

THE LINCOLN FORUM BULLETIN

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Special 25th Anniversary Edition

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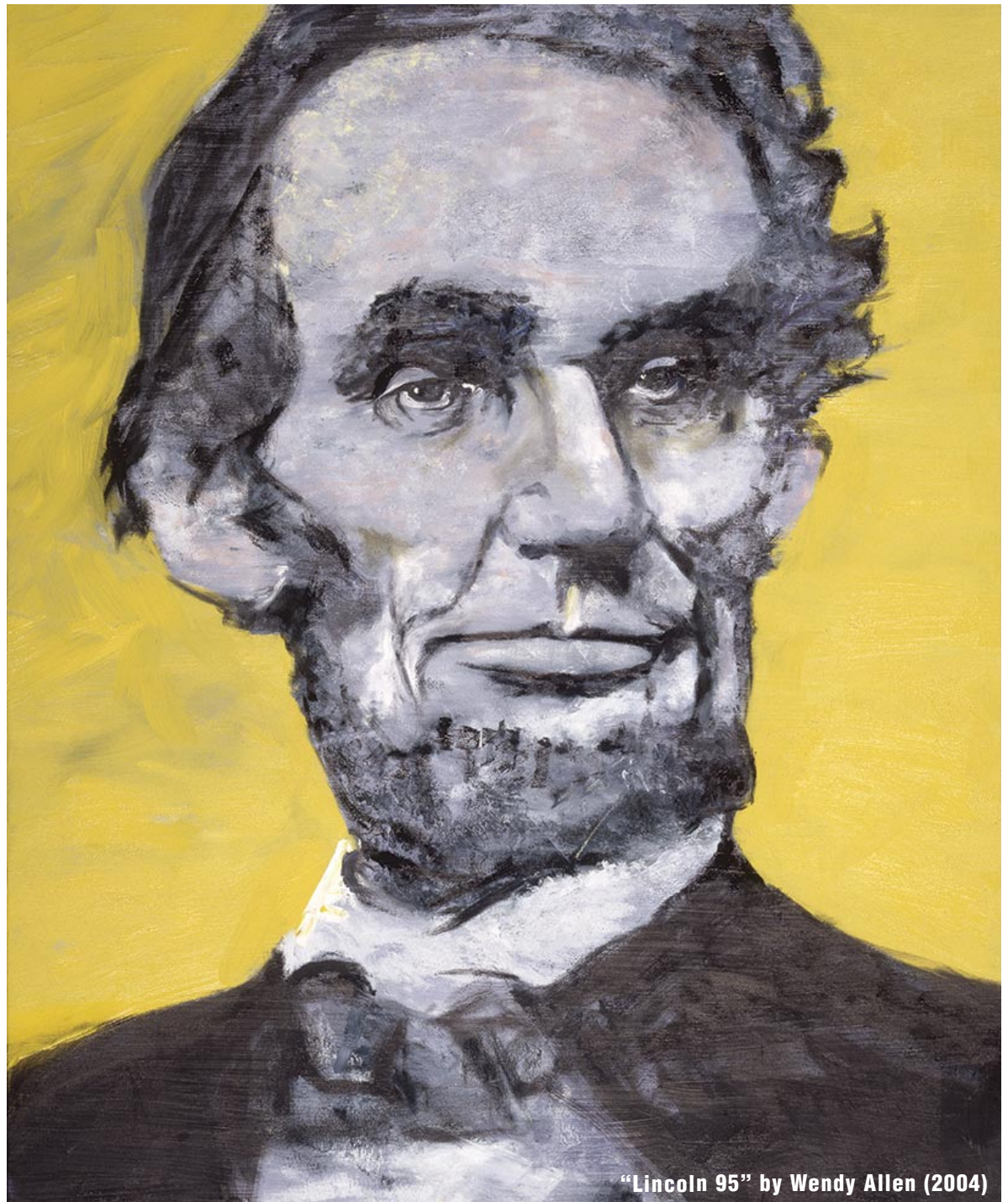
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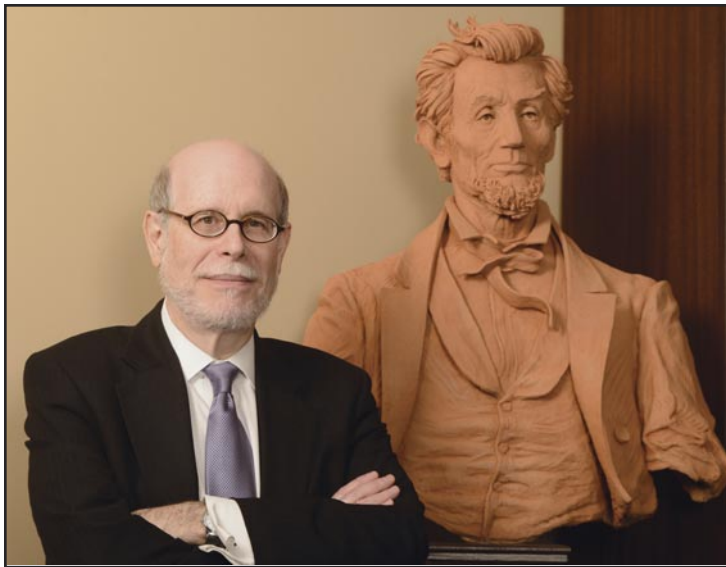
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"Lincoln 95" by Wendy Allen (2004)



MESSAGE from the CHAIR

THE FIRST FORUM—OUR BRUSH WITH HISTORY, AND HISTORIANS

Some of the great ones who graced our debut Forum symposium are gone now: keynote speaker Richard Nelson Current, the brilliant dean of Lincoln scholars (who lived to be 100); Professor David E. Long, who spoke on his book *The Jewel of Liberty*, a rich examination of the 1864 election; the irreverent, irrepressible John Y. Simon, longtime editor of the *Grant Papers*, who talked in his deep, foghorn voice about “Vicksburg and Gettysburg in Retrospect”; and legendary Lincoln enactor James Getty, who recited the Gettysburg Address with his customary emotional power. Gone they may be, but all of them have long endured—through their writing, their indelible lectures and performances, and the unforgettable force of their vivid personalities.

The year was 1996—then, as now, coinciding with a presidential election (Remember? Clinton vs. Dole and Perot)—and the Forum met for its initial gathering at the sprawling Eisenhower Inn and Conference Center outside Gettysburg, in a modest-sized ballroom that easily accommodated our “crowd” of some 100 enthusiasts.

Historian Gabor Boritt became the first recipient of the Forum’s annual award of achievement (later named for Professor Current), saluted not only for his formidable scholarship but for helping the organization establish itself in his Gettysburg home town. And noted bibliophile Daniel Weinberg gave a lecture on “New Lincoln Literature,” speaking alongside James Kushlan, then the editor of the *Civil War Times*, a magazine that has sustained its partnership with the Forum for 25 years.

Newly named Chairman Frank Williams spoke that year, too, of course (his own memories can be found elsewhere in this *Bulletin*) on “Abraham Lincoln, Puppet Master”—as he has spoken by popular demand every other year for a quarter of a century. And this writer talked about “Lincoln’s Flat Failure: The Gettysburg Myth Revisited.” I was not at my best that week: I’d gone through a cardiac bypass operation just five weeks earlier, and my doctor had advised me against traveling, warning me in particular about the dangers of stage fright, which physiologically speaking is caused by the release of adrenaline that can cause heart arrhythmia. But I couldn’t and wouldn’t miss the first-ever Forum, and I’ve never regretted defying the experts—even if I struck many attendees as wan and quiet (they eventually learned otherwise). Yes, I did actually experience an adrenaline rush when I first rose to speak—my first and last brush with pre-appearance jitters, I am happy to say.

As Frank Williams recounts in his own recollection, the organization eventually relocated to the Holiday Inn downtown, where, over the next few years, we welcomed such notable scholars as Gary Gallagher, James McPherson, John Hope Franklin, Jack Davis, Craig Symonds, John Marszalek, David Herbert Donald, Doris Kearns Goodwin, Michael Beschloss, Douglas Wilson, William Lee Miller, Garry Wills, Mark E. Neely, Jr., Edna Greene Medford, Catherine Clinton, Jean Baker, Edward Steers, Ronald C. White Jr., the late Hans Trefousse, and many, many others. Panel discussions became a cherished part of the annual agenda, along with vigorous question-and-answer periods, gavel-to-gavel coverage by our friends at C-SPAN (its CEO Brian Lamb deservedly received the second annual achievement award), and musical interludes featuring the melodies of the Civil War as performed by Bobby Horton and the U.S. Army Chorus. The highlight list is long—and we promise to share the complete archive with all of our members when we next gather in person.

Over the years, we branched out, welcoming novelist Jeff Shaara; actors Richard Dreyfuss, Sam Waterston, and Stephen Lang; an actual direct descendant of a Lincoln associate, Eleanor Stoddard (granddaughter of White House secretary William O. Stoddard); philanthropist Lewis Lehrman; battlefield guide par excellence Ed Bearss; Lincoln collector Louise Taper; filmmaker David Grubin; political giants in the Lincoln tradition like the late U.S. Senator Paul Simon of Illinois; student lecturers poised to launch their careers; and much-honored creative giants like Ken Burns and Tony Kushner—along with our own gifted artist-in-residence Wendy Allen. Back in 2005, the mega-hit songwriter Hal David (“What the World Needs Now,” “Alfie”) even serenaded a surprised guest with his own rendition of “Happy Birthday.”

As early as 1999, we heard about “The Black Military Experience” from Professor Arnold Taylor, and over the decades returned repeatedly to the theme of the African Americans’ Civil War, led by Professor Edna Greene Medford of Howard University, our longtime executive committee member. Forum guests have also enjoyed special seating at the annual November 19 anniversary observances of Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address—featuring such speakers as Chief Justice William Rehnquist and movie director Steven Spielberg.

Great intellects and powerful voices filled the Holiday Inn ballroom in those years—but few who attended the early dinners there will soon forget the mysterious interference that chronically plagued the brittle hotel sound system. At best, the sound crackled and buzzed. At worst, lectures might be interrupted by the voices of nearby truck drivers broadcasting on their CB radios, somehow piped into our ballroom and warning fellow haulers about lurking police patrols or commenting in a less-than-gentlemanly manner on the physical attributes of drivers whom they’d passed along the highway.

The memories abound—though, to be sure, it remains a challenge to share them effectively at a “social distance.” At our hoped-for, COVID-delayed, much-anticipated, in-person 25th anniversary celebration, now scheduled for May 2021, each attendee will receive a special keepsake gift: something to look forward to. Milestones can be delayed, but they can never be ignored.

continued on page 3

EDITOR'S NOTE



Jonathan White

The leadership of The Lincoln Forum was disappointed to have to postpone this year's symposium and wanted to provide something special to our members as a holdover until we can meet again in person in 2021. This issue of the *Bulletin* is the largest we have ever produced—and also the first to be in full color. In order to offset the extra expenses, we included advertisements in this issue. The ads that came in are beautifully done and informative; we hope they will be of interest to you, the reader.

The articles in this issue touch on many of the major themes in Lincoln scholarship, including Lincoln's connection to the American Revolution,

how we commemorate Lincoln, and Lincoln's relationship with African Americans in the Civil War era. Other pieces reminisce about the twenty-five-year history of The Lincoln Forum. I also solicited articles from several public historians and archivists to give our members a sense of what is happening in the Lincoln world during the pandemic, and ways that each of us can engage in preserving the life and legacy of our sixteenth president.



Sojourner Truth and Lincoln

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THE FIRST FORUM—OUR BRUSH WITH HISTORY, AND HISTORIANS

continued from page 2

Yet what has always set The Lincoln Forum apart is that for us—even though we count ourselves as historians, history students, and history aficionados—the past is always prologue. The experiences we share at each symposium burnish our shared legacy but also light the way to more and better gatherings, each inflected by the lessons we've learned by producing our annual events. We've aimed, then as now, for the most professional production values, the most gifted speakers, the newest books, the liveliest group discussions, the most rewarding battlefield tours, and the most engaging breakout sessions. But we also embrace Lincoln Forum "family" values, emphasizing a welcoming atmosphere filled with collegial interchanges—whether at formal first-timer receptions or informal chats at the breakfast and lunch table. Forum friends have become good and lasting friends—united by a common interest in the Civil War era, but growing into lifelong, year-round camaraderie that has only flourished over time.

As Abraham Lincoln once observed, "The better part of one's life consists of his friendships." We hope in this silver anniversary year that the Forum has always been, and will always remain, not only a friend to Lincoln but a friend to everyone who has joined us and will join us again one day soon, as we celebrate our past but look ahead to what Lincoln called "a vast future also."

On behalf of my "brother" Frank, our vice-chairman Jon White, my colleagues on the executive committee and the advisory board, our longtime treasurer and resident "Mathew Brady," Hank Ballone, and our tireless administrators Elaine Henderson and Pat Dougal—and all who came before them—happy silver anniversary and see you soon.



Harold Holzer, Chairman

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.

BUILDING A SECOND LINCOLN MEMORIAL:

By Daniel E. Worthington

The Papers of Abraham Lincoln is a documentary editing project housed within the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM). It is dedicated to identifying, imaging, transcribing, annotating, and publishing all documents written by or to Abraham Lincoln during his lifetime (1809–1865). Project editors and staff utilize document images to generate accurate, authoritative transcriptions and provide explanatory material in the form of annotations to make these texts accessible to the broadest possible audience. The project publishes the text files, linked to digital images of the originals, at *The Papers of Abraham Lincoln Digital Library* (<http://www.papersofabrahamlincoln.org/>), a free, publicly accessible website. The Papers of Abraham Lincoln seeks to foster new and innovative scholarship on Abraham Lincoln, antebellum America, and the Civil War by publishing the single largest collection of Lincoln documents yet assembled.

Historical Background to the Project

Interest in collecting and preserving Lincoln's written and spoken words began soon after his death. After the tragic events at Ford's Theatre, Robert Todd Lincoln gathered a large collection of his father's papers and entrusted their organization to David Davis, who was assisted by John G. Nicolay and John Hay. Widespread distribution of Lincoln's letters and papers began in 1894 when Nicolay and Hay published the *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* in twelve volumes. Nicolay and Hay followed with a new and enlarged edition in 1905, and Nicolay and Hay's compilation was complemented by Gilbert A. Tracy and Francis H. Allen's *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* (1917), Paul Angle's *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (1930), and Rufus Rockwell Wilson's *Uncollected Works of Abraham Lincoln: His Letters, Addresses and Other Papers* (1947). In the 1930s, the Abraham Lincoln Association began collecting photostatic copies of Lincoln documents and by 1945 began drafting plans for a comprehensive, authoritative edition, culminating in the publication of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, which compassed 6,769 documents in eight volumes and two supplemental volumes (1953–55, 1974, 1990).

The Collected Works became the standard resource for studying Lincoln, generating an entire generation of Lincoln scholarship. Project editor Roy P. Basler and his colleagues produced a remarkable documentary edition, but by the 1980s, limitations in its scope and deficiencies in its editorial method had become evident. The discovery of new Lincoln documents, advances in documentary editing standards, and innovations in digital technology convinced a new generation of scholars that the time had come to compile and publish a new edition of Lincoln papers.

The Lincoln Legal Papers

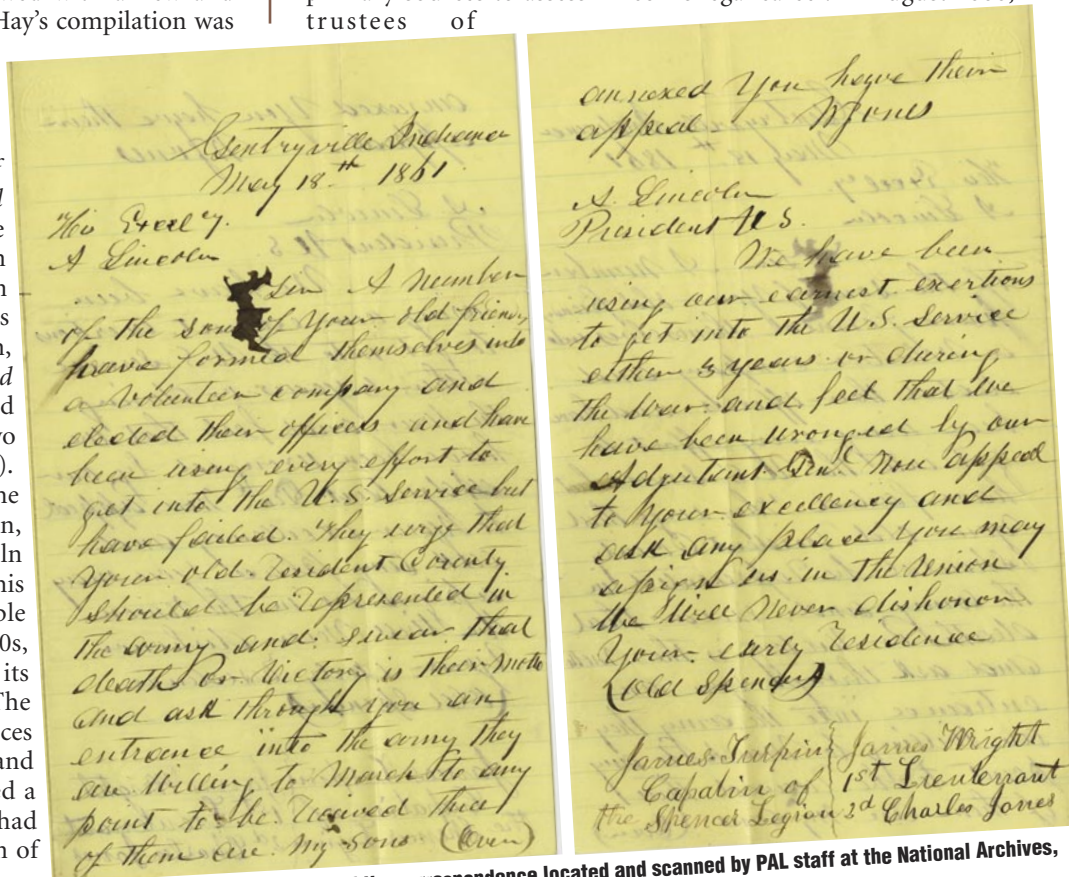
Basler deliberately omitted legal documents from *The Collected Works*, and in 1985, the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency

(IHPA) began addressing the dearth of documentation on Lincoln's law practice by creating the Lincoln Legal Papers project. The Lincoln Legal Papers launched a comprehensive search for documents related to Lincoln's twenty-five-year career as an attorney. From 1985 to 2000, project staff visited nearly every county courthouse in Illinois and dozens of other repositories gathering photocopies of documents from Lincoln's legal cases.

The Lincoln Legal Papers, predecessor project of The Papers of Abraham Lincoln, completed in 2009, released its findings in three publications: *The Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln: Complete Documentary Edition* (Illinois, 2000), a three-disc DVD-ROM edition that included facsimile images of 96,386 documents, organized into 5,172 cases and 496 non-litigation matters; *The Papers of Abraham Lincoln: Legal Documents and Cases* (Virginia, 2008), a four-volume selective book edition that included transcribed and annotated documents from sixty-four of Lincoln's most representative and important legal cases, and *The Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln Second Edition* (<http://www.lawpracticeofabrahamlincoln.org/>), a freely available online version of the DVD-ROM edition, including an additional forty cases and several hundred new documents not found in the original edition, that was released in 2009.

The Papers of Abraham Lincoln

These publications gave scholars and students a wealth of primary sources to assess Lincoln's legal career. In August 2000, trustees of



This 1861 letter, an example of the correspondence located and scanned by PAL staff at the National Archives,

the IHPA expanded this work to other aspects of Lincoln's life and career by transforming the Lincoln Legal Papers into the Papers of Abraham Lincoln. Staff at the Papers of Abraham Lincoln began by launching a nationwide search for

THE PAPERS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Lincoln documents. Beginning in 2004, teams of researchers visited private and public repositories across the United States, searching for, identifying, and scanning thousands of documents. In 2006, the project initiated an ambitious search for Lincoln manuscripts at the Library of Congress and the National Archives. Between 2004 and 2017, project staff amassed 106,335 documents from 650 repositories and private collections in forty-seven U.S. states, the District of Columbia, and several foreign countries. Approximately 70,000 of these documents are correspondence written by and to Lincoln.

As teams of researchers searched for documents, staff at the project's headquarters in Springfield focused their attention on moving these documents through various editorial stages. With over 100,000 documents already accumulated, ALPLM administrators and project staff decided in May 2017 to shift the project's focus from searching to editing and publishing documents.

Acknowledging the sheer number of documents, the staff divided them into five chronological segments: (1) Legislative, (1819–March 1, 1841); (2) Congressional, (March 1, 1841–March 4, 1849); (3) Campaign, (March 4, 1849–November 6, 1860); (4) Interregnum, (November 7, 1860–March 3, 1861); and Presidential, (March 4, 1861–April 14, 1865).

The staff further subdivided each chronological segment into a digital edition and a digital archive. Digital edition documents would

supplementary in the Lincoln corpus. Digital edition documents would receive full editorial treatment, proceeding through six distinctive stages: transcription, tandem oral proofing, single proofing, annotation, fact-checking, and sense-reading. People, places, organizations, and events found in said documents would be hyperlinked and identified. Digital archives documents would be transcribed to allow them to be text-searchable.

With the collection organized and editorial stages established, the project spent the remainder of the fiscal year 2018 editing documents in the Legislative Digital Edition and developing a publication platform. On April 19, 2018, the project launched *The Papers of Abraham Lincoln Digital Library* (<http://www.papersofabrahamlincoln.org/>). This initial launch included 5,190 documents from the Legislative Digital Edition/Archive. In September 2018, the staff published the remaining documents in this segment and began editing and publishing documents in the Congressional Digital Edition. In June 2020, staff editors completed and published all the documents in the Congressional Digital Edition, and in August, they published all the documents in the Congressional Digital Archives. *The Papers of Abraham Lincoln Digital Library* now boasts 9,025 documents, in addition to 3,547 associated identifications.

Project staff are currently editing and publishing documents in the Campaign Digital Edition. The anticipated completion date for this segment is 2026.

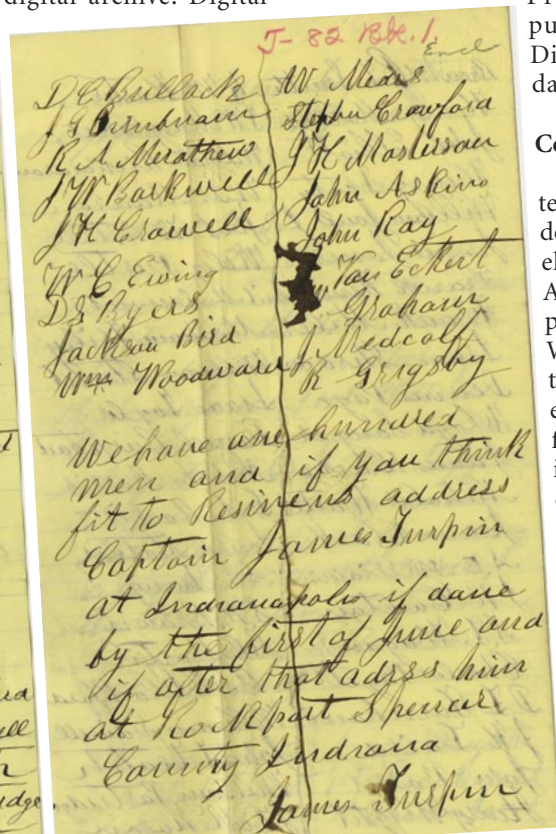
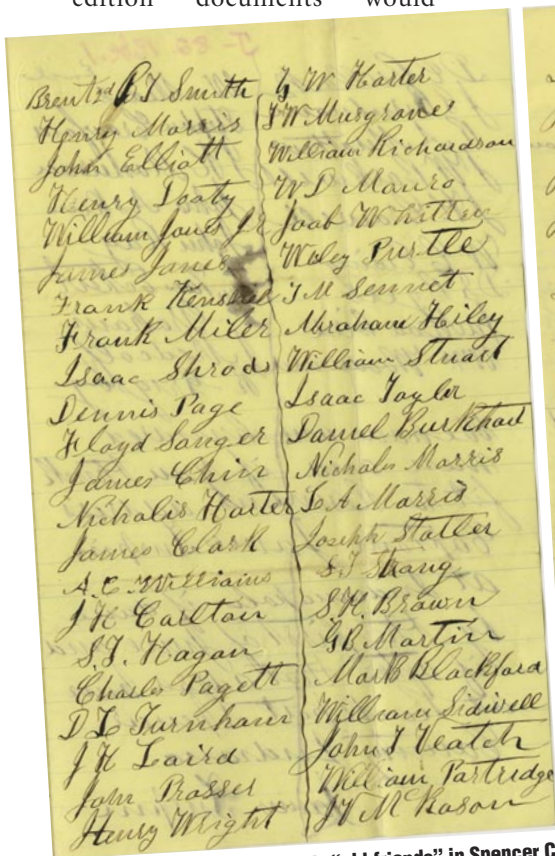
Conclusion

Employing innovative digital technology, the highest standards of modern documentary editing, and accepted standards for electronic images and text, the Papers of Abraham Lincoln is producing a digital publication of broad scope and enduring value. With the inclusion of incoming correspondence, the project offers scholars, students, and enthusiasts a much larger corpus of material from which to evaluate Lincoln's life and era. By identifying heretofore unknown or obscure documents and making these and better-known texts readily available, the project will also open new vistas on a critical period in America's history. Richer, fully-cited annotations, identification of people, places, organizations, and events, and the power of digital technology will provide new avenues by which to explore the life and career of our sixteenth president and the tens of thousands of people who corresponded with him.

Want to help preserve the Lincoln legacy? Want to accelerate access to the Lincoln documentary record? Become a "citizen archivist" and share your discoveries

with us. Join the Papers of Abraham Lincoln in building a second Lincoln memorial—an edifice constructed not with marble, but with the words of Abraham Lincoln and those whose lives he touched.

(Daniel E. Worthington is Director of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln.)



came from the sons of Lincoln's "old friends" in Spencer County, Indiana. They wished to volunteer for the Union Army.

include those deemed essential to Lincoln's life and public career, centered on letters to and from Lincoln and documents written by and signed by Lincoln. Digital archive documents would encompass those collected and accessioned that offer context and perspective on Lincoln's life and times but are considered ancillary or

'BY THE PEOPLE,' FOR THE PEOPLE: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CROWDSOURCES TRANSCRIPTIONS

By Michelle A. Krowl

The Library of Congress has interpreted literally Abraham Lincoln's words in the Gettysburg Address: by the people, for the people. The Library launched the By the People crowdsourcing project in October 2018, inviting the public to transcribe selected original materials on its website (<https://crowd.loc.gov/>). The goal of By the People is to provide enhanced discoverability of the content through keyword search capabilities and easier readability of the text, especially for those who are not fully sighted or cannot read the handwriting of the original documents. Transcriptions are truly created by the people, for the people.

By the People transcription projects, or "campaigns," are proposed by Library of Congress staff based on digitized collections available on the Library's website. One or more public volunteers can create the initial transcript.

complemented an earlier project by the Lincoln Studies Center at Knox College, which transcribed documents in the online Lincoln Papers written by Abraham Lincoln, and those deemed of historical significance or representative of Lincoln's mail. Between October 2018 and July 2020, more than 2,800 By the People volunteers transcribed the remaining items, roughly half of the online collection, as well as documents written by Abraham Lincoln that were previously unavailable online. Some transcriptions have been integrated into the Abraham Lincoln Papers website, with the rest to follow in the near future. All of the "Letters to Lincoln" transcriptions are still available for viewing on crowd.loc.gov.

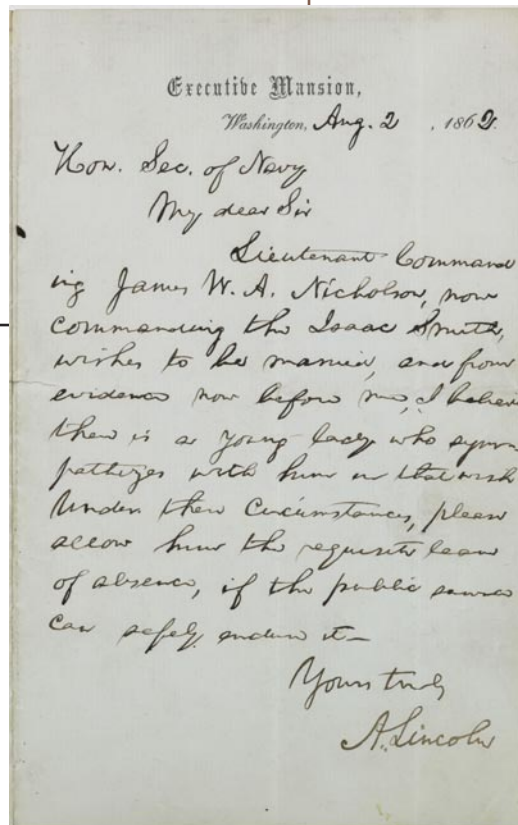
What gems have these transcriptions made more discoverable? A September 17, 1835, letter written by Matthew Marsh of New Salem, Illinois, who fortunately described the town's postmaster, a young Mr. Lincoln, before detailing the weather, evidence of "milk sickness," and his own business and romantic prospects. An August 2, 1862, request from President Lincoln to Gideon Welles, asking the Navy secretary to grant leave to James W. A. Nicholson of the USS *Isaac Smith* so that he might get married. Lincoln displayed his playful side in explaining, "from evidence now before me, I believe there is a young lady who sympathizes with him in that wish. Under these circumstances, please allow him the requisite leave of absence, if the public service can safely endure it." A newspaper clipping accompanying the letter announces the wedding of Nicholson and Mary H. Martin.

Volunteers also gained a greater appreciation for the bane of every 19th-century president's existence, the endless requests for jobs, and other assistance. William B. McMichael wrote to Lincoln on March 16, 1861, in hopes of securing employment as a White House messenger boy. He admitted that he addressed the envelope "in a ladies hand," thinking it more likely to reach Lincoln "as the Ladies are always honored first." McMichael's ruse worked, at least in that the letter reached Lincoln's office. Several individuals set their sights a bit higher and campaigned for the position of Librarian of Congress. This included Mrs. Elsie Marsteller of Prince William County, Virginia, who cited economic necessity, rather than any skill or political influence, as her appeal for consideration.

With thousands of documents in the online Abraham Lincoln Papers newly transcribed, there are many more stories waiting to be discovered, research threads to be followed, and questions to be asked and answered.

Ready to try your hand at transcription? Current crowdsourcing projects include collections relating to women's suffrage, Theodore Roosevelt's correspondence, the Blackwell Family, and Clara Barton's papers. See <https://crowd.loc.gov/campaigns-topics/> for a full list of By the People campaigns.

(Michelle A. Krowl is the Civil War and Reconstruction specialist in the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress. She also serves as Secretary on The Lincoln Forum's Executive Committee.)



Executive Mansion.
Washington, Aug. 2, 1862
Hon. Sec. of Navy
My dear Sir
Lieutenant Commanding
James W. A. Nicholson, now
commanding the Isaac Smith,
wishes to be married, and from
evidence now before me, I believe
there is a young lady who sympathizes
with him in that wish
under these circumstances, please
allow him the requisite leave
of absence, if the public service
can safely endure it.
Yours truly
A. Lincoln

Transcribed and reviewed by volunteers participating in the By The People project at crowd.loc.gov.

When completed, the transcription is submitted for review, and another volunteer checks its accuracy before marking the transcription as finished. Transcriptions are created on the crowd.loc.gov platform and later integrated into the respective collection websites, where they become fully searchable. By the People transcriptions are completed and displayed image by image and are identified as the product of crowdsourcing. More information about the transcription process can be found on the "Help" page of crowd.loc.gov.

Included in the initial launch of By the People was the "Letters to Lincoln" campaign (<https://crowd.loc.gov/campaigns/letters-to-lincoln/>), which drew on original materials in the online Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress. The By the People campaign

A PLACE NOT TO BE MISSED: THE GAR MUSEUM IN PHILADELPHIA

By Hugh Boyle

Philadelphia, the birthplace of our country, is full of historic places and things to see. Some of the most famous are from the Colonial and Revolutionary eras, but Philadelphia also has a rich history when it comes to the Civil War. Situated in the historic Frankford section of the city is the only remaining museum in Philadelphia devoted to the Civil War: The Grand Army of the Republic Civil War Museum and Library. Located at 4278 Griscom Street, and housed in a building built in 1796, the museum is dedicated to preserving the heritage of the men who fought in the Civil War.



Piece of the Andersonville Stockade

Most of the artifacts housed in the GAR Museum came from the men who served or from their families. There is a special room inside the museum devoted to Abraham Lincoln that includes several notable artifacts, including a piece of the pillowcase on which Abraham Lincoln died. The artifact has an impeccable provenance that can be traced back to the Petersen House across the street from Ford's Theatre, where Lincoln died on April 15, 1865. Surgeon General Joseph Barnes sent Hermann Farber, who was serving as medical illustrator for Dr. Barnes, to make sketches of the house. When Farber was finishing his work, he noticed that Mrs. Petersen was throwing out the dirty, soiled bedclothes. He asked her if he could have a piece. She said yes and then cut two pieces. Farber returned to his home in Philadelphia and gave one to the Hahnemann Medical Hospital; he proudly kept the other. Sadly over the years the hospital lost track of its piece. Farber later gave a framed piece with its history to Brevet Maj. Gen. St. Clair Mulholland, former colonel of the 116th Pennsylvania Infantry, who later gave it to GAR Post One in Philadelphia, which eventually became the GAR Museum.

Also in the Lincoln Room of the museum are several other special artifacts, including wallpaper from Ford's Theatre, the flag that flew over Independence Hall when Lincoln's body lay in state there in 1865, a piece of the flag that Lincoln raised in Philadelphia on his way to Washington in February 1861, and the handcuffs taken from John Wilkes Booth's room at the



Piece of Pillowcase with Lincoln's Blood



Handcuffs Owned by John Wilkes Booth

National Hotel on the night of the assassination, among several other pieces.

The museum has a number of other extraordinary artifacts from the Civil War, including the head of General Meade's horse Old Baldy, one of only two remaining pieces of the Andersonville Prison stockade, a John Brown pike, weapons, documents, and original artwork. In addition, the museum also has over 8,000 volumes for research, as well as photographs, letters, and diaries.



The Preserved Head of "Old Baldy"

The Grand Army of the Republic Civil War Museum is a place not to be missed in Philadelphia. For more information, visit <https://garmuslib.org/> or call 215-289-6489 to schedule an appointment. Museum president Joe Perry will be more than happy to set a time for you.

(Hugh Boyle is past president and executive director of the GAR Museum. He currently serves on the museum's Advisory Board and is president of the Delaware Valley Civil War Round Table.)

REMEMBERING THE WINNERS OF THE



1996 Gabor S. Boritt



1998 John Hope Franklin



2000 David Herbert Donald and Richard Nelson Current



2002 James M. McPherson



2003 Sam Waterston



2004 John Y. Simon



2005 John McClarey and Frank J. Williams



2006 Doris Kearns Goodwin & Charles D. Platt



Platt family accepts award



1997 Brian Lamb



1999 Former U.S. Senator Paul Simon of IL



2001 Garry Wills

RICHARD NELSON CURRENT AWARD, 1996-2019



2007 Jeff Shaara



2008 Ken Burns



2009 Sandra Day O'Connor



2010 Mark E. Neely Jr.



2011 Ed Bearss



2012 Eric Foner



2013 Tony Kushner



2014 James Getty



2015 William C. (Jack) Davis, Edward Steers Jr., and Harold Holzer



2016 Dr. James I. (Bud) Robertson, Jr.



2017 Ron Chernow



2018 David W. Blight



2019 Michael Beschloss

THEY SAW LINCOLN: THREE WHITE HOUSE

Edited by David Peyton

With a letter of introduction from Henry Clay, Jesse Peyton (1815-1897) of Kentucky made his way in the business world in Philadelphia and established residence in the old Quaker milling village of Haddonfield, New Jersey. A behind-the-scenes operator who never ran for office, Peyton was acquainted with seven presidents. His great achievement was instigating the series of centennial commemorations of the nation's birth, intended as reunifying events after the Civil War, at Bunker Hill (1875), Philadelphia (1876), Yorktown (1881), Philadelphia (1883), and New York (1889). At the time of Peyton's death in 1897, multiple obituaries lauded him as the "Father of Centennials."

The following three accounts of his meetings with Lincoln come from his memoir, *Reminiscences of Centennial Events* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1895).

Keeping Kentucky in the Union

Mr. Lincoln was elected and inaugurated. About a month after his inauguration I called on him with a letter from a friend of mine, who was then a resident of Springfield, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln's home. I was at once ushered into his office. I told him that I had opposed his election, and did all that I could to defeat him, and was instrumental in starting the movement by which John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, were nominated; that I supported Mr. Bell because he was an old friend, a member of the Whig Party, and highly esteemed by his countrymen. Mr. Lincoln said that he had always been a member of the Whig Party, and that "Henry Clay was the jack-staff by which he steered." I spoke of the principles of the Constitutional Party, and he stated that he heartily endorsed them. I also informed him that the party was prepared to support him, provided he would not interfere with the Constitutional rights of the States. I think he stated that he was opposed to any violation of the Constitution, and that he would use every means within his official power to preserve the Union of the States; the rights of the Southern States would be recognized the same as the other States; that he was opposed to the extension of slavery into the Territories, and thought it a great misfortune to our race that it had ever existed in this country. I concurred in all that he said, and, as he endorsed the platform of our party, I felt myself bound to sustain his administration, and gave him, on that occasion, my assurances of support.

I told him that one of the chief sources of worryment to me was the condition of my native State, Kentucky, and that I thought if the people were kindly treated, and brought to reflect upon the subject, the State could be induced to hold her position in the Union, notwithstanding the efforts of the Southern States, to which she was closely allied through interest and blood.

To secure his confidence and friendship, we being natives of the same State, I handed him a letter that I had some years previously received from ex-Governor [Thomas] Metcalfe, whom Lincoln looked upon as one of Kentucky's most eminent men. He read it with great interest, being himself personally acquainted with the author. He stated, "From your family relations with the people of Kentucky, from the time of its settlement to the present, your influence will probably be felt more than that of any man who could visit the State, and I hope, as we are Kentuckians, that you will use it in that direction."

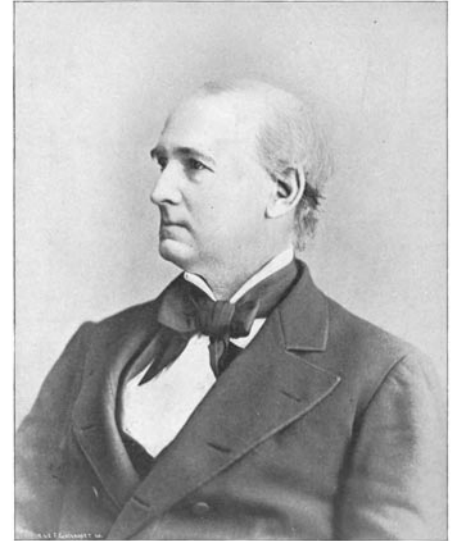
After some further conversation, I consented to go to Kentucky. I spent five or six weeks in Kentucky, and found that there was a feeling among many that the State should maintain a neutral

position in the controversy between the North and South. I was told by some old men that I had better go home, and let Kentucky affairs alone. The result of my visit was in every way satisfactory. I returned with a letter from Major [Robert] Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame, with authority to equip a regiment in New Jersey for service in Kentucky.

[According to Peyton's obituary in the *Philadelphia Press*, April 28, 1897, "President Lincoln sent Colonel Peyton to help hold Kentucky for the Union, saying as he pulled a dingy wallet from his frockcoat, and counting out \$50 for transportation expenses: 'Here you are, go down and keep Kentucky from kicking over the traces.'"]

Peyton and the Emancipation Proclamation

Whilst on a visit to Washington near the close of 1862 I met Judge [John P.] Usher, of Indiana, who was on friendly terms with my brother, a resident of the same State. We talked over the condition of affairs of our country, which were clouded with doubt and uncertainty. My idea was the issuance of an ordinance to free the slave and have him, instead of producing supplies for the Confederate army, go into the Union army to



Jesse E. Peyton

secure his liberty and the union of the States. I told the Judge that, in my judgment, Abraham Lincoln's election as President of the United States was the end of slavery; that, if the slave-holding states established an independent government, slaves would escape and go to free States, where the controlling power of abolition could protect and defend them. If the former owner followed them, it would be at the risk of his life. The same condition of affairs would have existed under the union of the States; that the abolition sentiment had become a power in many of the free States. The Judge asked me to write him a letter embodying my views. I did so, and he showed the letter to President Lincoln, who, he stated, had it read in a Cabinet meeting. The Judge, in reply to my letter, said that if I should visit Washington the President would be glad to have me call to see him. I did visit the capital in a few days, and called with the judge to see the President. The contents of my letter were talked over, and the suggestion favored of paying for the slaves and instituting gradual emancipation. President Lincoln seemed to think the Union element would oppose an ordinance taking their property from them without compensation; that they would rebel and join the Confederacy. I assured him the capital invested in slaves was not regarded, under the condition of affairs, as being reliable, except under the protection of the government, and if the union of the States was severed, it had reached its end. They were for the Union, and would sustain its perpetuity at any sacrifice of life or property. The President stated that if time and circumstances required action of the kind named, the subject would be duly considered. We parted with feelings of mutual friendship.

ENCOUNTERS WITH THE SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT

Raising Cavalry: Lincoln Refuses to Reinstate McClellan and Reluctantly Overrules Stanton

[At the suggestion of John Edgar Thompson, the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Peyton decided to “raise a regiment of cavalry for special service in Kentucky, where the Confederate States obtained their supplies of horses and provisions.” Thompson wrote a letter to Lincoln and had it signed by a number of prominent Philadelphians. According to Peyton, Lincoln “thought well of it,” but General Henry W. Halleck would only approve the endeavor if the forces were to be used in the general service. Peyton agreed and opened up a recruiting headquarters in Philadelphia. Within a short time he had raised 445 men; however, following the disastrous Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862, the number of recruits dwindled.]

As the time within which to recruit the regiment was to expire, I applied to the authorities in Washington for an extension. President Lincoln referred the application to Secretary Stanton, with a favorable recommendation. The Secretary of War wrote under this endorsement, with this own hand, “For good and sufficient reasons I decline. – Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.”

The letter was brought to me at Willard’s Hotel. After supper I called to see President Lincoln, who was then in conference with Senator [Ira] Harris, of New York, Judge [David] Davis, of Illinois, and Senator Henry L. Wilson, of Massachusetts. The gentlemen had called to try to induce the President to reinstate General George B. McClellan. I was sitting in the ante-room, and distinctly heard President Lincoln say that his past relations with General McClellan were like father and son, or elder and younger brother; that there was no truer Union man in the country and that to organize

and discipline an army he did not have his superior in this or any other country; “but, gentlemen, somehow or other when it comes to the scratch Little Mack won’t act.”

Senator Harris and Judge Davis soon left. The Judge, in passing said, “If you want to see the President, step in.” I did so, and the President asked me what I wanted. I told him that I wanted to know what the Secretary of War meant when he said that “for good and sufficient reasons” he declined to grant me an extension of time to organize the regiment. The President said it would not do for him to take part in any quarrel between Mr. Stanton and myself. I replied, “Very well, sir,” and turned to leave. Senator Wilson, who was in the room, asked me if I was Colonel Peyton, and, being told that I was, said that he had received a letter a few days before from William B. Claflin, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, and for several years a member of Congress, who requested him to do anything he could me for should he meet me in Washington; that he had had many conversations with me regarding the condition of the country, and always found me correct in what I said. Mr. Wilson then told the President that it was his duty to let me know what Mr. Stanton meant by his note. The President said he would look into it, and let me know. Two days afterwards the extension was granted, but with no explanation of what Stanton meant. I therefore returned the authority, and stated in my letter that I would have nothing to do with the military service so long as Stanton was the head of it.

In all I recruited three thousand and forty-five men for the service.

(David Peyton of Falls Church, Virginia, is a lifetime member of The Lincoln Forum and the great-great-grandson of Jesse Peyton.)

LINCOLN ARTIFACTS TO BE SHOWCASED AT FORUM XXV

By Daniel Weinberg and Stuart Schneider

Next May, when we celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Forum, a new “live” segment will appear: *The Lincoln Artifact Roadshow*.

In a special breakout session (that we plan to broadcast on Facebook Live), we will “Examine, Evaluate, and Expound Upon” Lincoln-related artifacts that Forum members wish to know more about. Owners will be onstage with us while we explain and appraise their items, each of which will be available for closer examination after the presentation. This will be informative entertainment.

Forum members are invited to submit *up to three items* that they would be willing to bring and showcase at this event. If interested, please email images, provenance (its origin and history of getting to you), and a brief description to both albs1865@gmail.com AND stuart@wordcraft.net. The deadline for submission is March 1, 2021. We cannot accommodate items brought to the Forum without previous submission and there will be no appraisals of items except those submitted to us and selected in advance of the Forum. Security at the hotel and insurance will be the owners’ responsibility.

Daniel has been in the business of handling Lincoln artifacts for over 50 years at the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, Inc. of Chicago. The shop began specializing in Lincolniana, the Civil War, and U.S. presidents in 1938, when Carl Sandburg (our logo was created by him) urged Ralph Newman to so specialize. The Civil War Round Table movement began in the shop as did *The House Divided*, a live-streaming broadcast where we interview current authors in our fields of interest.

Stuart is a lawyer by trade, but earlier was a product photographer. Collecting antiques and collectibles always interested him and he discovered early on that if there is not a book on a subject that interested him, it was probably up to him to write one. Stuart has written *the* book on Lincoln artifacts, *Collecting Lincoln*, a book containing 950 color illustrations on all aspects of Lincoln historical artifacts, from Lincoln’s era through modern times.

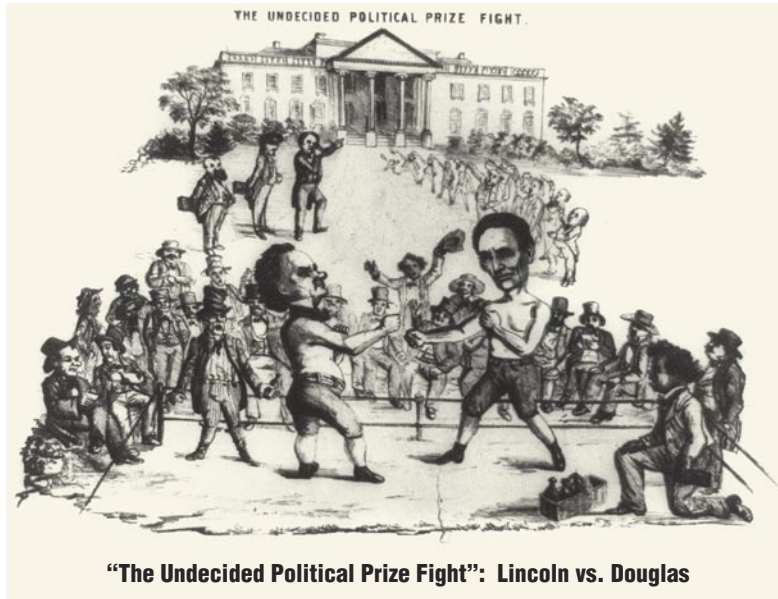
Between us we have handled innumerable Lincoln artifacts in all fields: books, autographs and documents, campaign and mourning memorabilia, prints and lithographs, busts and statuary, ephemera, and the like.

More information about this event will be forthcoming, but its success depends on you submitting artifacts now.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S STATESMANSHIP

By Lucas E. Morel

Lincoln's debates with Stephen A. Douglas during the 1850s, which culminated in his successful campaign for the presidency, focused on the question of how to deal with slavery in the federal territories. To make their case, both men appealed to the American Founders, but drew opposing conclusions regarding the Founders' intentions for slavery in the long run. Lincoln would make the proper interpretation of what the "fathers" believed a centerpiece of his 1858 campaign against Douglas for the U.S. Senate and when he spoke at Cooper Union in a field test for his 1860 campaign for the presidency. His appeal to the founders' antislavery principles, however, did not place him in the abolitionist camp. While he agreed with their aim, the emancipation of American slaves, he thought their fiery rhetoric and, in some cases, disrespect for the rule of law, would undermine any effort to abolish the peculiar institution in a peaceful, constitutional way. Lincoln saw in the American founding both principles and practices that distinguished his antislavery politics from that of Douglas Democrats and Garrisonian abolitionists.



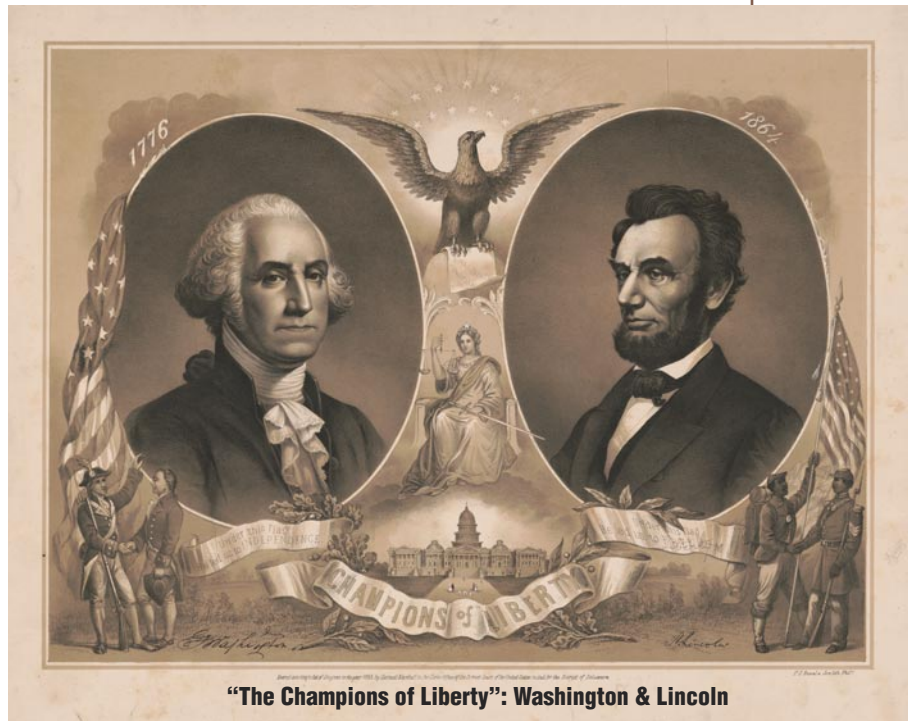
"The Undecided Political Prize Fight": Lincoln vs. Douglas

slavery controversy. This jibed with Douglas's much vaunted policy of "popular sovereignty," which left most political matters to be decided by the citizens of each state or the settlers of the territories. "Let the people decide" was his mantra.

Douglas argued that the "fathers of the Revolution, and the sages who made the Constitution," saw that "a Republic as large as this, required different local and domestic regulations in each locality, adapted to the wants and interests of each separate State." The founding fathers established a federal Constitution that would allow states to "remain sovereign and supreme within their own limits in regard to all that was local, and internal, and domestic," including slavery. Douglas defended "the rights and sovereignty of the states" as the best way to preserve "diversity, dissimilarity, variety in all our local and domestic institutions." In sum, "the framers of our institutions were wise, sagacious, and patriotic, when they . . . conferred upon each legislature the power to make all local and domestic institutions to suit the people it represented."

Douglas contrasted his respect for the diversity preserved by the fathers with what he called Lincoln's "doctrine of uniformity," which would impose "one consolidated empire" to impose equality throughout the diverse expanse of American states. After calling uniformity "the parent of despotism the world over," he applied this reasoning to the controversy over American slavery: "Wherever the doctrine of uniformity is proclaimed, that all the States must be free or all slave, that all labor must be white or all black, . . . you have destroyed the greatest safeguard which our institutions have thrown around the rights of the citizen." Douglas concluded that Lincoln "totally misapprehended the great principles upon which our government rests," which he attributed to misunderstanding what "the framers of the Constitution" devised to maintain both the diversity and unity of the American states.

Douglas also distinguished his popular sovereignty from Lincoln's universal reading of the Declaration by extolling white supremacy: "This government was made by our fathers on the white basis," Douglas trumpeted. "It was made by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and was intended to be administered by white men in all time to come." Despite adding that he would "extend to the negro, and the Indian, and to all dependent races every right, every privilege, and every immunity consistent with the safety and welfare of the white races," he insisted that "equality they never should have, either political or social, or in any other respect whatsoever." This was legal positivism, plain and



"The Champions of Liberty": Washington & Lincoln

Stephen Douglas spoke of "our revolutionary fathers" when he argued that they respected the "diversity" of the states with regards to domestic institutions, which included slavery. He interpreted American federalism or "the rights of states" to reflect their desire not to have the national government weigh in on the

AS A STRUGGLE FOR THE FOUNDERS' LEGACY

simple, with white people deciding what black people get to do. Douglas thought his version of popular sovereignty would pave the way to his election to the presidency in 1860. After all, who would disagree with Douglas's exhortation that "he don't care" how they vote, but will fight for their right to vote?

Lincoln also praised the principle of consent, calling it "the sheet anchor of American republicanism." But he highlighted the problem of focusing only on majority might and forgetting individual rights. Lincoln argued that Douglas's popular sovereignty "assumes that there CAN be MORAL RIGHT in the enslaving of one man by another. I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a free people—a sad evidence that, feeling prosperity we forget right." He called popular sovereignty "insidious" because slavery could become national not by any full-throated defense by white southerners but through the moral indifference of white northerners. As Lincoln put it, "Even if fairly carried out, that policy is just as certain to nationalize Slavery as the doctrine of Jeff Davis himself." Taught by Douglas not to care what happened to people in the territories who did not look like them, white northerners would be unable to make an argument against the spread of black slavery into their own states.

Unlike Douglas, Lincoln believed the founders were anything but neutral on slavery. He harked back to what he called "that old Declaration of Independence" to offer a proper understanding of popular sovereignty. "When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself, and also governs *another* man, that is *more* than self-government—that is despotism." He added, "If the negro is a *man*, why then my ancient faith teaches me that 'all men are created equal,' and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another." Lincoln believed that to interpret the Declaration to favor a particular race would "rub out the sentiment of liberty in the country" and "transform this government into a government of some other form." This would be no different than "the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world" and therefore no improvement on the arbitrary ways of the Old World. Lincoln considered the equality principle "the electric cord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world."

Despite his devotion to human equality and individual rights, Lincoln never identified himself as an abolitionist. He disagreed with the abolitionists' disdain for the Constitution due to its compromises with slavery. Abolitionists took particular umbrage at its requirement that fugitive slaves be returned to their masters. One radical wing of abolitionism, led by William Lloyd Garrison, refused to work within the Constitution's federal constraints because it required that abolitionists support a union of free and slave states. The Constitution represented an "infamous bargain" that "trampled beneath their feet their own solemn and heaven-attested Declaration."

Garrison manifested his scorn for the Constitution on the masthead of his newspaper, the *Liberator*, with the statement "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS." In 1832, he called the Constitution "the most bloody and heaven-daring arrangement ever made by men" and "an unblushing and monstrous coalition to do evil that good might come." In 1845, Garrison said the Union of American states "was conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity." In his most infamous formulation, he called the Constitution a "covenant with death," an "agreement with hell," and "a refuge of lies" and



William Lloyd Garrison

concluded that it was "a mighty obstacle in the way of universal freedom and equality."

In his most audacious gesture, Garrison publicly burned a copy of the Constitution on July 4, 1854, which was a concluding act of defiance to federal actions such as the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. As a pacifist, he sought to motivate fellow citizens to righteous action using only moral suasion, not force, whether by coercion of law or direct violence. "You must perform your duty," Garrison declared, "faithfully, fearlessly and promptly, and leave the consequences to God." Beholden only to his conscience, he ignored the consent of the governed, which makes government legitimate and, in America's case, brought a union of American states into being and put the mechanisms of self-government into operation.

In his appeal to the American founders, Lincoln charted a course for the nation that avoided the extremes of both the abolitionism of William Lloyd Garrison and the popular sovereignty of Stephen Douglas. Garrison sought equality for all but gave short shrift to the consent of the governed. Douglas enshrined majority rule but at the expense of human equality. Lincoln believed justice required both and therefore reminded Americans about the connection between the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the mechanisms of the Constitution and Union.

(Lucas E. Morel is the John K. Boardman, Jr. Professor of Politics at Washington and Lee University and author of *Lincoln and the American Founding*, published by Southern Illinois University Press in 2020.)

'CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY': A BRAWL AT THE

By Lydia J. Davis

In early 1862, as the Civil War was entering its second year, the people of the North needed something to celebrate. February 22, George Washington's birthday, presented such an occasion. On February 19, President Lincoln called for a public observance, stating that,

It is recommended to the People of the United States that they assemble in their customary places of meeting for public solemnities on the twenty-second day of February instant, and celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the Father of His Country by causing to be read to them his immortal Farewell address.¹



Patriotic Cover featuring George Washington

On January 27, 1862, Lincoln issued an order stating that George Washington's birthday "be the day for a general movement of the Land and Naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces," but Union general George B. McClellan objected to Lincoln's plan and did not act.

Lincoln's desire to honor Washington existed long before his call for public celebration. Indeed, the sixteenth president had great admiration for the first. As president-elect, Lincoln looked to Washington's example and the sentiments of the American Revolution for guidance and wisdom. In February 1861, as he began his inaugural journey from Springfield, Illinois, to Washington, D.C., Lincoln predicted that his presidency would be a task "greater than that which rested upon Washington."² On Washington's birthday that year, Lincoln gave a speech at Independence Hall, in which he reflected on the legacy and sacrifices of the men who had signed the Declaration of Independence, and of the soldiers of the Continental Army who had fought under Washington. Lincoln "pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that Independence." They had fought to give "liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time."³ Those founding ideals needed to be remembered now, in 1862, more than ever.

Citizens of D.C. flocked to the House of Representatives to witness what was to be an elaborate event, including a presentation to Congress of captured Confederate battle flags, followed by a reading of Washington's Farewell Address. Reflecting on the occasion, Benjamin Brown French, the Commissioner of Public Buildings, recalled that "there was an immense crowd in the Capitol of the U.S. The galleries of the House of Representatives were so

crowded as to very much endanger the people in the front seats."⁴ The planned festivities, however, did not transpire without drama.

Congressman John J. Crittenden of Kentucky opposed holding a presentation of Confederate flags. "I do not think that such flags should be presented on this occasion," he said when making a motion to omit that part of the proceedings. Roscoe Conkling of New York agreed, stating that "these flags are not trophies to be treated with respect or with consideration by the Government of the United States . . . they are the badges, the tokens, carried by armed rebels—men red-handed with the murder of the citizens of this country—men who are entitled to no flag, who possess no flag—men whom we ought not to recognize as parties to be treated with or considered here at all."⁵ Accepting the flags would recognize the Confederates as a legitimate government, he suggested, and they had no place in an official ceremony.

After a lengthy debate in the House, Crittenden's resolution passed by only nine votes. The crowd waiting in the gallery was much disappointed that the humiliation of the Confederate flags would no longer be happening. So many people were "jammed" in the galleries, French wrote, that there was danger of "crowding the people in the front over into the Hall" (meaning that they would fall out of the galleries down to the House floor). French instructed Nathan Darling, the captain of the Capitol Police, to "go up and



The U.S. Capitol in 1862

cause the crowd to withdraw," which Darling promptly obeyed. As Darling attempted to remove the crowds, he confronted two men who did not have passes to attend the event that day. The two men "attacked" him "in such a manner as induced him to arrest them." Darling then ordered them out of the building.⁶

Irate, one of the individuals, Milton Brosius, "immediately had Capt. Darling arrested on a Magistrate's Warrant" for assault, stating that Darling had "then and there beat and ill treat" him "with force of arms."⁷ Following a hearing, however, the police magistrate dismissed the warrant. But Brosius continued to pursue retaliation against Darling. He went before the grand jury and had Darling indicted for assault and battery.

In the June term of the Criminal Court for the District of Columbia, Captain Darling declined a trial by jury and instead

U.S. CAPITOL ON GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY

submitted his case to Judge Thomas Hartley Crawford. After examining three witnesses, Crawford turned to Darling and asked, "How dare you undertake to keep people out of the Capitol which belongs to the Sovereign people[?]" Darling replied, "By order of the Vice President of the U.S. and the Speaker of the House." Crawford, according to French, said, "ex cathedra, that the Vice President & Speaker had no right to prevent the people from thronging the Capitol, it being their own house." He then promptly fined Darling \$20 plus costs, totaling \$43.10.⁸



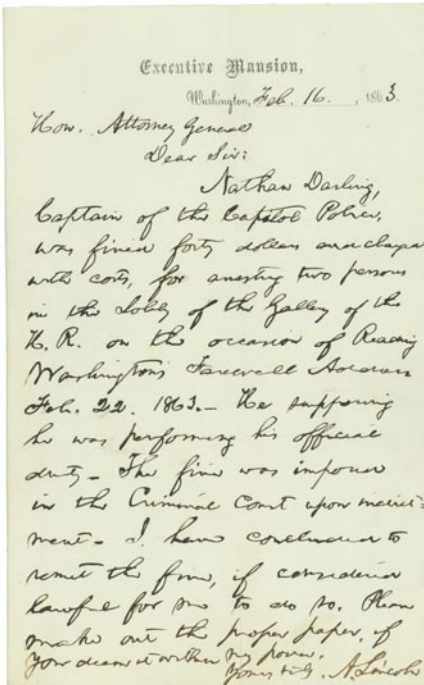
Judge Thomas Hartley Crawford

Benjamin Brown French was involved throughout Darling's entire legal ordeal, which he described in his diary as "an exceedingly unpleasant business."⁹ In January 1863, he wrote to Lincoln on Darling's behalf. "I deem the whole proceeding unjust," he explained, because "Captain Darling was only performing his lawful duty, under the order of his superiors in office." On these grounds, French asked Lincoln to remit the fine.¹⁰

A month later, and nearly a year after the original altercation between Darling and Brosius, Lincoln wrote to Attorney General Edward Bates that he had concluded to remit the fine, echoing French's

sentiment that Darling was "supposing he was performing his official duty."¹¹ Lincoln signed Darling's pardon two days later, on February 18, 1863.

(Lydia J. Davis graduated from Christopher Newport University in 2020 with a degree in American Studies. She is co-editor of *A Yankee Schoolmarm* in the South: The Civil War and Reconstruction Letters of Harriet M. Buss [forthcoming with the University of Virginia Press] with Jonathan W. White. Much of the primary source material in this article comes from the Papers of Abraham Lincoln.)



Abraham Lincoln Letter to Edward Bates

¹ "Proclamation for Celebration of Washington's Birthday," February 22, 1863, in Roy P. Basler et al., eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953–55), 5:136.

² "Farewell Address at Springfield, Illinois," February 11, 1861, in Basler, *Collected Works*, 4:190-191.

³ "Speech at the Flag-raising Before Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania," February 22, 1861, in Basler, *Collected Works*, 4:241-242.

⁴ Benjamin Brown French to Lincoln, January 10, 1863, in RG 204 (Records of the Office of the Pardon Attorney), Entry 1a (Pardon Case Files, 1853-1946), pardon case file A-460.

⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 911 (February 22, 1862).

⁶ French to Lincoln, January 10, 1863, and French to Edward Bates, February 17, 1863, both pardon case file A-460.

⁷ Basler, *Collected Works*, 4:242.

⁸ French to Lincoln, January 10, 1863, and French to Edward Bates, February 17, 1863, both pardon case file A-460.

⁹ Donald B. Cole and John J. McDonough, eds., *Witness to the Young Republic: A Yankee's Journal, 1828-1870* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1989), 400.

¹⁰ French to Lincoln, January 10, 1863, pardon case file A-460.

¹¹ Lincoln to Edward Bates, February 16, 1863, in Basler, *Collected Works*, 6:106-107.

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, this November 14 Zoom day, the twice-yearly *Bulletin*, and other benefits. We need your annual support and urge you to make sure your membership is up-to-date.

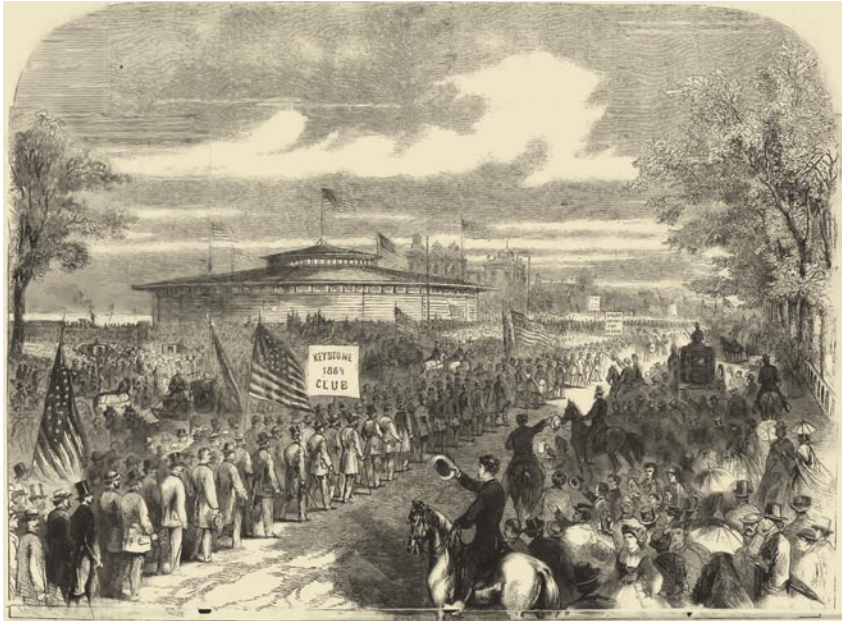
LINCOLN VS. MCCLELLAN: SEEING

By Jonathan W. White

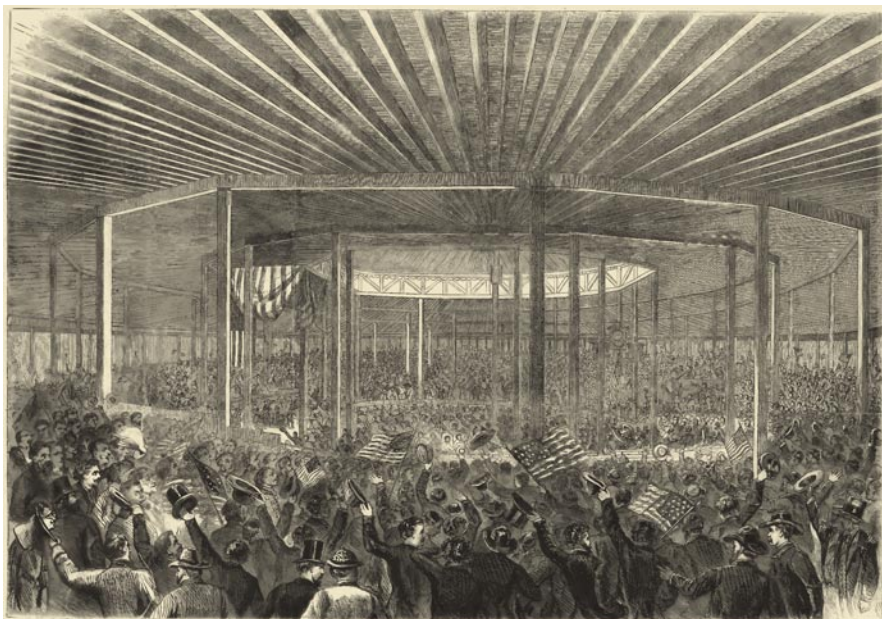
Whenever I start a new book project, I always do an extensive search for images related to the subject. I've found that doing so can help bring an historical event to life, letting me see the past through the eyes of artists who witnessed it firsthand.

When I wrote *Emancipation, the Union Army, and the Reelection of Abraham Lincoln* (Louisiana State University Press, 2014; paperback, 2020), I collected dozens of images from the presidential election of 1864. Most of these now hang on the walls of my office at home, but, as this is a presidential election year, I thought I would share them with the members of the Forum. In them, we see how Americans conducted an election more than a century and a half ago, in the midst of civil war. Some things—like the lines and the excitement—will look familiar. Other aspects of our electioneering have changed.

The Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln for president at its national convention in Baltimore in June 1864. The Democrats nominated Union general George B. McClellan for president at their national convention in Chicago in August. Although McClellan supported fighting a war for reunion, the Democratic platform called the war a “failure”—a decision that was highly unpopular among Union soldiers. (Note: The Wigwam that the Democrats used in 1864, depicted below, was not the same one in which Lincoln had been nominated in 1860.)



“The Democratic Presidential Convention at Chicago, August 1864—
Exterior View of the Wigwam at the Opening”



“The Democratic Presidential Convention at Chicago in Session, August 1864”

One of the most important innovations of the Civil War was the enfranchisement of soldiers through absentee voting. By 1864, nineteen northern states had passed laws permitting soldiers to vote. Four of these states had their soldiers send their ballots home to be counted with the “home vote.” The other fifteen states had soldiers set up polls in the field. In October 1864, five state agents from New York were arrested and tried before military commissions for sending fraudulent ballots home. The cartoon on page 18 shows Democrats forging mail-in ballots by using the names of deceased Union soldiers. The final four illustrations depict polling in the field.

Most of these illustrations capture what election season looked like in New York City: Alcohol, rowdiness, deliberation, and patriotism are themes that appear in the various images. I hope that these pictures will bring that pivotal election to life for you in the same way that they did for me when I was writing my book. All of the images and captions that follow originally appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, or the *London Illustrated News* between September and December 1864.

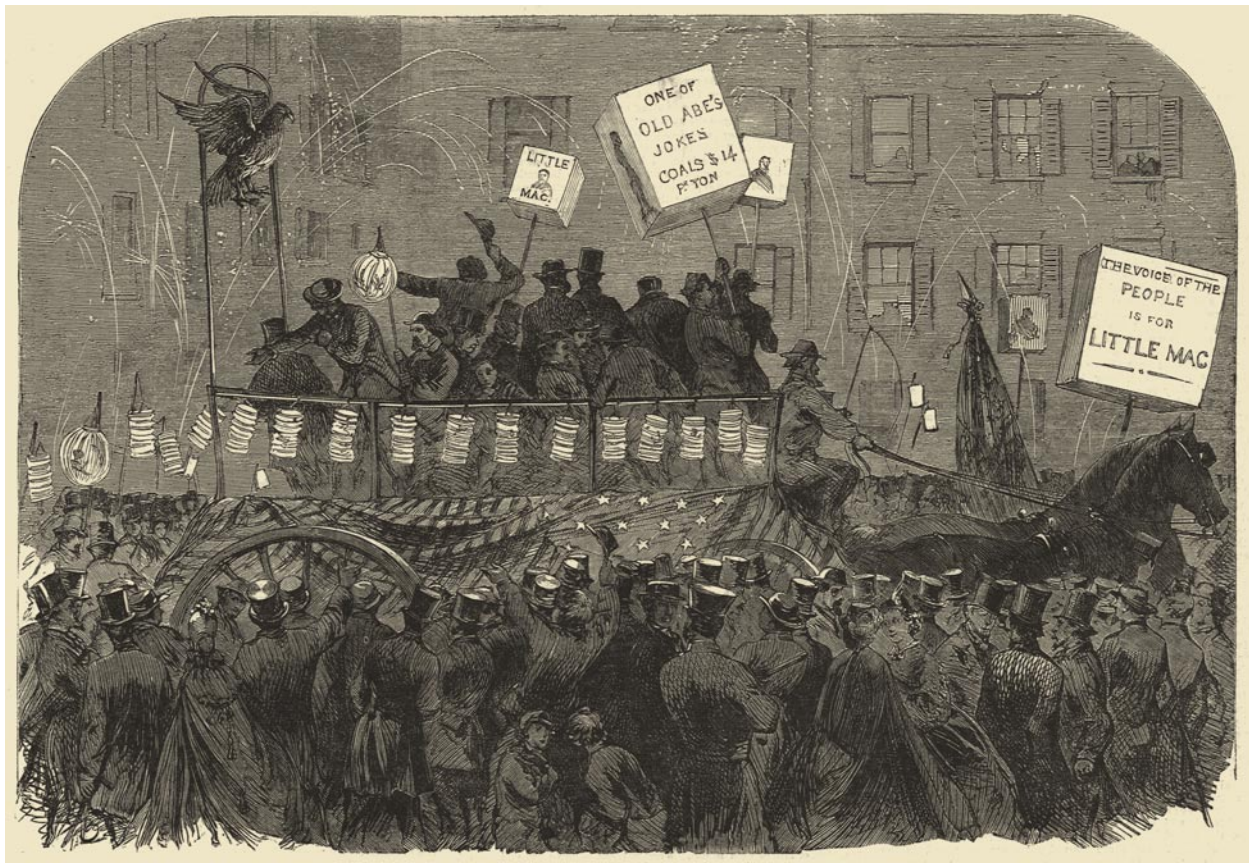


“Presidential Electioneering in New York—A Street Scene”

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1864

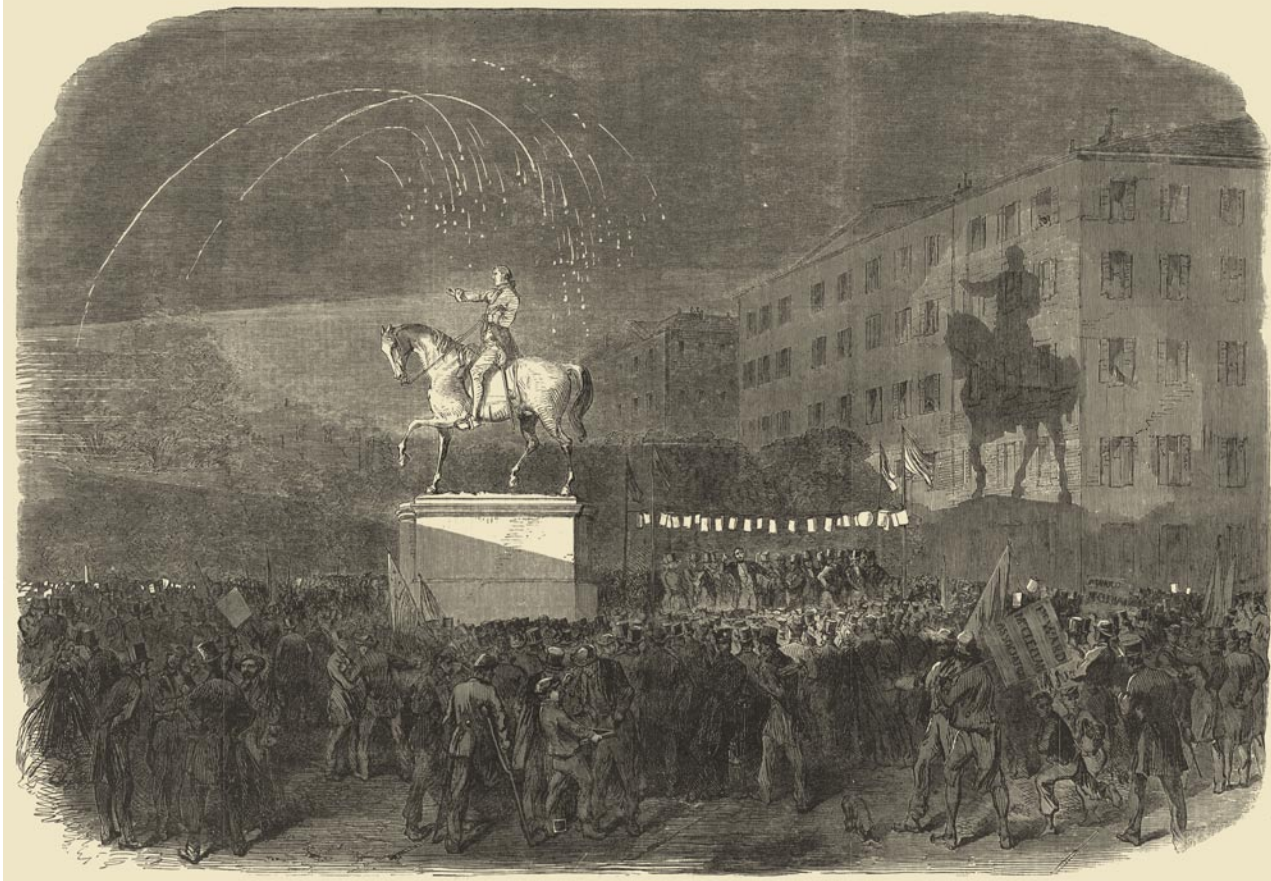


“Demonstration at New York in Anticipation of the Election for President”



“Presidential Electioneering in New York—Torchlight Procession of the M'Clellan Party”

LINCOLN VS. MCCLELLAN: SEEING



"The Presidential Campaign in America. Great M'Clellan Meeting in Union-Square, New York [September 9, 1864]"



"How the Copperheads Obtain Their Votes"

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1864



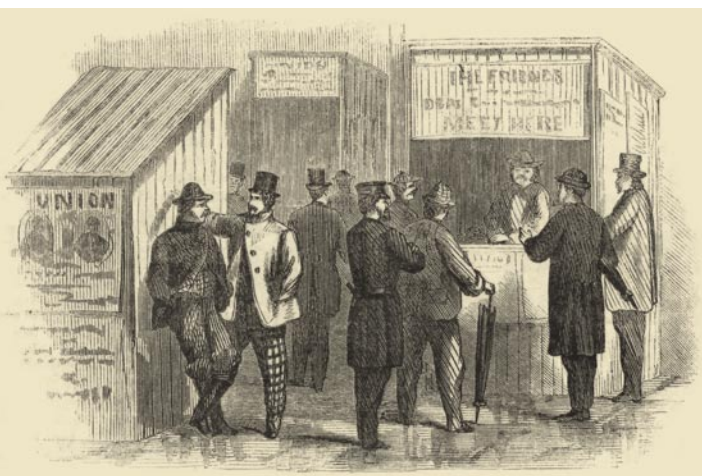
"Bringing Invalid Soldiers to the Polls"



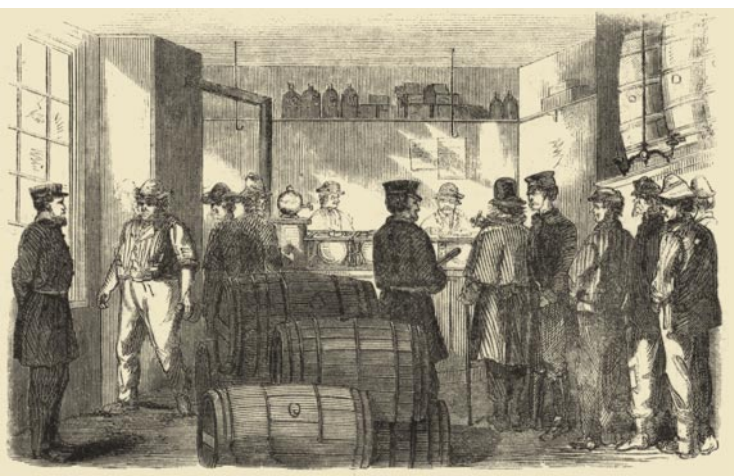
"The Man Who Voted 'Early and Often'"



"The Process of Voting—Voters Awaiting Their Turns at the Polls"

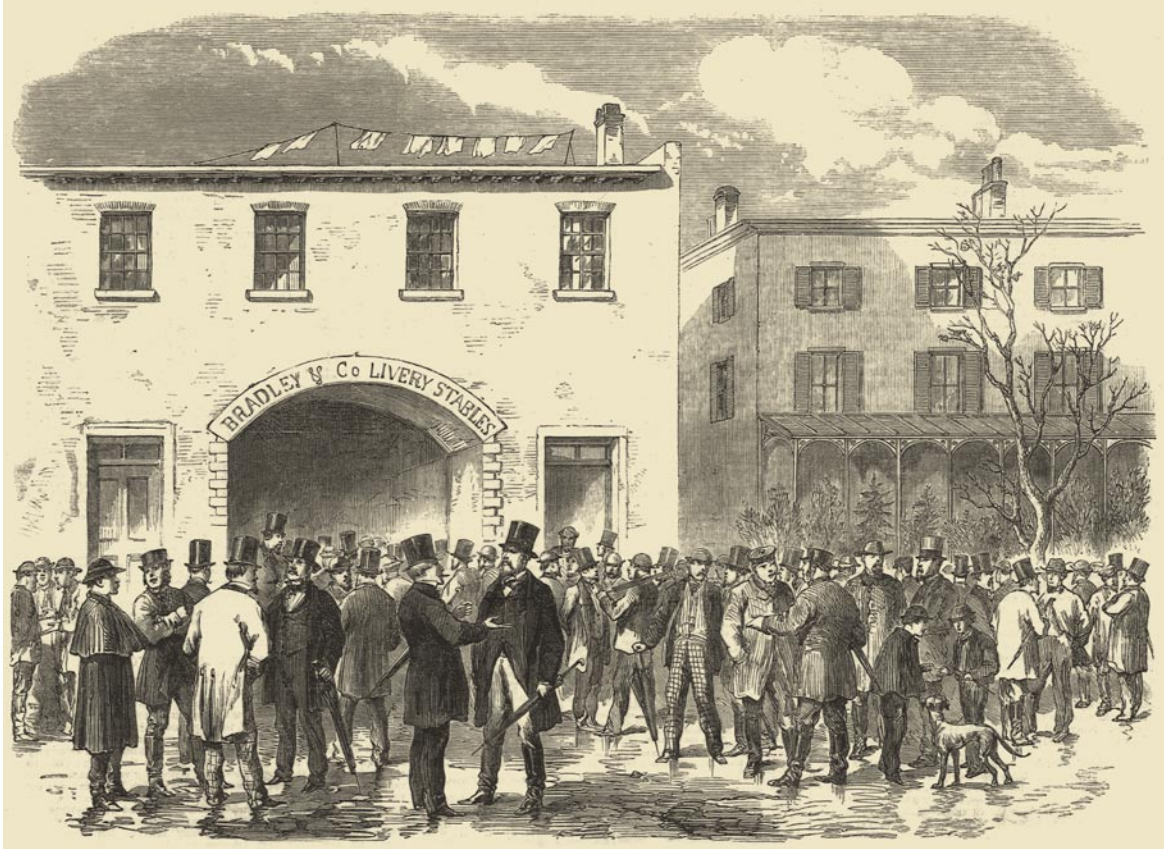


"Ticket Booths—Voters Procuring Tickets"

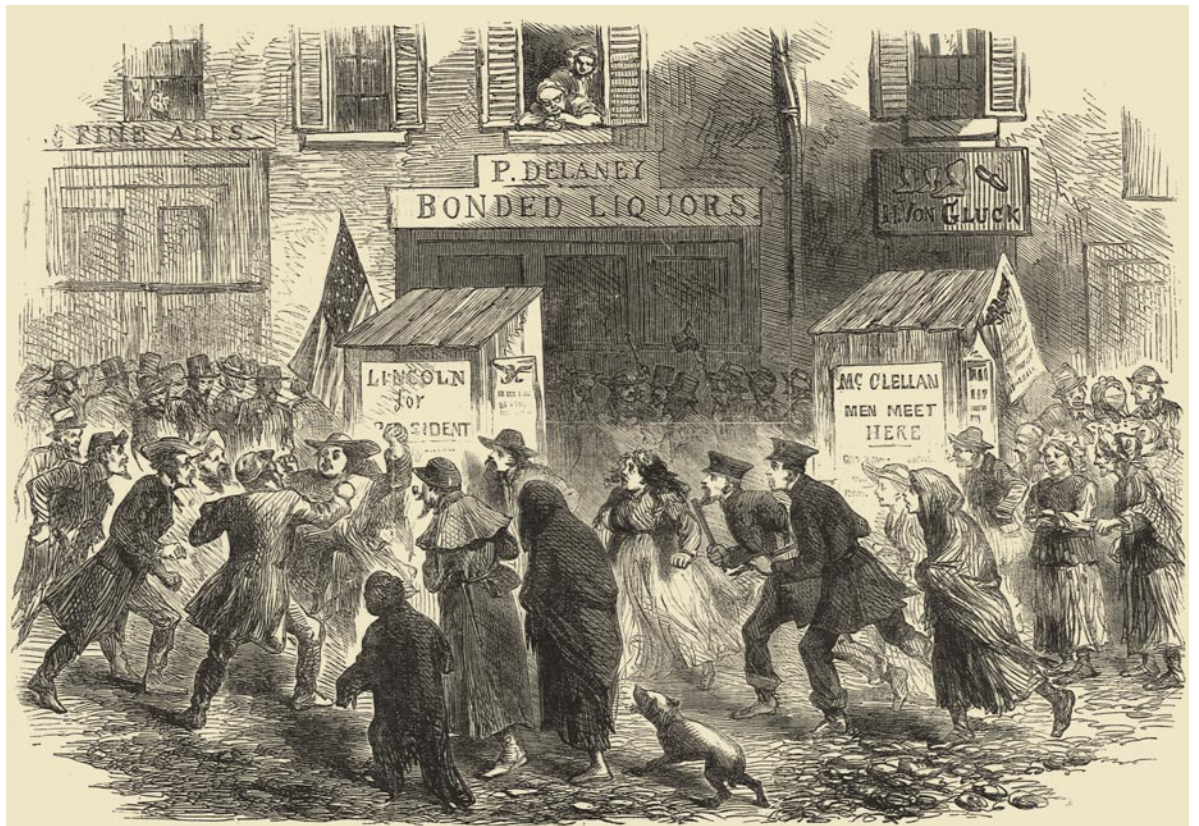


"Scene at the Polls in the Five Points"

LINCOLN VS. MCCLELLAN: SEEING

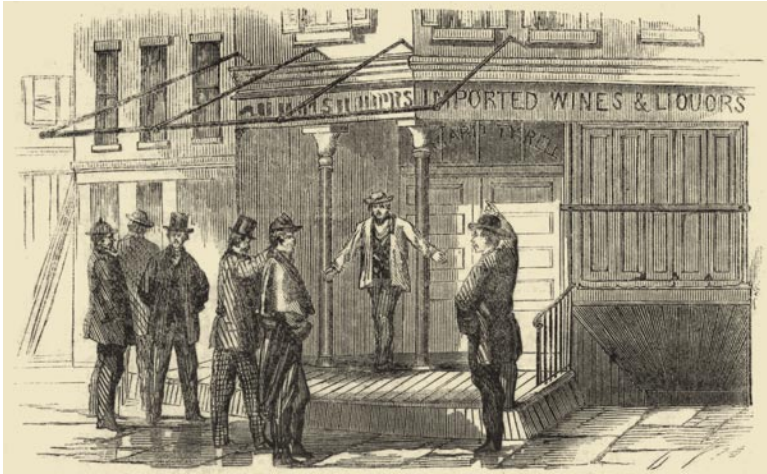


“A Polling-Place Among the ‘Upper Ten’”

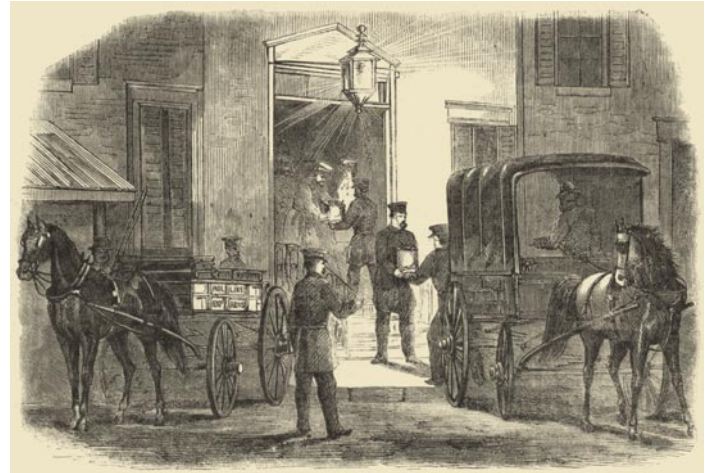


“The Polling-Place Among the ‘Lower Twenty’”

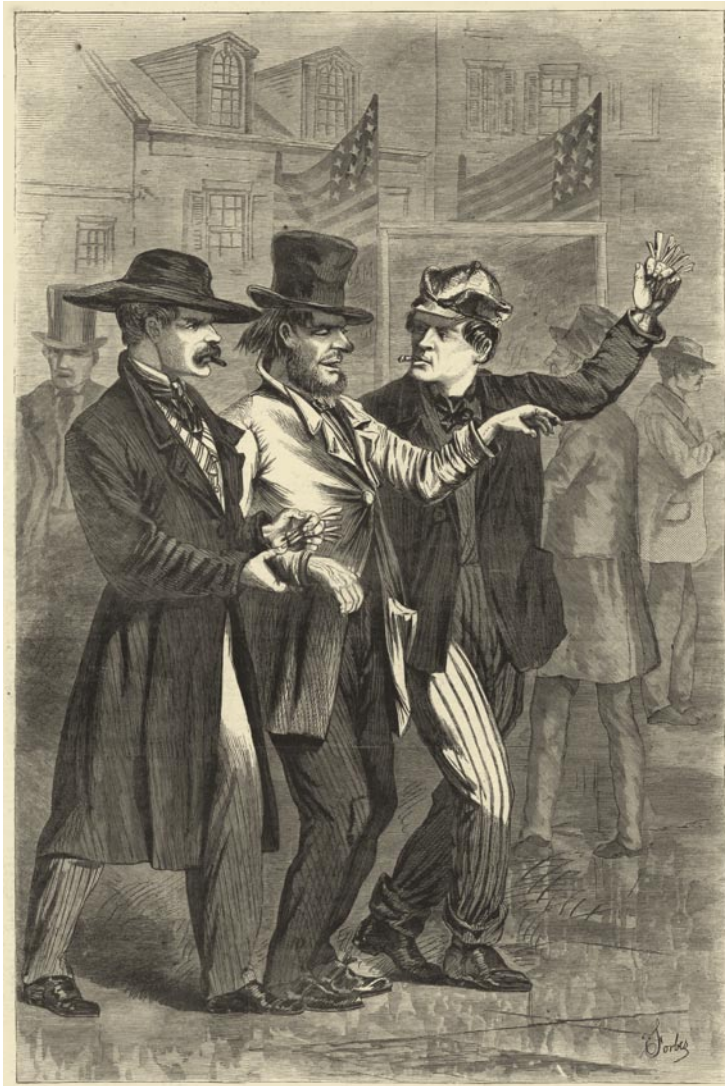
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1864



"A Liquor Store Closed on Election Day—Its Owner Refuses to Sell Liquor"



**"Removing Ballot Boxes to the Polls—
Scene at the Fifth Precinct Police Station—
The Removal Superintended by Capt. Petty"**



**"The Presidential Election of 1864—Scene at the Polls in N.Y.—
A Voter in the Hands of the Philistines"**

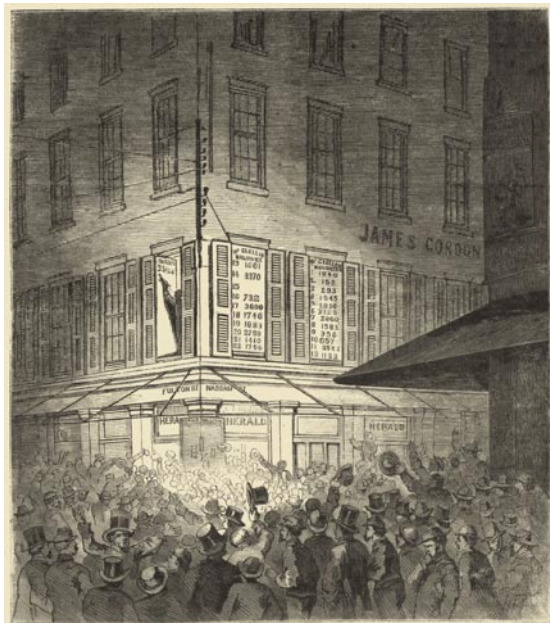


**"The Presidential Election of 1864—Scene at the Polls in N.Y.—
The Veterans of 1812 and 1864"**

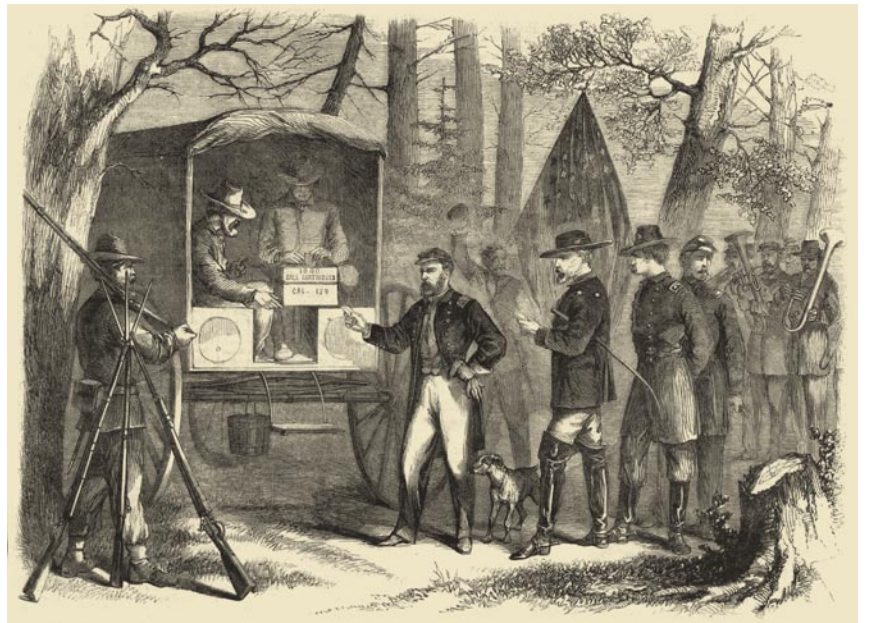
LINCOLN VS. MCCLELLAN: SEEING



“Head-Quarters, Army of the James—Pennsylvania Soldiers Voting”

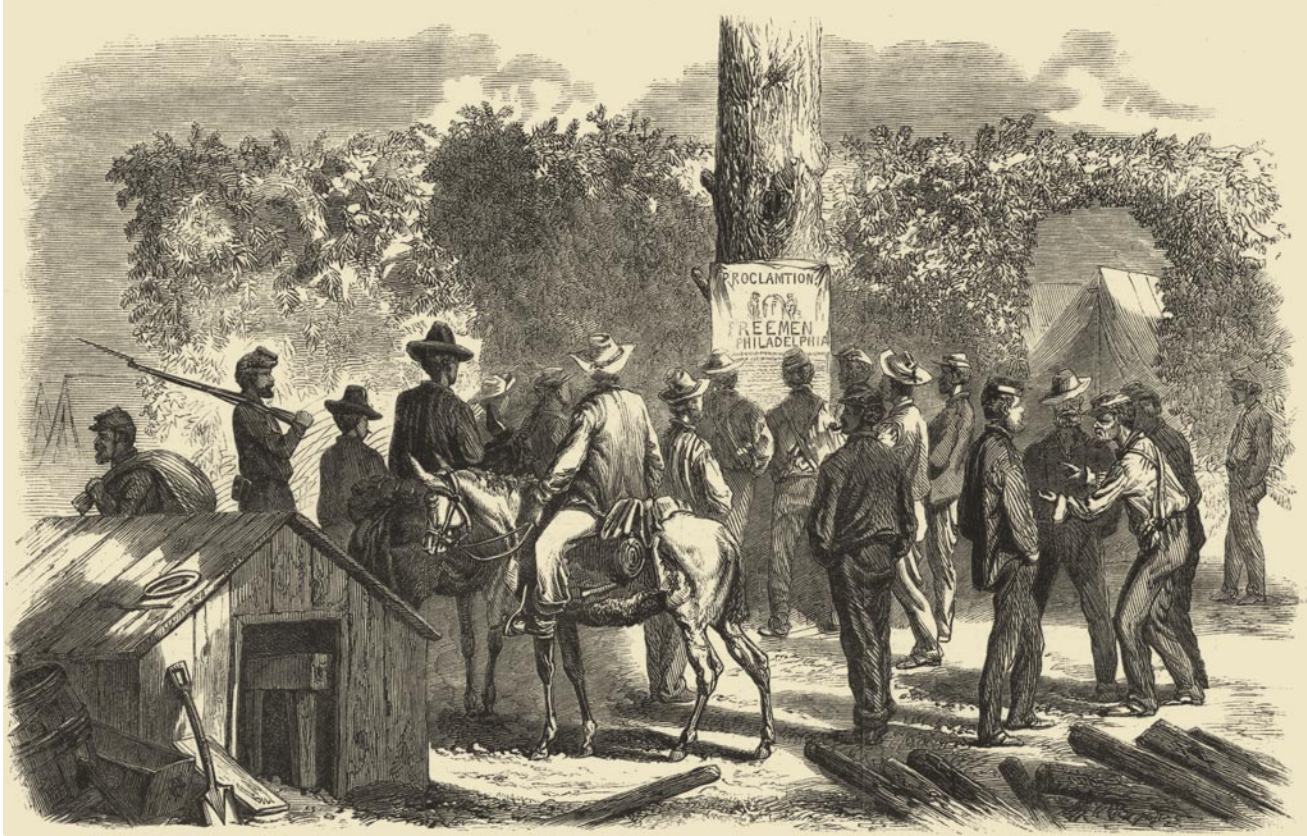


“Night Scene at the N. Y. Herald Office—Displaying Election Returns by Means of a Calcium Light”

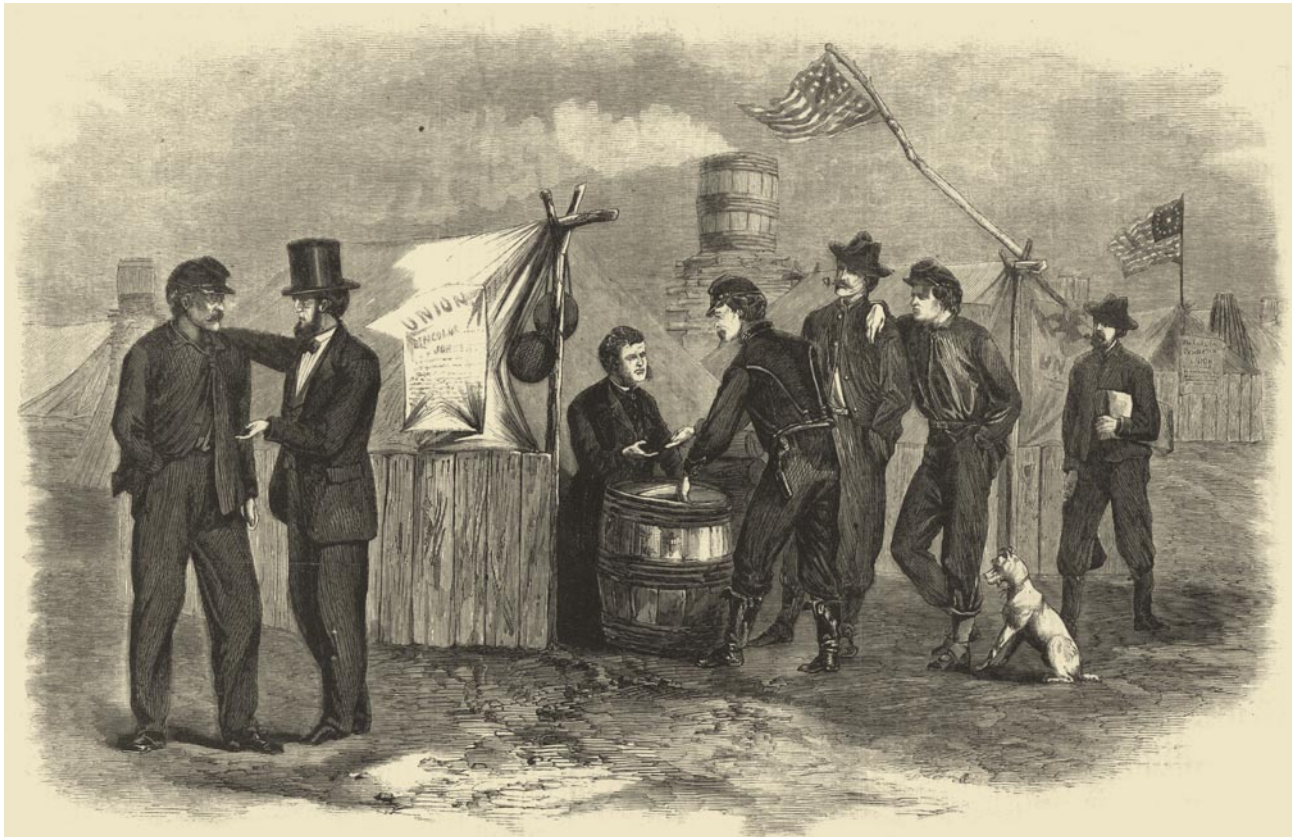


“Election Day in the Army of the Shenandoah—Scene at the Polls—Gen. Sheridan, Gen. Crook, and Other Officers Casting Their Votes”

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1864



"The Approaching Election in the Camps—Group of Soldiers Reading Political Handbills [in the Army of the Potomac]"



"The Presidential Election, Nov. 8—Scene at the Polls in the Army of the Potomac—Soldiers Voting"

HIDDEN GEMS: A PORTFOLIO OF HARVEY DUNN'S

By Aiden Kwen

[**Editor's Note:** This piece, which originally appeared in *The Tenafly Echo* in 2018, recounts the life of Harvey Dunn (1884–1952) and how his paintings of Abraham Lincoln wound up on the walls of a New Jersey high school.]

Many students at Tenafly High School in New Jersey can complete all four years of high school without ever noticing the paintings of Abraham Lincoln hanging in the library. It's even

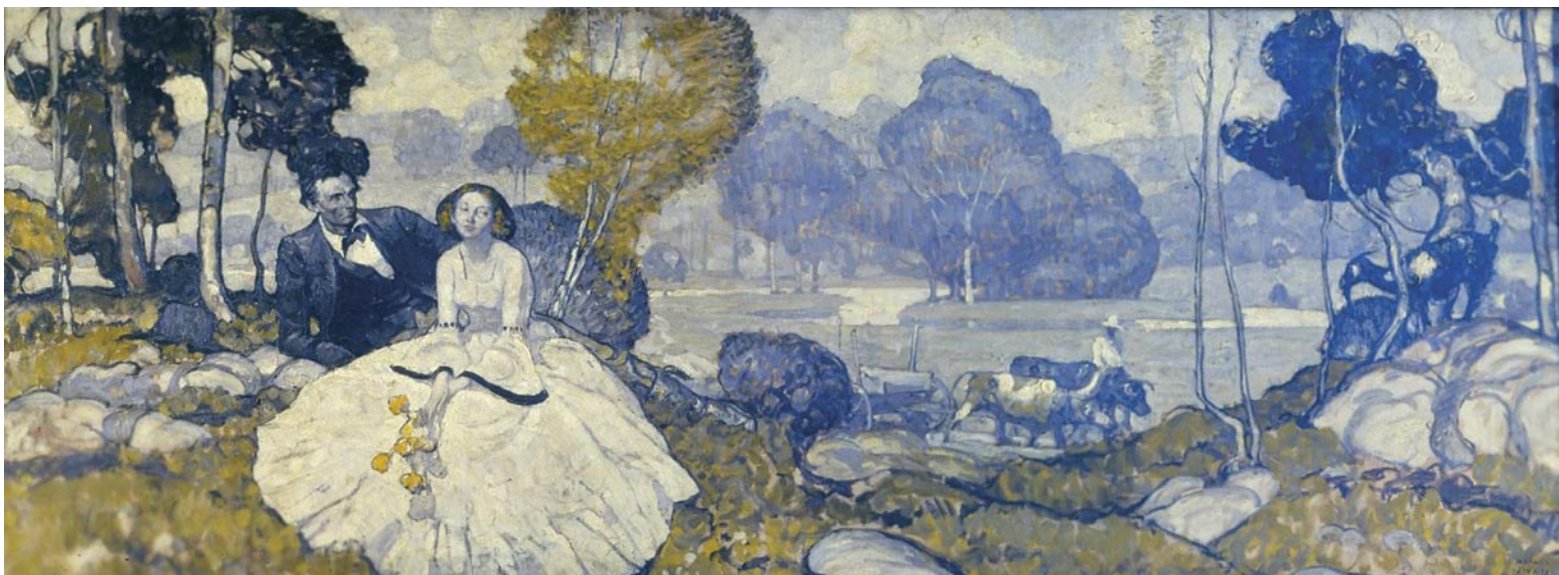
less likely that they have heard of the paintings' creator, Harvey Dunn, who—given his life story and important contributions to art history—deserves more recognition.

Our story begins in 1884 when Harvey Thomas Dunn was born on an austere farm in South Dakota. His modest childhood homestead and one-room schoolhouse surely inspired his plain and unembellished style of artwork, and his straightforward, Midwestern approach to painting endured no matter how far his career took him away from home.

With encouragement from Ada Caldwell, his art instructor at South Dakota Agricultural College (now South



“Sale of Naked Slave Girl”



“A Backwoods Dreamer”

LITTLE-KNOWN PAINTINGS OF LINCOLN

Dakota State University), Dunn pursued higher goals at the Chicago Institute of Art, where he would meet and study under Howard Pyle—one of America’s most popular authors and illustrators at the turn of the 20th century. As Dunn later said of his teacher, “Pyle’s main purpose was to quicken our souls so that we might render service to the majesty of simple things.”

Dunn began his professional career in Wilmington, Delaware, illustrating for various magazines. However, he found that his calling was teaching students—as Caldwell and Pyle had taught him. In 1914, he moved to Leonia, New Jersey, and started the Leonia School for Illustration.

Dunn’s life changed drastically in 1917 when America entered World War I. As part of the American Expeditionary Force in Europe, he recorded the war for historical and propaganda purposes. It was said that the war changed him. Though Dunn stayed in Europe for less than a year, he would continue to create illustrations of his time abroad.

On returning to the States, Dunn moved to Tenafly, New Jersey, and resumed teaching. He was strict and demanding but this was all intended to prepare his students for the competitive reality of the commercial art world. Despite Dunn’s high expectations, his students revered him



“It Came Natural for People to Trust Lincoln”



“Ambitious Wife”

HIDDEN GEMS: A PORTFOLIO OF HARVEY DUNN'S

and his approach to instruction, which focused more on understanding the fundamental nature of art rather than technique. He would say, "The most fruitful and worthwhile thing I have ever done has been to teach."

Dunn originally painted his Lincoln paintings to illustrate a series of articles by Emil Ludwig in *Cosmopolitan* magazine, "Ludwig's Story of Lincoln," which appeared in six installments between September 1929 and February 1930. Dunn permitted the paintings to be displayed at Tenafly High School at the request of Principal Howard Pordy, who did not think they should remain hidden away in Dunn's studio attic.

Dunn's initial response to Pordy was, "Hell, nobody's interested in these pictures." However, he later relented and let Pordy borrow them for a "little while" to see if "anybody [was] interested in them." According to Pordy, "many people came to see the pictures from far and near." Upon hearing this, Dunn "never once showed any particular pleasure or pride [in the paintings] but never once did he say one word about removing them."

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Dunn's art is its simplicity. According to his contemporaries, the same could be said about his manner and lifestyle—he was



"His Simple Religion"

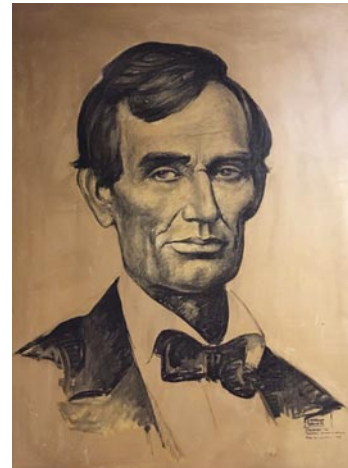


"The Banquet"

LITTLE-KNOWN PAINTINGS OF LINCOLN

unpretentious, perhaps even provincial. However, I believe that behind Dunn's modest exterior was a man of deep wisdom. And, though he may have strayed from the farmlands of the Midwest, it's clear that he, more than anything else, understood the majesty of simple things.

(Aiden Kwen is studying political science and public relations at Syracuse University. He originally wrote this piece when he was a sophomore at Tenaflly High School.)



Portrait of Lincoln



"Fort Sumter Bombarded"



"Lincoln Hailed by Negroes"

CONTROVERSY SWIRLS AROUND THOMAS BALL'S

[**Editor's Note:** During the summer of 2020, as unrest arose in the streets of many American cities following the killing of George Floyd, a group of protestors threatened to tear down the statue of Abraham Lincoln and Archer Alexander in Lincoln Park, in Washington, D.C. The leadership of The Lincoln Forum took an active role in the public debate over what to do about Civil War monuments and memorialization. Harold Holzer appeared on C-SPAN to discuss the issue and published two pieces on the subject. The first, entitled "Time to Rethink Confederate Statues," appeared in the *New York Daily News* on June 19. The second, entitled "How Northern Publishers Cashed in on Fundraising for Confederate Monuments," appeared in *Smithsonian Magazine* on July 7.

On June 26, I published an article entitled "Let Abraham Lincoln Stand" in *The Hill* newspaper. This piece sparked a conversation with my friend Scott Sandage of Carnegie Mellon University that led to the discovery of a letter Frederick Douglass wrote about Thomas Ball's "Emancipation Group" in April 1876. We

published our findings in *Smithsonian Magazine* in an article entitled "What Frederick Douglass Had to Say About Monuments" on June 30, 2020. Our piece made national news, leading to articles or citations in the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, the *New York Review of Books*, the *Guardian*, the *Daily Caller*, NPR's *All Things Considered*, and many other media outlets.

This subject is clearly of great interest and importance to the American public. I asked our member David J. Kent to write about his experiences as a member of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia during the protests in June and July. I also asked Marcia Cole, who portrays Charlotte Scott, to allow us to reprint her remarks from an online teach-in she organized to help save the monument. All of the articles mentioned above can be easily found online, and the teach-in is available on YouTube under the title "Hidden History of the Emancipation Monument/Lincoln Statue/Freedoms' Memorial in Washington, D.C." All modern photographs accompanying this piece are courtesy of Bruce Guthrie.]

LGDC HELPS SAVE THE EMANCIPATION MEMORIAL IN D.C.

By David J. Kent

This summer, the Lincoln Group of D.C. joined with a Frederick Douglass reenactor and others to save the Emancipation Memorial in Lincoln Park. Demonstrators had targeted the statue, which depicts Abraham Lincoln in the act of emancipation, because of some controversial design elements, most notably an African American slave rising at the feet of a standing Abraham Lincoln.

LGDC president John O'Brien and author John Muller helped organize two teach-ins on subsequent Fridays to educate the public and begin a community discussion. A small group of angry protesters attempted to rile a crowd into pulling down the statue, which the National Park Service had quickly surrounded with a temporary security fence. And then up stepped Frederick Douglass, played by Nathan Richardson. Douglass enthralled the crowd with his in-character recital of a portion of the speech that Douglass had given to dedicate the memorial in 1876.



Nathan Richardson as Frederick Douglass



A Heated Discussion that Went Viral Online

He explained his friendship with Abraham Lincoln and how the artwork was intended to honor both Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and Archer Alexander, the actual freedman depicted by the rising figure.

Douglass was joined by the five

women of FREED, Female Re-Enactors of Distinction, who played various important African American women of the time. Among them was Marcia Cole playing Charlotte Scott, the former slave who donated \$5 for a statue to honor the end of slavery. Scott's donation began a movement, and the statue was entirely funded by formerly enslaved people. Several older African American attendees presented arguments in favor of preserving the statue for historical memory. John O'Brien added that the statue was rotated 180 degrees in the 1970s to face a new statue of African American civil rights activist and educator Mary McLeod Bethune. Historical context was critical to saving the memorial statue.



The Crowd Listens to a Speaker

As Douglass and each of the FREED women spoke, the crowd calmed considerably, and a sense that the statue might remain in place arose. At the very least, the threat of forcible removal seems to have passed for now (the security fence was taken down the week of September 14). The Lincoln Group of D.C. will continue to work toward a community consensus and a reasonable long-term solution.

(David J. Kent has been a member of The Lincoln Forum since 2012 and is Vice President for Outreach and Education of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia. He is the author of several books, including *Lincoln: The Man Who Saved America* [2017].)

'EMANCIPATION GROUP' IN LINCOLN PARK

CHARLOTTE SCOTT AND THE EMANCIPATION MONUMENT

By Marcia Cole

Every manmade thing we see around us began as an idea.

The idea for a monument was first formed in the mind of a former slave named Charlotte—earning her a place in history as “a friend of Lincoln.”

She was born around 1803-1805 in Lynchburg, Virginia, on the thousand-acre plantation owned by Capt. William Scott and his wife, Ann. Her mother was owned by the Scotts and by law this made Charlotte a slave also. The year of her birth is important because in 1803 Ohio entered the Union as a free state, a major factor in her gaining freedom when she did.

The Scotts had twelve children and Charlotte helped take care of them, even when she was just a child herself. It was not uncommon for slave children to act as nurse to their master's infants. She also served other Scott households when needed.

When Captain Scott died, his will divided the property—including human property—amongst the family. He left sixteen slaves to be used jointly by the two younger sons, Thomas and Hugh, and expressed his desire that they be kept together and not sold off the plantation. A large portion of land, livestock, and personal property went to the seven older children and the rest to his wife, Ann. Hugh and Thomas would get their portion of what had been left to her when she died.

But after a while, rather than make them continue to wait, Ann drew up a document that turned their inheritance over to them before her death if they promised to take care of her until she passed—and they did. By this time Charlotte was likely married to Willis, who lived on the same plantation. By good fortune, they were among the sixteen slaves not to be sold.

The two brothers had adjoining farms. When they divided their human property, Willis belonged to Hugh and Charlotte belonged to Thomas. By living close to each other they had opportunities to spend time together. Over her lifetime, Charlotte bore 12 children. Eventually Thomas married Margaret Burks and they had 3 children. Their youngest daughter, Margaret, was two when her mother died. Charlotte had been taking care of young Margaret from the time she was born and continued doing so.



Charlotte Scott

When she grew up, Margaret married her second cousin, Dr. William Rucker. Her father loaned Charlotte to her to help keep the household running. When Thomas died, Margaret inherited Charlotte outright.

There was talk of war. Dr. Rucker had Union sympathies and said as much, putting him at odds with his family and landing himself in jail. When the rumblings got too close, he and Margaret decided she should take their four sons and household slaves to Marietta, Ohio, for safety. *Remember Ohio was a free state.* The Federal army would not transport them unless Margaret freed her household slaves first. Charlotte, her childhood caretaker, was among them. This was around 1862.

That is how Charlotte came to be free and in Ohio. This newfound freedom allowed her to take a last name, something that had been denied slaves. She took the name Scott. Now she had a full name—Charlotte Scott. The Emancipation Proclamation also provided that she could earn “reasonable wages” for her labor and keep it. She stayed on with the Ruckers as cook and took in washing.

Dr. Rucker was moved between ten jails. He was last jailed in Danville, Virginia, when he escaped his prison cell with the help of friends. Eventually he joined his family in Ohio.

One morning, Charlotte was serving breakfast at the Ruckers when they heard the shocking news that President Lincoln had been assassinated. Everyone at the table sat in stunned silence. Charlotte spoke up first, saying, “The colored people have lost their

best friend on earth. Lincoln was our best friend and I will give five dollars of my wages toward erecting a new monument to his memory.” With that she went and retrieved her hard-earned five dollars for that purpose and handed it to the Ruckers, who embraced her idea. Five dollars may not seem like a lot today, but it was a lot to Charlotte. By some calculations it amounts to about \$380.



Marcia Cole as Charlotte Scott

She asked them to see that her contribution get to someone honest who would help get the word out and collect monies from former slaves and black soldiers. That honest man was Rev. William Greenleaf Eliot, who led the Western Sanitary Commission's fundraising effort to make the monument a reality.

Source: Marjorie Huiner, “A Freedwoman of Virginia”: Charlotte Scott and the Scott and Rucker Families of Lynchburg,” *Lynch's Ferry: A Journal of Local History* (Fall/Winter 2013): 5-16.

(Marcia Cole is a playwright, poet, actor and educator in Washington, D.C. She has portrayed Charlotte Scott with FREED—Female Re-Enactors of Distinction—since 2016.)

A Crowd in Lincoln Park



WE CANNOT ESCAPE HISTORY: LINCOLN

By **Chloe Baker**

[Editor's Note: I asked a student of mine who aspires to a career in media to report on how Lincoln sites around the country are responding to the global pandemic.]

In March 2020, the spread of COVID-19 in the United States affected almost every area of life imaginable. Many businesses and organizations were forced to make major changes to their everyday operations, to protect patrons while following state-issued stay-at-home orders and social-distancing guidelines. Museums and historical sites were no exception.

Lincoln sites around the nation closed and/or ceased in-person interactions with the public in mid-March. Some sites, such as President Lincoln's Cottage and the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM), were able to reopen this summer with new protocols in place to protect visitors' health and safety. Looking for Lincoln, which promotes historical and cultural education in Illinois, has launched a safety-conscious tourism campaign. Others—such as the Lincoln Memorial Shrine in Redlands, California—remain fully virtual as they plan for safe, successful reopenings.



Lincoln Cottage Podcast Recording with Joan Cummins and Callie Hawkins

debuting the first two seasons of "Q&Abe," an award-winning podcast, as well as a virtual classroom experience.

"We already had the online platforms," Mast said, "as well as the partnerships, creativity, and expertise needed to provide meaningful programming and engagement."

In July, in accordance with Washington, D.C.'s Phase Two reopening guidelines, President Lincoln's Cottage reopened to the public with new, outdoor-only programs. Attendance is limited, and guests are required to book their visit in advance, in addition to wearing masks at all times. Meanwhile, since the closure in March, staff at the Cottage have proceeded with historical preservation and restoration work and are continuing to plan for the future even amidst uncertainty.

"It's clear the impact of COVID-19 will be felt for some time," Mast noted, "and our mission compels us to think both near-term and long-term. After all, we are preserving this site not only for audiences today but for generations to come."

Faced with the sudden shift in operations necessitated by COVID-19, site leaders worked quickly to make their services available online. Fortunately for many, they were able to smooth the transition by taking advantage of their existing digital infrastructure.

Erin Mast, CEO and executive director of President Lincoln's Cottage in Washington, D.C. shared that their team was able to make the switch in just two days, thanks in large part to work done prior to the pandemic to expand their online offerings. Last year, for example, the Cottage

Cabinet Conversations:
Mental Health in Times of Crisis
A discussion between Dr. Erlanger (Earl) Turner and Martha Hodes,
moderated by Aneri Pattani
October 8 at 4 p.m. EDT

Ford's Theatre, another prominent Lincoln site in Washington, D.C., operated fully virtually until their limited reopening in October. Paul R. Tetreault, the director of Ford's Theatre, described several initiatives their team has undertaken to reach the public effectively during this time. Distance-learning programs already offered through the website, including virtual field trips, have been expanded and increased. In July, the Theatre introduced a series of live-streamed virtual play readings, featuring titles such as "Silent Sky" by Lauren Gunderson and Richard Hellesen's historical drama, "Necessary Sacrifices." For this year's holiday season, Ford's will release a free radio production of "A Christmas Carol" in lieu of in-person performances.

This spring, Ford's also launched "Cabinet Conversations," a regularly-scheduled, live-streamed event. According to Tetreault, "[the series] features interviews with scholars, artists and other thought leaders as they think aloud about the future of the arts, civics, and history. With each conversation, we connect the lessons of the Civil War, Lincoln's presidency, theatre, arts, and education to our contemporary life." In addition to the biweekly livestream, past episodes of Cabinet Conversations can be watched on-demand at the Ford's Theatre YouTube channel.

On October 14, Ford's welcomed back visitors to the museum and theatre on a limited basis as the first step in a phased reopening process. Some parts of Ford's, including the Petersen House and Aftermath Exhibits, will initially remain closed, and on-stage performances will not resume until the city enters Phase Three of reopening.

"We are hoping to return to the stage in February of 2021," said Tetreault. Meanwhile, the Ford's team has reexamined every area of the visitor experience in preparation for a safe, successful reopening.

A CONVERSATION WITH
HARRIET TUBMAN
Wednesday, October 21, 7pm
LIVE ONLINE!

Kathryn Harris Performing for Looking for Lincoln

SITES RESPOND TO THE GLOBAL PANDEMIC

“But most importantly,” Tetreault concluded, “the pandemic has forced us to pause ‘business as usual’ and given us space to rethink our role in the American Theatre and how we as an institution can support the movement for racial justice and efforts to dismantle white supremacy. We are using this time to rethink our season once we return to in-person performances and to do a variety of internal work to strengthen diversity, equity, and inclusion and create a culture of empathy at Ford’s.”

Another site currently closed to the public is the Lincoln Memorial Shrine, a unit of the Special Collections Division of the A. K. Smiley Public Library in Redlands, California. Don McCue, the Library director, explained that, as of mid-September, indoor museums in the local area were not projected to reopen for at least another month. Visitors to the Shrine’s website, however, can explore the facility’s exhibits through a virtual tour created by associate archivist Maria Carrillo, as well as other educational resources. In April, the Special Collections Division launched a biweekly “Resilient Redlands” webinar series featuring historical topics, including highlights from the collections of the Lincoln Memorial Shrine. Past presentations can be found on the Special Collection’s YouTube channel and the Library’s Facebook page.



Chris Vallillo Performing for Looking for Lincoln

For some groups, the shift to online programming has actually boosted visibility and led to increased public engagement. One such organization is Looking for Lincoln, which partners with 28 communities throughout Illinois to promote cultural and historical education in the Abraham Lincoln National Heritage Area. In mid-March, when all heritage tourism and in-person experiences were shut down or canceled, Looking for Lincoln developed new strategies for reaching potential visitors.

“We had many live performances and programs planned in the communities for the spring and summer,” Sarah Watson, the executive director of Looking for Lincoln, explained. “We had to pivot and immediately figure out how to share those programs digitally.” Fortunately, the Looking for Lincoln team was able to successfully adapt programming to a live-stream format for online viewing.

“The silver lining is that our audience has increased exponentially by going digital,” said Watson. “We went from about one hundred [guests] per live performance in a community to thousands online.” Upcoming livestream events can be found on the Looking for Lincoln Facebook page. The page also features updates on the group’s current campaign, “Flat Lincoln,” which promotes safety-conscious, socially-distanced tourism opportunities.

In addition to the outdoor locations Looking for Lincoln has highlighted, Lincoln enthusiasts in or near Illinois may be

interested to know that the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum in Springfield has been open to the public since July 1.

Clare Thorpe, the guest services manager for ALPLM, described a number of steps their team has taken to ensure the safety and comfort of visitors. These include a rigorous cleaning schedule, the closure of some exhibits, mandatory face coverings, online ticket sales, and a limited admissions policy, among other precautions.

“Social media and press releases have been the main outreach to the public during the pandemic,” Thorpe said. “Staff is highly trained to facilitate guests’ needs, and work well together as a team to create a sense of normalcy in this time when normal has been upended.”

For those who cannot pay a visit in person, the ALPLM has also been hosting virtual live presentations via the Zoom platform on topics related to Lincoln and the Civil War. Information and registration links for upcoming webinar events can be found on the ALPLM website.

As leaders of historical sites navigate the ongoing challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, many of them have reflected on how President Lincoln himself might have responded to a national emergency of this sort.

Erin Mast described Lincoln’s presidency as “the essence of crisis leadership.”

“Between the pandemic and civil unrest,” said Mast, “Lincoln and his contemporaries provide ample sources of inspiration.”



Two Children Enjoying an Outdoor Activity at President Lincoln’s Cottage

“I think he’d likely focus on how to heal the nation and bring us together as a people,” Paul R. Tetreault shared. “Despite the personal tragedies he suffered and the violence of the Civil War, Lincoln remained hopeful. He looked to the future and tried to imagine how he wanted the world to look after the Civil War ended. If he were leading now, I think he would try to provide that same message of hope and purpose for the future.”

(Chloe Baker is an American Studies major at Christopher Newport University.)

LINCOLN FORUM MEMORIES: HIGHLIGHTS

[In the Spring 2020 issue of the *Bulletin*, we asked Lincoln Forum members to submit memories of earlier Forum symposia. We received the following responses.]

“A Founder’s Remembrance” by Frank J. Williams

As we navigate the uncertainties of this pandemic and its impact on the 2020 Lincoln Forum symposium, we reflect on many things of remembrance days past. Among them was the “organization” meeting we held to formulate plans for our Lincoln Forum. Twenty-six years ago, some of us were speaking at an Abraham Lincoln and Civil War conference in Arlington, Virginia, hosted by Bob Maher of the Civil War Education Association (“CWEA”). Harold Holzer, Bob Maher, Charles “Chuck” Platt, David Long, Maynard Shrock and I, met. Bob Maher mentioned the need for a national Lincoln and Civil War group on the East Coast. While geography was an issue, it was not the only one. Civility among participants and presenters, as well as an ambiance that would create a “family” venue, was foremost.

The Lincoln Forum was born (we did not even have a name). We needed a venue, and our friends Gabor Boritt and Tina Grim at Gettysburg College gave their heartfelt support for what would be annual meetings at Gettysburg.

The plan was to meet from November 16-18, without any idea of how long we would continue. I was to be Chairman with Harold Holzer as Vice Chairman. Chuck Platt would serve as Treasurer. We borrowed Bob’s format and administrator, and for the first two years we met at the Eisenhower Inn south of the Gettysburg battlefield. Chuck Platt and I fronted the money to cover advanced costs. Our first Forum was attended by just under 100 people, which excited us. All were ecstatic, loved the presentations, and quickly formed the bonds of what we now know as the Forum family.

After two years, we relocated to the Holiday Inn Battlefield in downtown Gettysburg. We outgrew the Holiday Inn and fortunately found new quarters in the newly constructed Wyndham. Today, our average attendance is 300.

We heard from many authors who discussed their books. Five volumes of essays have been published with annual awards for new books, individuals, and organizations. We also created a mini-conference of breakout sessions as well as tours of the battlefield. Cooking classes with the Executive Chef and me, as Sous Chef, were also offered by demonstrating recipes from the Lincoln and Grant Executive Mansion.

Surveys by those in attendance have always been gratifying.

This year we are forced to hold a virtual Forum on November 14 with our annual in-person Forum (at least expected) on May 21-23, 2021.

None of the founders, all of whom are gone now except Harold Holzer and me, expected that we would create a tenure of twenty-five years and going! Thanks to all those who continue to come to our Forum as well as our presenters and our award participants, along with the hospitality of the Wyndham for a great run and more to come.

Chuck Platt and I were reimbursed for the monies we advanced far above the dollar value with lifelong friendships, education, and new avenues to explore about Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War.

Marylou Symonds:

Arriving at The Lincoln Forum always feels like the first day of school to me. There’s the excitement of brand new books in the form of the folder full of promising information; an intriguing schedule packed with interesting speakers and events; the opportunity to listen to and chat with authors whose names I’ve only ever seen on the spines of books. It makes my brain itch and tingle.

It also feels a bit like returning to sleep-away camp with all its familiar routines and traditions. There will be fun. I will be challenged to grow. It is a time out of life’s routines.

Ah, but the fondest memories of all are of the people. I may see them only once a year, if that, but I have come to cherish my brothers and sisters in The Lincoln Forum family. When we’re together, all’s right with the world.

Rev. Harold Hand:

In 1996, I fortuitously came upon an advertisement in a Civil War magazine for a new venture, The Lincoln Forum. It caught my interest, so I immediately signed up. Since that time, The Lincoln Forum has always been one of the highlights of my year. I’m honored to be one of the few who have participated in the Forum in every year of its existence. I look forward to it each year for a variety of reasons:

- My birthday happens to fall during the Forum week.

- Being in Gettysburg each year during the “Gettysburg Address” week has always been special.

- I’ve had the honor of offering prayers at meals ever since the 2nd Forum.

FROM THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

- I've been privileged to meet so many well-known authors and presenters.

- My knowledge of Lincoln, the Battle of Gettysburg, and the Civil War has increased immensely, as I always continue to learn something new.

- I have made some very good friends in these years, as I'm sure we all have. I think most of us consider Frank and Harold to be friends, but I also value the relationships I've developed with a handful of people with whom I've grown close and with whom I communicate throughout the year. My friends are perhaps the foremost reason I look forward to returning each year to Gettysburg.

I'm most thankful for The Lincoln Forum and what it has given me in my life, and I extend congratulations to one and all for 25 years of this wonderful event!

“President Lincoln’s 200th Birthday Cake” by Darla Bedford Moe

In 2008, America began to prepare for events across the country that would commemorate President Abraham Lincoln’s 200th birthday on February 12, 2009. Many of the officers and members of The Lincoln Forum had been appointed by President George W. Bush to head up a variety of historical presentations, both in Washington, D.C., and throughout the country, that would properly honor the man who is widely regarded as our greatest leader.

I decided that our Lincoln Forum should celebrate at our annual symposium in November at Gettysburg with a very special birthday cake!

To that end, I approached nationally known pastry chef “Duff” Goldman, owner of Charm City Cakes in Baltimore, Maryland, and star of the Food Network’s program *Ace of Cakes*, to bake us an almond cake—Lincoln’s favorite!—in the shape of his beloved Soldiers’ Home. I requested that almond paste figures be made of each member of the Lincoln family, as well as some children who had come to play on the lawn, and asked that Lincoln’s dog Fido be included, too! Most importantly, I wanted a figure of President-elect Obama there with President Lincoln, with the two shaking hands.

I told only a handful of Forum organizers about the cake so that it would be a surprise dessert for our final evening, when our keynote speaker, Ken Burns, would delight us all with insight from his acclaimed PBS series, *The Civil War*. We made sure that our friendly Holiday Inn staff would have ice cream ready and would

be there to meet the delivery of the cake, coming all the way to Gettysburg from Baltimore!

Alas, we did such a fine job of secrecy that the Director of the Soldiers’ Home did not get to see the cake in person, as he had to leave the symposium early! And



Dave & Darla Moe & Frank J. Williams

dear Fido never did make it onto the cake, which was likely just as well, because as we all began to leave the dining room at evening’s end, there was quite an enjoyable discussion about who should get which cake figure to bring home. Not wishing to mediate that, I looked over my shoulder while leaving just in time to see Mr. Burns beaming as he reached up to catch a figure tossed to him by an unseen hand. It was one of the Presidents! I leave it to you to imagine which one!

Bob Willard:

The Lincoln Forum provides unparalleled opportunities not only to attend presentations of, but also to meet and talk with, the superstars of the Lincoln world. You might find yourself at dinner with a Pulitzer Prize or Lincoln Prize winner. I have pleasant memories of conversations with Richard Current, Doris Kearns Goodwin, David Herbert Donald, Jim McPherson, David Blight, Liz Varon, and of course Frank and Harold. The Forum provides an opportunity to express firsthand your appreciation to those who continue to advance the Lincoln story. I remember one time standing in the buffet line next to Tony Kushner. I was a big fan of his script for the Spielberg *Lincoln* movie (and of *Munich* and *Angels in America*). I said to him, “We all get issued the same 26 letters, but what YOU do with them is magic.”

IN THE SHADOW OF THE CAPITOL: STORIES OF SLAVERY,

By Robert Colby and Mazie Clark

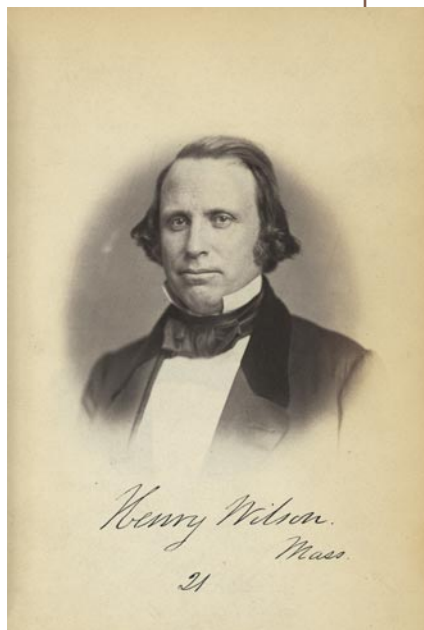
On the morning of December 7, 1861, Harriet Wilson sat in a cell on the second floor of the “Blue Jug,” Washington, D.C.’s city jail. For years, former senator Jackson Morton of Florida had



“Secrets of the Prison-House: A Cell in the Female Department of the Washington Jail”

enslaved Wilson, forcing her to labor as a nurse for his family. When Florida seceded, Morton decamped for the Confederacy. But when he did so, Wilson enacted her own secession and refused to leave for the slaveholders’ republic. We do not know precisely how she managed this. But whatever her methods were, they proved effective. In response, however, Morton jailed her—a strategy slaveholders regularly employed to subdue those who challenged them and to prevent their human property from escaping—believing he could reclaim her after what he assumed would be a brief conflict. Even as days of incarceration turned into months, Wilson’s resolve to avoid continued bondage never faltered. When asked about her decision to contest her enslavement, even at the cost of confinement, she affirmed that she’d “sooner die” in the Washington jail than continue in slavery under the Mortons.¹

We would know nothing of Harriet Wilson’s fight for freedom were it not for a political storm that broke around her in the winter of 1861–1862. On that cold December morning, Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts entered the Washington jail with journalists from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *New York Times*, and *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* in tow. For Wilson and his antislavery allies, Harriet Wilson and the other enslaved people held at the Blue Jug embodied the survival of the slave regime in the nation’s capital—a



Sen. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts

reality that had long rankled abolitionists given Congress’s express authority over the District of Columbia. Outside the capital, a growing array of emancipatory policies, the presence of Union soldiers, and the initiative shown by men and women like Wilson had strained slavery considerably. But within Washington, Ward Hill Lamon (Marshal of the District of Columbia and a close friend to Abraham Lincoln) continued upholding enslavers’ property rights and enforcing the slave code that protected them, and doing so, many argued, with excessive zeal.²

Slaveholders in the District, like their counterparts across the South, had long relied on the support of local law enforcement and on access to prisons to secure their investments.³ And while Senator Wilson’s visit to the Blue Jug showed that resistance to these practices was on the rise, the men and women he met there revealed that the demise of slavery was far from complete and that its death throes included a steep human cost.⁴ But his visit produced two tangible results. First, Wilson would soon convey his experiences directly to Congress. Second, the *Philadelphia Inquirer’s* correspondent recorded the stories of the African Americans held in that jail—and, two weeks later, of others held in Alexandria’s prison across the Potomac—sharing them widely with the American public. Through these narratives, some of the most marginalized members of American society translated their flight and persecution into powerful blows for freedom.

The stories of these jailed men and women underscored that the nation’s capital (and the military encampments surrounding it) could be both a refuge and a trap—a place of emerging freedom as well as one where slavery’s power lingered. This was particularly true for those escaping from Maryland. As residents of a state which had not seceded, Marylanders enjoyed (an admittedly diminishing) deference from District officials. The rewards they offered for men and women fleeing bondage, moreover, commanded considerable attention. Ads asking that (as one enslaver put it) fugitives be “secured so that I get them” filled Washington papers, and opportunistic citizens of the District used access to the Washington jail to act upon them.⁵

Such avarice actively hindered Benjamin Mattiner’s escape from his Prince George’s County enslaver. When Mattiner sought sanctuary with Daniel Sickles’ brigade, the soldiers carried him back to his owner. As they negotiated the terms of their reward, however, Mattiner stole out of a back door and fled to Washington. But lucre continued to pursue him; upon arriving, a man named Buck Solin waylaid him and placed him in the city jail in the hopes of claiming any reward available.⁶ Charles Farmer and Caroline West, each of whom fled from abusive slaveholders, suffered similar fates. Farmer let slip that he had run away to a new acquaintance, who responded to this trust by detaining Farmer in hopes of a reward. A policeman arrested West, meanwhile, on suspicion of being a runaway.⁷ Their experiences demonstrated both enslaved people’s willingness to exploit the mobility that the war offered and Maryland slaveholders’ continued access to slave laws—two realities that existed simultaneously and rendered flights for freedom precarious.

While “loyal” slaveholders enjoyed greater advantages in the pursuit of their human property than did Confederates, District of Columbia residents and authorities

FREEDOM, AND THE LAW IN WARTIME WASHINGTON



“Sunday in Jail, Washington, D.C.”

continued to enforce laws of racial control even against African Americans who could plausibly claim freedom under wartime policies aimed at rebellious enslavers. Joseph Spears, for example, fled a Confederate captain who had brought him to war. While his master’s overt disloyalty prevented him from reclaiming Spears, Spears’s newfound lack of an enslaver left him vulnerable to incarceration under the District’s vagrancy laws. Charles Jackson of Falls Church, Virginia, also claimed freedom from a known Confederate spy—a decision that provided safety within Union encampments, but not from District authorities suspicious of masterless men. This was surely a bitter pill for the elderly Jackson, whom slaveholders had already deprived of wife and children when they carried them behind Confederate lines. As an incarcerated woman confronting similar circumstances lamented, this separation was likely a permanent one. “I have given them up,” she wept, as she could “never go back and remain with” her former enslaver. “How can it be,” she mused, “that a master whom I have always treated so kind, whose children I have nursed from their infancy, who knows that there was never anything I could do for him that I did not, could use me so?” Through the *Inquirer’s* interlocutor, this plea, even couched in the language of paternalism, damned a slave system that deprived people of first their families, then their liberty.

An array of other offenses against the tottering institution condemned African Americans caught in the melee of war to jails in and around Washington. James Jackson and Alfred Montgomery had offered their services to Union soldiers in occupied Virginia but received no mercy from Washington policemen who found them in the city without a pass or a master. Edward Smith, Travis Taylor, and others were similarly arrested for leaving their enslavers’ property without permission, while Lewis Berry suffered a similar fate after having fled from Fredericksburg. Like Harriet Wilson, Peter Steele fled Fairfax County to avoid being taken south, but he found himself imprisoned on the whim of his enslaver. Still, others’ experiences spoke to freedom’s limitations, even for those who had attained it. James Johnson and James

Henry Wilson had been born free in Pennsylvania and Maryland, respectively, and had come to Washington in the employ of Union soldiers. Once there, however, the jaws of a legal system designed to restrain African Americans’ mobility clamped shut around them. Johnson was taken while roaming the city in search of peaches, Wilson, while transiting the city streets. Because neither could provide positive proof of their freedom, District authorities felt few compunctions about confining them indefinitely. The Washington jail and its Alexandria counterpart thus demonstrated enslavers’ and their abettors’ efforts to restrict black movement, curtailing the very dawn of freedom.

Henry Wilson and the newspapermen accompanying him promised to pursue the liberty of those incarcerated in the jail—or at least to secure speedy trials for those accused of crimes. To this, the *Inquirer’s* correspondent noted, a group of women responded, “God Almighty thank you sir!” But while the senator and the journalists held significant levers of power in their hands, their ability to use them depended equally on the lived experiences of the men and women in the Blue Jug. They needed “to enlarge

on the sufferings of blacks,” as the *Inquirer* put it, to highlight the sufferings of those who “in nearly all cases . . . have been innocent victims of oppression.” In pursuing freedom, in sharing their experiences of what that pursuit had cost them physically and

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 9, 1861.

MR. ARTHUR LUMLEY, Frank Leslie's Artist—
 SIR: The undersigned have visited the jail in Washington City, and have seen the large number of negroes confined in the cells. We found the inmates in the midst of vermin, closely crowded together, and some of them almost naked, having been incarcerated for over half a year, as we were informed by the keeper of the jail, and for no crime whatever, but simply because no one has appeared to claim them as owner.

We have examined the sketches you have made of these unfortunates, and, at your request, willingly testify to the fidelity of the likenesses, and the truthful portrayal of their miserable condition. The sketch of the jail in the distance is accurate, and the surroundings of your design are drawn from life and strikingly recognizable. The physical condition of the inmates of the jail is painful to contemplate, but the fact that they are suffering the horrors of such imprisonment for no offence against God or man, but simply because they are friendless, is a dishonor to the nation under the shadow of whose capitol the wrong has been perpetrated.

We cannot doubt that your sketches, if successfully transferred to print, will do much to abate this nuisance, and in such relief we heartily congratulate you.

Respectfully yours,
 HENRY WILSON,
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 A. S. MITCHELL,
 Washington Correspondent of N. Y. Times.
 W. H. PAINTER,
 Washington Correspondent Philadelphia Inquirer.
 GEO. C. BOWER, JR.,
 Washington Correspondent N. Y. Tribune.
 E. J. ALLEN,
 Office of the Provost-Marshal.
 C. C. COFFIN,
 Washington Correspondent Boston Journal.

Letter Published in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper

emotionally with the national press, and through their very victimhood, men and women like Harriet Wilson struck a major blow against the survival of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Each person who fled enslavement for Union fortifications, gunboats, or picket lines forced soldiers, officers, and officials to make decisions about their presence and their legal and moral statuses. The *continued on page 36*

IN THE SHADOW OF THE CAPITOL: STORIES OF SLAVERY, FREEDOM, AND THE LAW IN WARTIME WASHINGTON

continued from page 35 efforts of Harriet Wilson and her incarcerated comrades, however, had special resonance. Under Congress's very nose, they illustrated the contradictions of the conflict and implicated the national government in the maintenance of slavery in a space where it possessed particular authority. These formerly enslaved men and women highlighted the irreconcilable realities of selectively preserving slavery while seeking to crush a rebellion that had human bondage as its impetus. Harriet Wilson's sufferings gave Henry Wilson powerful evidence with which to compel Congress to act, ultimately pushing the legislature toward the emancipation of those held in



Emancipation Celebration in Washington, D.C., in 1866

bondage in Washington, which Lincoln signed into law on April 16, 1862. What these men and women thought when freedom finally came is lost to us, but in winning that result, they deserved thanks equal to that which they offered Wilson and the newspapermen who told their stories.⁸

(Robert Colby is a postdoctoral fellow in American Studies at Christopher Newport University and is the winner of the Allan Nevins Prize for the best-written doctoral dissertation in American history, as well as the Anne J. Bailey Dissertation Prize and the Anthony E. Kaye Memorial Essay Award, both given by the Society of Civil War Historians. Mazie Clark is a history major at Christopher Newport University.)

¹ "The War Against Rebellion!" *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 9, 1861 (unless otherwise noted, all subsequent descriptions of the jailed slaves come from this source or from "From Washington," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 24, 1861).

² Allen C. Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 82-90; Kenneth Winkle, *Lincoln's Citadel: The Civil War in Washington, D.C.* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013), 240-249; Kate Masur, *An Example for All the Land: Emancipation and the Struggle Over Equality in Washington, D.C.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 23-25; Harold Holzer, *Lincoln and the Power of the Press: The War for Public Opinion* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014), 389.

³ John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 97-123, 149-181; Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 105-136; Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 222-228.

⁴ Ira Berlin, et al., *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 20-30; Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 22-31; James Oakes, *Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861-1865* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013), 189-190.

⁵ Barbara Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 107-109; "\$40 Reward," *Washington Evening Star*, September 23, 1861.

⁶ It is possible that Mattiner is the runaway mentioned named as "Benj. Mattingly" in an August newspaper report. "Supposed Runaways," *Washington Evening Star*, August 22, 1861.

⁷ The *Inquirer's* correspondent may have confused Charles with Madison Booth, another man who fled from a Maryland slaveholder named Gardiner. "\$70 Reward," *Washington Evening Star*, February 10, 1862.

⁸ Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, 84-86; Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 24-25.

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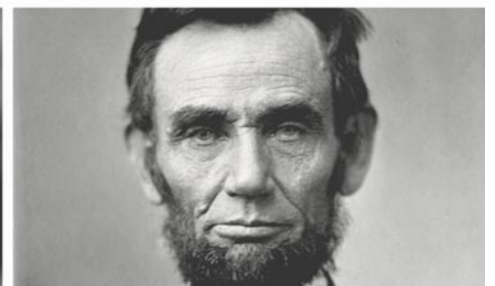
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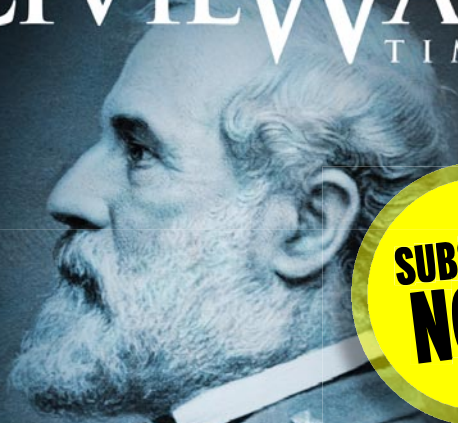
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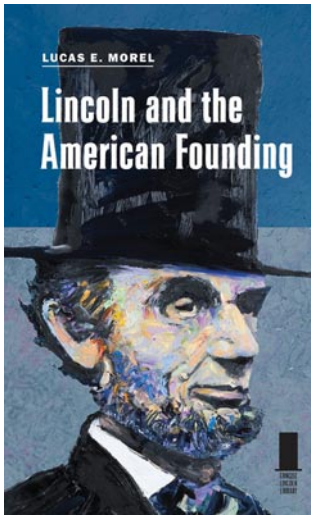
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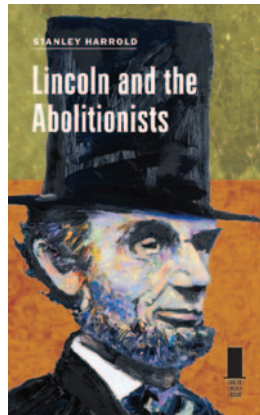
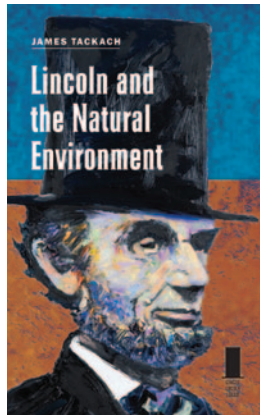
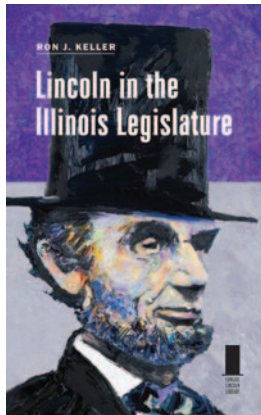


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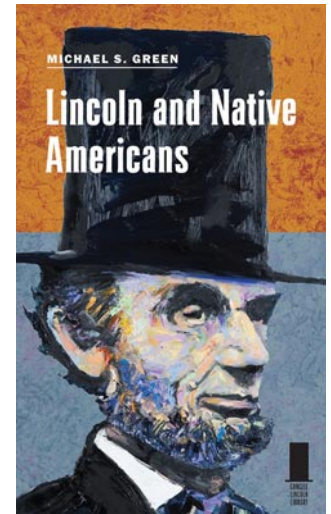
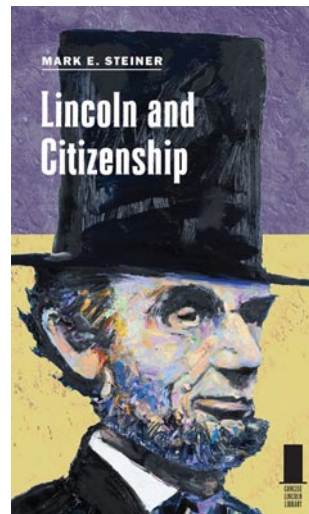
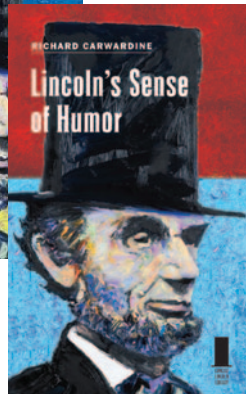
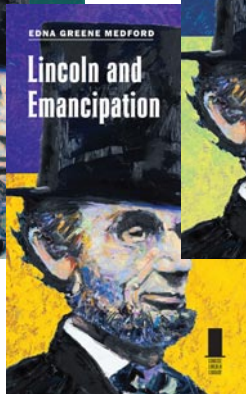
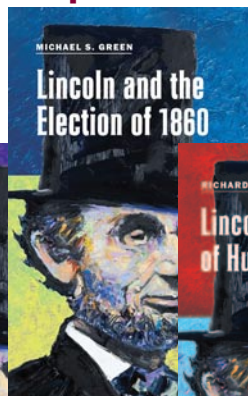
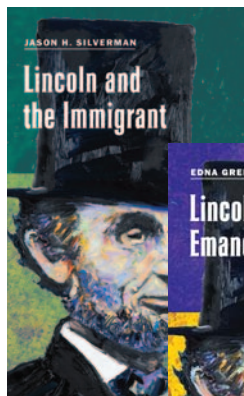
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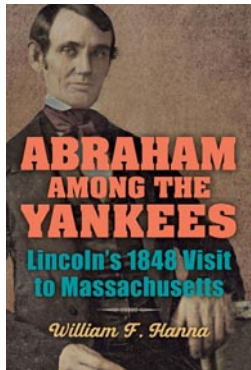


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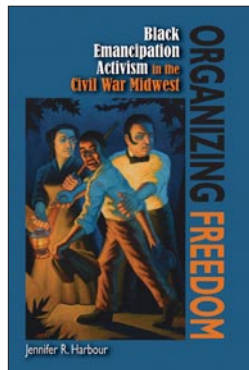
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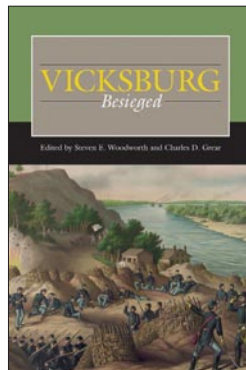
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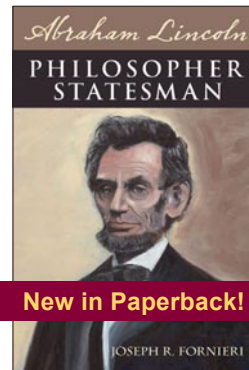
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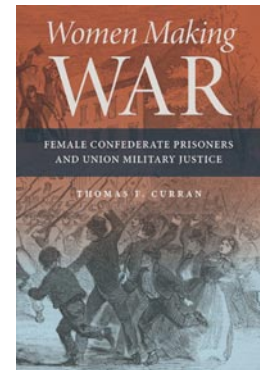
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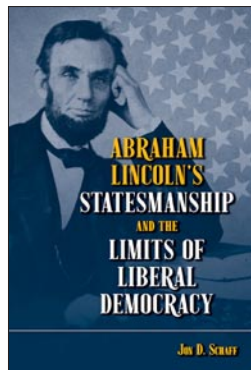
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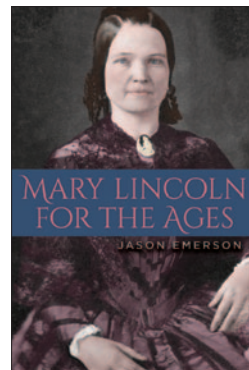
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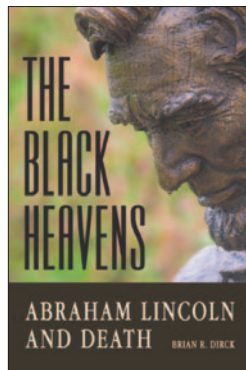
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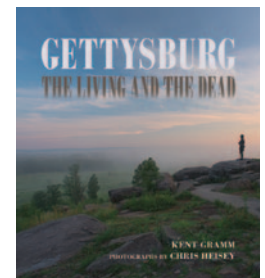
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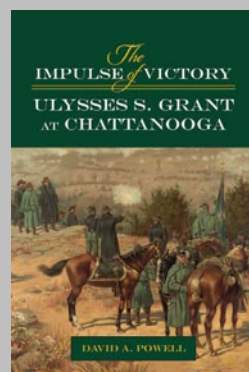
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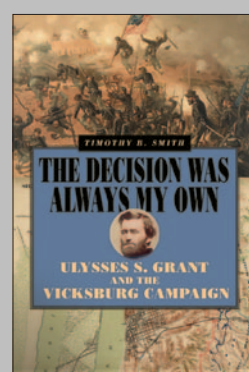
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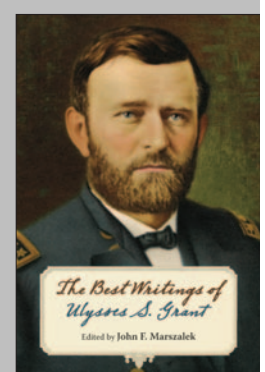
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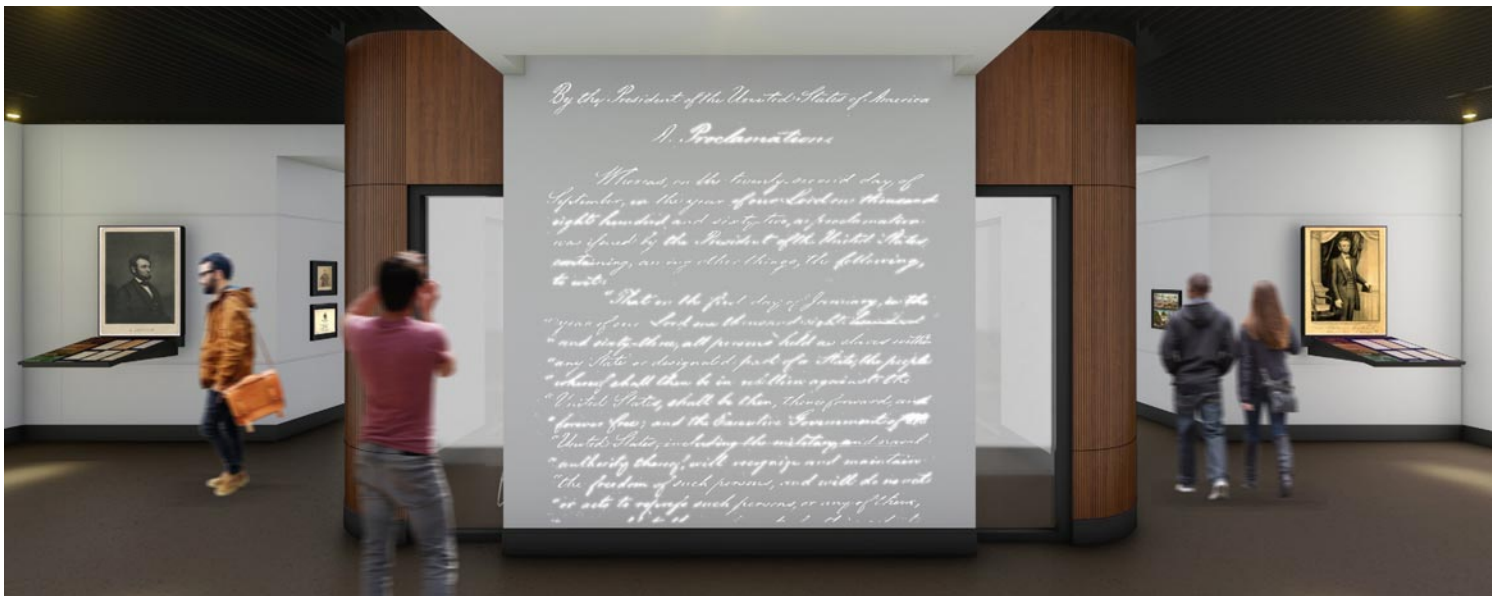
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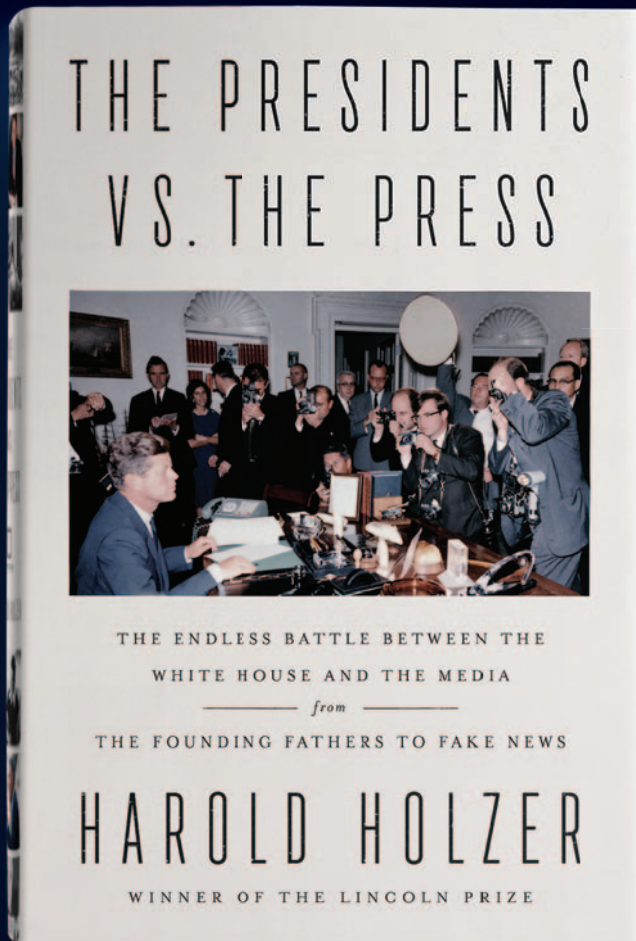


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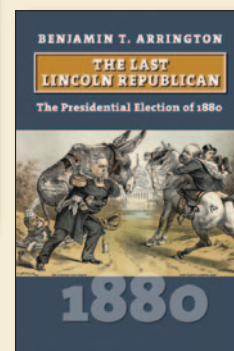
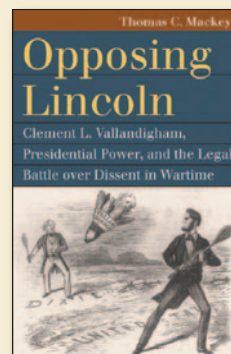
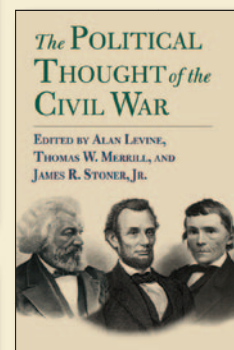
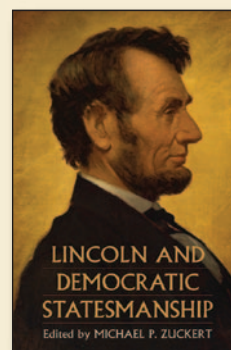
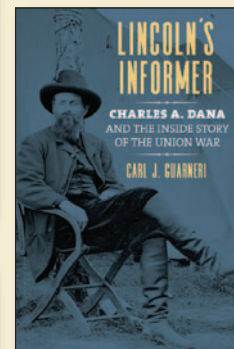
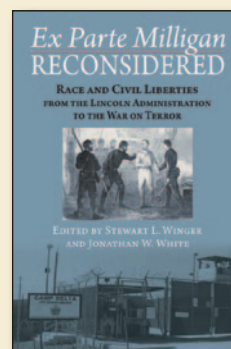
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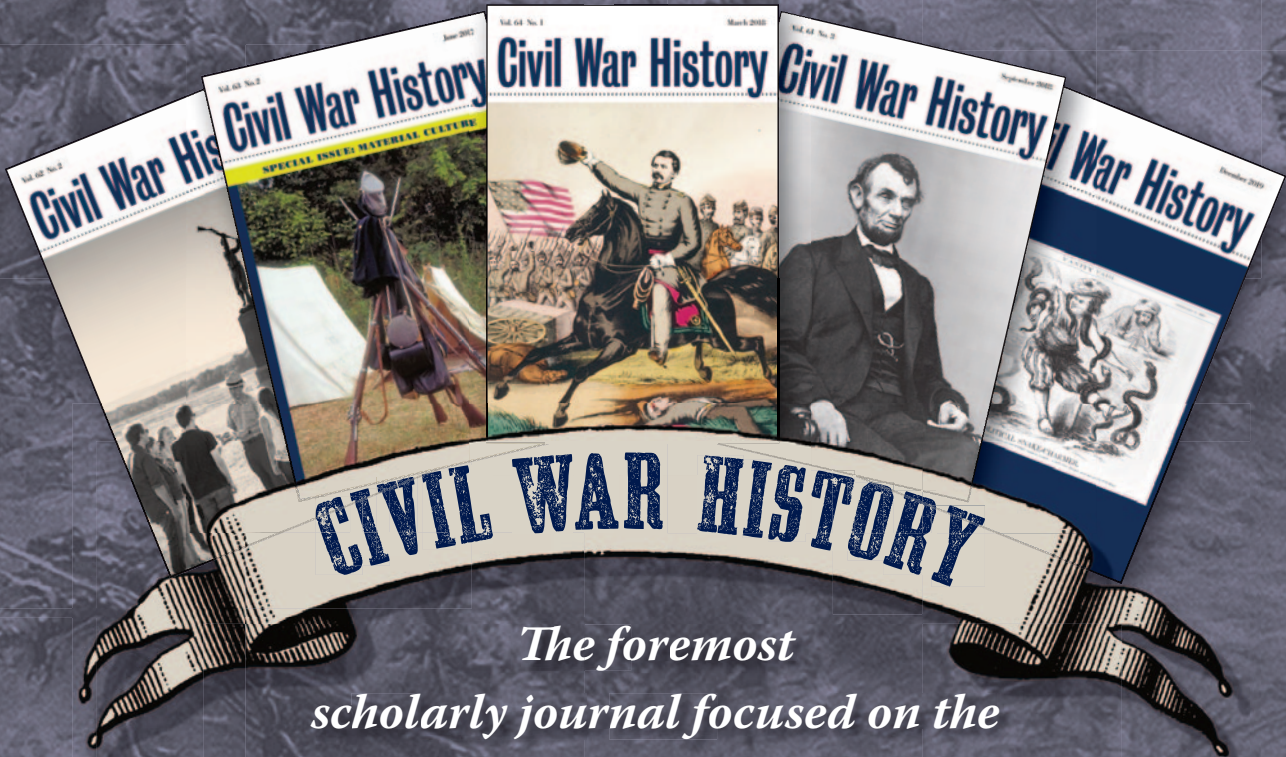
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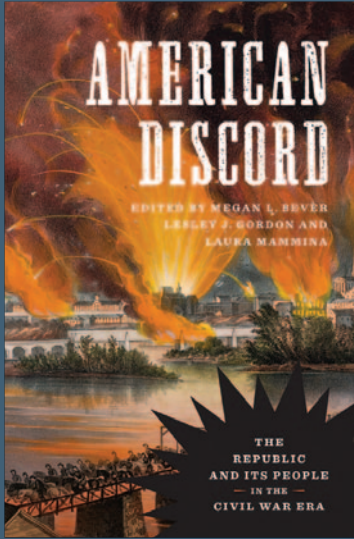
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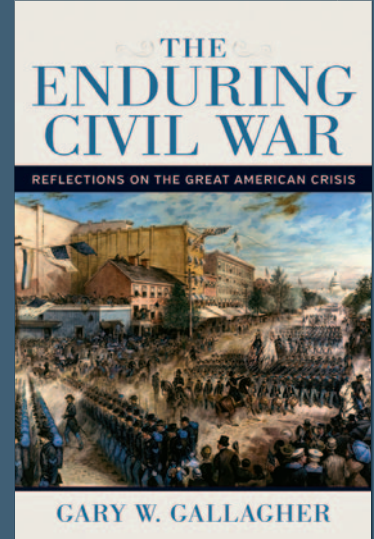
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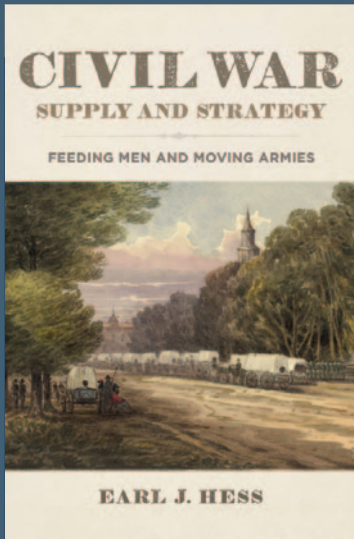
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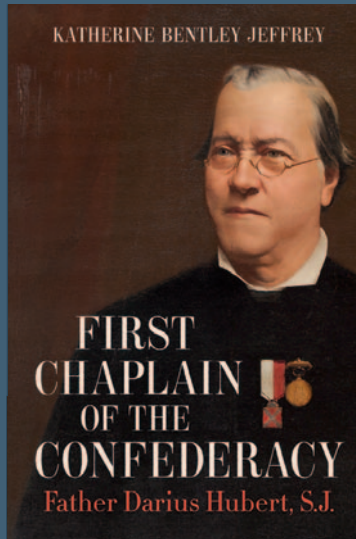
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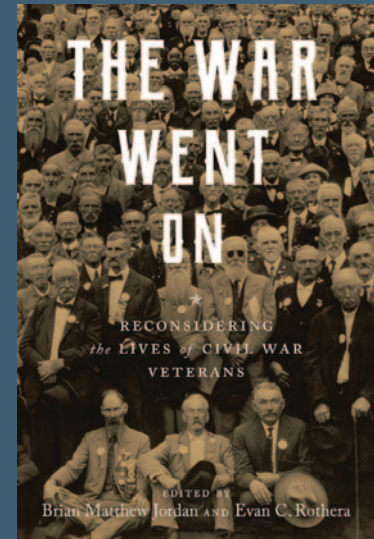
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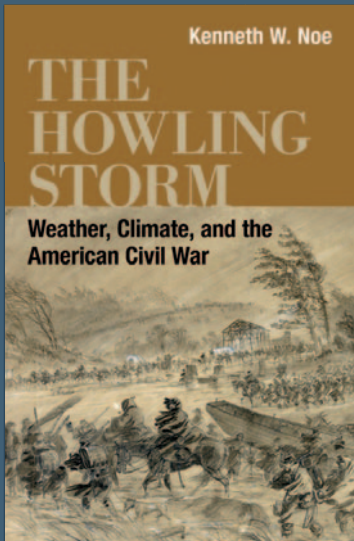
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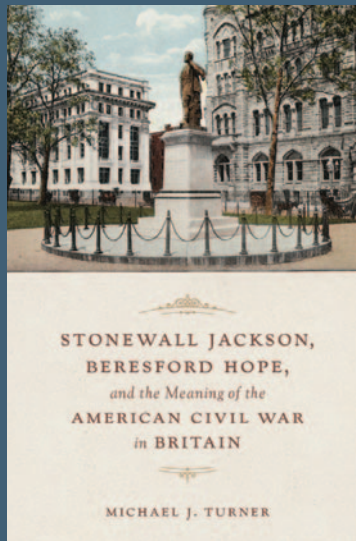
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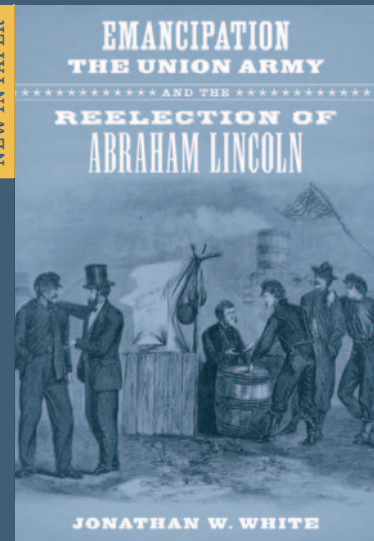
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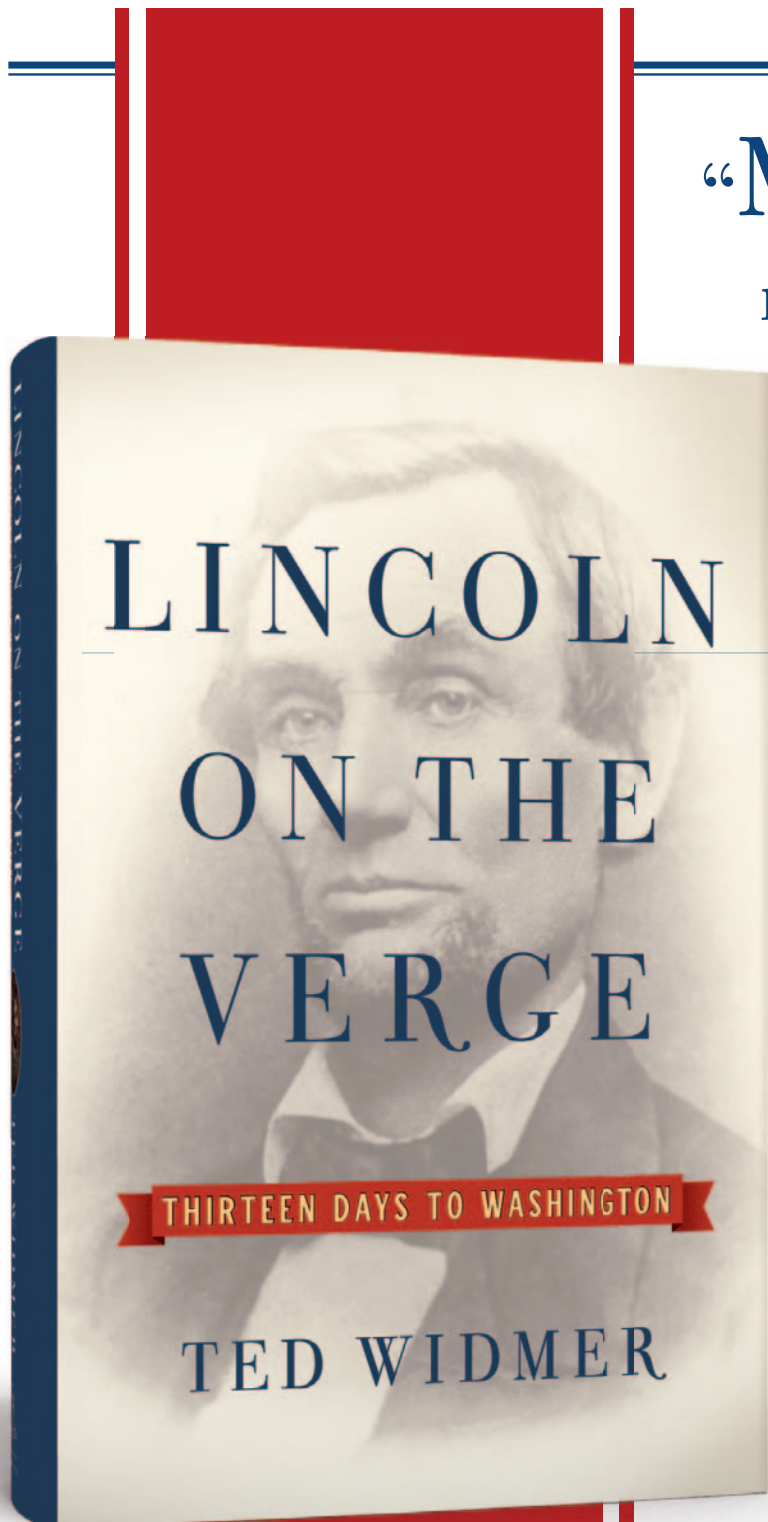


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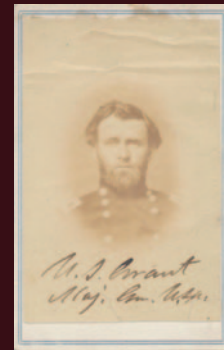
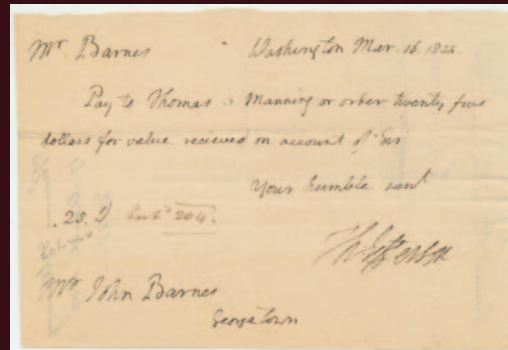
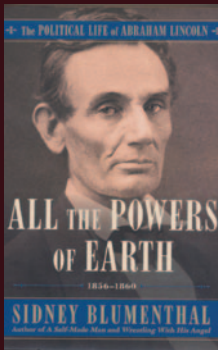
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