson was a 2005 champion on the quiz show *Jeopardy!*

Elaine and Pat welcome inquiries from current or prospective members, and comments or queries about the annual symposium. Email them at admin@thelincolnforum.org.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND

By Brian R. Dirck

Death always tugged at Abraham Lincoln's elbow. Along with emancipation and the Union, death might well serve as one of the central themes in his life. Yet what little has been written specifically about Lincoln and death is often insufficient, heavily sentimentalized and lacking in substantive analysis, ignoring the rich historical literature surrounding nineteenth-century death and mourning.



This is particularly true of Lincoln's early encounters with death. During his childhood and youth in Indiana, he witnessed the passing of his mother and sister, and later in New Salem he saw Ann Rutledge—a young woman with whom he seems to have been romantically involved—suffer and die from typhoid fever. He and Mary also lost their young son Eddy to consumption in 1850. These events are staples of Lincoln biographies, film and literature, but often as window dressing, mere narrative vehicles for highlighting themes of pathos and tragedy in Lincoln's pre-war life.

Lincoln also saw death before the Civil War in other ways. Death was a persistent—if often subtle—theme in Lincoln's law practice. Quite a few of the cases he litigated, from probate settlements to murder trials, involved dying and its various legal complications. He also sometimes encountered deaths with an overt political content: eulogies for famous political figures like Henry Clay, or the martyrdom of John Brown. These are encounters with death which have rarely been examined as such.

These early lessons in death and mourning shaped how Lincoln would approach the horrendous casualties of the war, even when those casualties involved people he knew personally. One particularly painful wartime encounter involved a young man who had read for the bar exam in Lincoln's law office: Elmer Ellsworth. The colonel of a crack unit of New York troops, Ellsworth was shot and killed by a Virginia hotel owner in May 1861, when the colonel cut down the man's Confederate flag from his hotel roof in Alexandria, Virginia.

Ellsworth was a good friend of not only the president, but Mary and the Lincoln boys as well; he had been a frequent visitor to their Springfield home and the White House. Lincoln was of course shocked and deeply saddened by his death, one of the war's very first fatalities. A newspaperman and a congressman saw Lincoln immediately after he was given the news. Lincoln was staring blankly out a White House window. "He did not move until we approached very closely," the correspondent wrote, "when he turned round abruptly, and advanced toward us, extending his hand: 'Excuse me,' he said, 'but I cannot talk' . . . to our surprise the President burst into tears, and concealed his face in his handkerchief." He and Mary cleared their schedules, declining to see visitors.

The president and Mrs. Lincoln viewed Ellsworth's body as it lay in state at the Navy Yard. After spending some time gazing at it, Lincoln personally supervised his removal to the White House's East Room; deceased presidents William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor had both lay in state in that room. Ellsworth was now ensconced in a flag-draped coffin, set upon a bier draped with an American flag, white lilies on his breast. The coffin had a glass covering to reveal Ellsworth's head and upper body; some thought his

complexion looked an unnatural hue, a "livid paleness," one report wrote, that "contrasted strongly with the ruddy glow of health that always characterized the Colonel in his lifetime." What remained of the secessionist flag, still bloodstained, lay on the bier nearby.

Lincoln's grief over Ellsworth's passing was as real and profound as any he would ever feel. And yet those prewar lessons of stoic acceptance, and following the rules of mourning, sustained him, and gave him the tools he needed to process the loss. He was directly involved in the planning for Ellsworth's East Room funeral, a military affair that included embalming, a rare procedure at that time. The Reverend J. Smith Pyne of St. John's Episcopal Church in Washington performed the service. St. John's was a traditional place of worship for American presidents, dating back to the days of President James Madison. Lincoln was still not a regular churchgoer, but he did attend Reverend Pyne's services soon after his arrival in Washington, accompanied by Secretary of State William Seward.

Following the service large numbers of people filed through the East Room to gaze upon the coffin, so much so that army authorities experienced difficulty in keeping the crowd orderly. Some even cut swatches of cloth from the secessionist flag as souvenirs. The coffin was then carried by Zouave pallbearers to a waiting hearse, followed by a procession down Pennsylvania Avenue, Lincoln riding in a carriage just behind the coffin. Crowds lined the



COL. ELMER E. ELLSWORTH

street as they passed, and thousands more would come to view Ellsworth's body when it was transported to New York City several days later. Church-bells rang and flags flew at half-mast throughout the North.

Lincoln was moved to tears both while looking at Ellsworth's body at the Navy Yard and while attending the East Room service. "I felt an impulse to tell the President about our pleasant visit to Colonel Ellsworth the day before he was ordered to Alexandria," a family friend recalled, "but I was told that the President wept at the mention of Ellsworth and I was afraid it would make him grieve."

But Lincoln was able to process his grief and move forward. His grief regarding Ellsworth

bowed him down, but he did not break, any more than he broke at the deaths of his mother, sister, Ann Rutledge, or Eddy. He would give the orders for many more Elmer Ellsworths to die as the war progressed; the nation would come to resemble one vast funeral. Lincoln was given the emotional and mental tools to cope with this great sea of suffering and death from lessons learned long before the first shots of the war were fired.

(Brian R. Dirck is professor of history at Anderson University in Indiana. This piece is adapted from his new book, The Black Heavens: Abraham Lincoln and Death (Southern Illinois University Press, 2019). He will speak on Lincoln and death at the Forum in November.)



FORUM MEMBERS: PLEASE RENEW NOW

If you have not renewed your Lincoln Forum Membership for 2019-20, please do so soon. Members at all levels receive access to the annual symposium, the twice-yearly *Bulletin*, and other benefits. We need your annual support and urge you to make sure your membership is up to date.

AN INTERVIEW WITH GARY W. GALLAGHER

continued from page 3 imagination. The war, post-Appomattox events including Reconstruction, the West and Native Americans, and the world must be brought together, insist many scholars, to create a "long Civil War" far more inclusive and geographically varied than the one dominated by events that transpired east of the Mississippi River, and especially in Virginia, between 1861 and 1865. I generally applaud solid new work of any kind but believe some of the recent literature creates its own distortions, presenting arguments and framing that the generation of Americans who fought and experienced the conflict would find baffling.

JW: What projects are you working on now?

GG: I have a book at LSU Press that consists of my thoughts about a very wide array of aspects of the war and how historians have understood the conflict. The genesis of this book lay in conversations with Joan Waugh, and then with Mike Parrish at LSU Press, about the 1,000-word essays I have written for *Civil War Times* over the past dozen years. The book will feature 75 of those essays, with a long analytical introduction and endnotes added (the originals had no notes). Stephen Cushman, a colleague at the University of Virginia, and I are also editing a second book of essays

on foundational texts of the war—including books by, among others, James Longstreet, Phillip H. Sheridan, Henry Wilson, Elizabeth Bacon Custer, and John D. Billings.

JW: Last question. What sorts of books do you read when you are not reading about the Civil War?

GG: I re-read Jane Austen every year—all her novels except *Northanger Abbey*—and enjoy the experience immensely. I like to read political and military biography, as well as anything about book collecting. I have been a serious bibliophile since I was very young and still pay close attention to such things as crisp dust jackets, tight hinges, foxing, and bumped corners. I read about the landscape and culture of the part of the world where I grew up—southern Colorado and northern New Mexico—and about the California Impressionists, who painted in southern California from the late 19th century through the mid-20th century, and the artists who worked in Santa Fe and Taos during the same period. Other than these areas, I read books recommended by friends in a variety of fields.

JW: Thank you so much for your time. We look forward to seeing you in Gettysburg!

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www.thelincolnforum.org

FORUM-DONATED LINCOLN SCULPTURE UNVEILED IN LINCOLN, ARGENTINA

The municipality of Lincoln in Buenos Aires Province, Argentina, formally unveiled sculptor Frank Porcu's bronze bust of the 16th president on April 15, 2019, the 154th anniversary of the Lincoln assassination. The bust was donated to the South American town by The Lincoln Forum in its most ambitious effort at international outreach ever. New York-based artist Porcu traveled to the town as the guest of the city and with the support of his longtime patron, Long Island businessman Shawn Thomas—to prepare the pedestal to receive the bust, to meet the Mayor and other local officials, and to participate in the opening ceremonies. Earlier the statue was welcomed by the U. S. Ambassador to Argentina at a special event at the Bosch Palace, the American Embassy in Buenos Aires. Professor William Pederson, a member of the Forum Board of Advisors and head of the



U.S. Ambassador to Argentina Edward C. Prado (to left of statue) welcomes The Lincoln Forum bronze to the American embassy in Buenos Aires.



Sculptor Frank Porcu (to left of pedestal) helps unveil The Lincoln Forum bronze in Lincoln, Argentina.

International Lincoln Center for American Studies at Louisiana State University Shreveport, also traveled to South America for the unveiling event. The town was named for the American president soon after his death—at the urging of Argentine President Sarmiento, a longtime admirer of the American leader—making it the first outside the United States to carry the Lincoln name. "I am grateful to the Forum, particularly chairman Harold Holzer, for making it possible for my Lincoln work to sit in a public square in a city named for Lincoln. I will never forget the opportunity to create the work and see it placed on display in such a sacred setting," said Porcu. Porcu and Thomas are both expected at the Forum's 24th annual symposium in November to display his latest Lincoln sculptures.

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