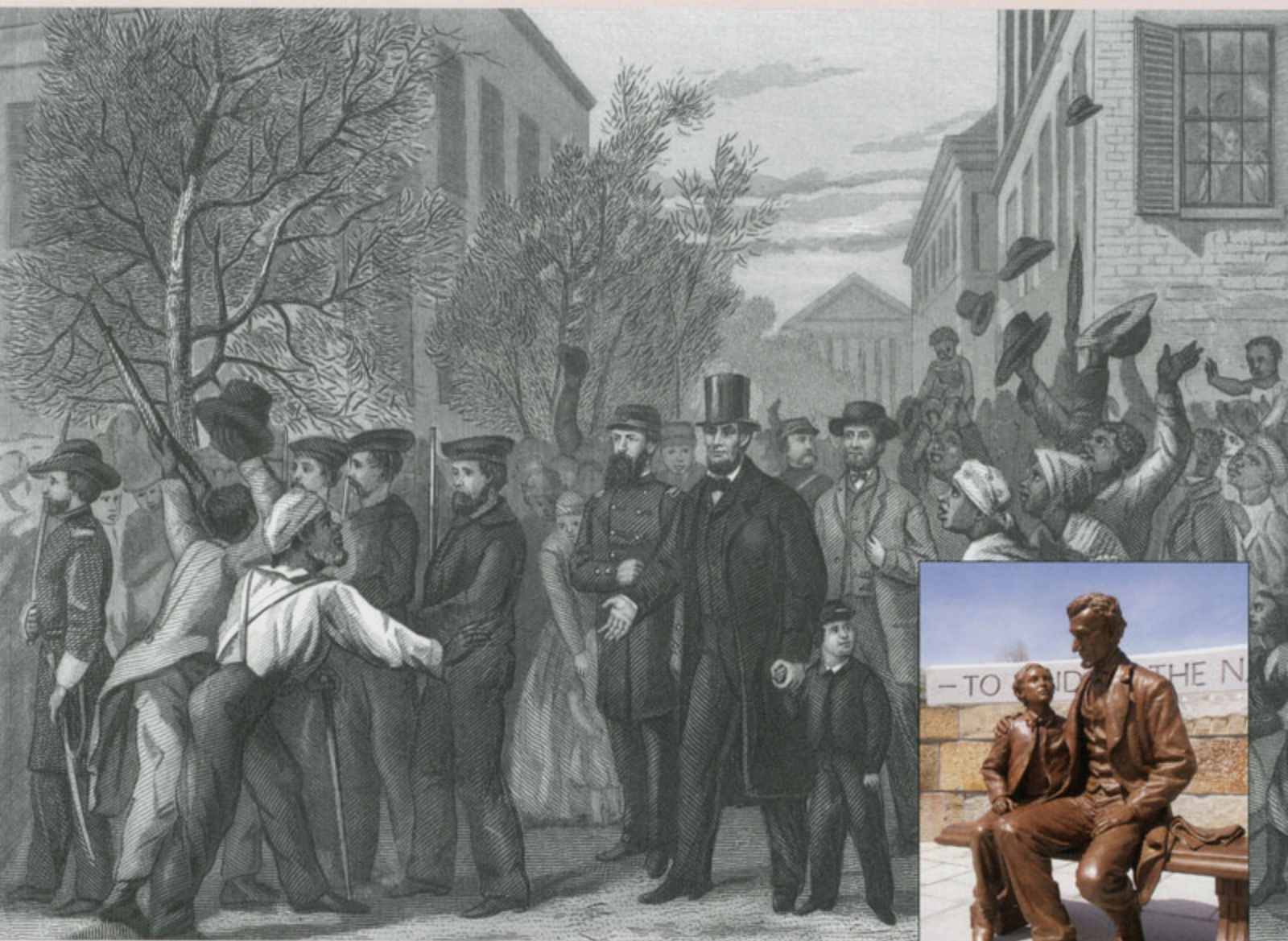


Lincoln Lore

The Bulletin of THE LINCOLN MUSEUM



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Table of Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| His Brother's Blood Reviewed by Myron A. Marty | 2 |
| American Brutus: John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Conspiracies Reviewed by Sarah Joan Ankeney | 4 |
| His Truth Is Marching On: God and the Union By Sara Gabbard | 6 |
| America's Lincoln Heritage in Virginia: One Man's Efforts to Enshrine that History By Joseph E. Garrera | 9 |
| 1860 Presidential Campaign Flags from The Lincoln Museum Collection | 14 |
| Member Recognition | 15 |
| Museum News President Abraham Lincoln and son Tad | 16 |

Lincoln Lore

is the quarterly bulletin of
THE LINCOLN MUSEUM

The mission of The Lincoln Museum
is to interpret and preserve the history and
legacy of Abraham Lincoln through research,
conservation, exhibitry, and education.

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His Brother's Blood: Speeches and Writings, 1838–1864 / Owen Lovejoy

Edited by William F. Moore and Jane Anne Moore; foreword by Paul Simon
University of Illinois Press, 2004; 432 pages

Reviewed by Myron A. Marty, History Professor Emeritus, Drake University.

When Elijah Lovejoy, publisher of an abolitionist newspaper in Alton, Illinois, was murdered by a mob in November 1837, one of his brother Owen's first actions was to compile a *Memoir of Elijah*, allowing the martyr to tell his story through his own writings. Written in collaboration with another brother, Joseph, and published in 1838 by the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York, the *Memoir* energized the abolitionist movement. Owen, honoring his vow to "never forsake the cause for which his brother's blood was spilled," as William and Jane Moore express it, became one of its most passionate spokesmen. His sermons in the Congregationalist church he served in Princeton, Illinois, reflected his political passions, just as his religious commitments always infused his political speeches and actions.

Does that make Owen Lovejoy an essential figure in antislavery causes? Did he make his mark in these causes as a friend and ally of Abraham Lincoln? And do his fervent, relentless labors in opposition to slavery — from 1837 until his untimely death in 1864 — justify the publication of more than 400 pages of his speeches and writings, as well as writings about him?

Granted, Stephen A. Douglas, in his 1858 debates with Lincoln referred to Lovejoy as a "high priest of abolitionism," but Robert A. Johannsen gives him only two passing mentions in his exhaustively detailed biography of Douglas. Lovejoy may have played major roles in the creation of the Republican Party in Illinois and nationally, but he was only one of many creators. His accomplishments as a legislator in Illinois and in the United States Congress were limited, partly because if the issues at hand could not in some way be tied to the abolition of slavery his work was unremarkable.

All this may lead one to ask why William and Jane Anne Moore devoted years to discovering, authenticating, organizing, annotating, and explaining documents by and about Owen Lovejoy. A more immediate question for prospective readers is whether *His Brother's Blood* is worth reading. Here the editors are helpful. "You can enjoy this book," they write, "in a variety of ways."

Read it as a dramatic story about the ending of slavery in America told through the primary documents of its eminent leaders. Study it as a textbook to deepen your background in history, political science, religion, literature, rhetoric, and psychology. Or mine it for quotes (sic) to illuminate your own thinking, writing, and speaking."

They offer further help by identifying six specific areas of interest in the book:

(1) *Abraham Lincoln and his times; (2) the development of the antislavery movement, especially in the Northwest; (3) the strategies and tactics of political organizations; (4) the interaction of religion and politics in public life; (5) the uses of the Bible and literature in nineteenth-century oratory and homiletics; and (6) the examination of the life of a fascinating human being.*

On the Cover: Lincoln and Tad in Richmond 1865, J.C. Buttre engraver from a drawing by L. Hollis, 1866 (TLM #4337) and today (U.S. Historical Society).



"Owen Lovejoy, Harper's Weekly: April 16, 1864." TLM #4602

Few readers will find *His Brother's Blood* a page-turner, to be read from cover to cover. But those who work their way through it will find considerable enjoyment in at least one of the three ways the editors suggest, and more than one of the areas of interest they identify will yield enlightening experiences.

Rather than deciding at the outset how I would approach *His Brother's Blood*, or which area of interest I was likely to find most compelling, I decided to let the text make the choices for me. Before long I discovered that mining it for quotations did indeed illuminate my thinking, and I was most drawn to those portions revealing the breadth and depth of Owen Lovejoy's grasp of the Bible, classical literature, and political documents, as well as his understanding of connections between religion, literature, and politics.

Lovejoy's sermons, speeches, reports on his speeches by others, and remarks in legislative debates recorded in this book, and even his prayers, include quotations illustrating his knowledge and understandings. One would expect to find Biblical references and allusions in the words of this New England-bred minister, but it is surprising to discover how adroitly he uses Shakespearean insights as he quotes from *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *King Lear*, *The Tempest*, and other works. Lines from Alexander Pope, Robert Burns, William Cullen Bryant, Lord Byron, John Milton, and other notable literary figures are also at home in Lovejoy's writings and speeches.

It is tempting to "re-quote" here the lines Lovejoy used so effectively, but that would usurp space required to recognize his own powerful oratory. The documents chosen by the editors contain many rhetorical gems from Lovejoy's twenty-five-year career. In

Lovejoy's "Open Letter to the Citizens of Alton, Illinois", for example, written as the conclusion to the *Memoir*, he remarks that in Alton, "freedom of speech found its first martyr — that [Alton] did all, that in her immaturity and feebleness she could do, to bury freedom of the press, and with it, the American Constitution, in a bloody grave."

In an 1842 sermon on religion and politics, preached in the Hampshire Colony Congregational Church in Princeton where he began to serve in 1839, Lovejoy said, "Abolitionists are charged with being enemies of their country. But it is not so. 'Cowper said, 'England, with all its faults, I love thee still.'" So, Lovejoy continued, "I can say of my own land and I love it nonetheless, because I would remove an element [i.e., slavery], which, if allowed to remain, will work out its ruin, as surely as there is a God of justice on the throne."

As a participant in the mid-century evolution of political parties, Lovejoy enhanced his reputation for eloquence. An observer at a nominating convention in 1856 wrote that when Lovejoy arose to speak, those who knew him only by what his enemies said of him "expected to see the veritable 'Raw Head and Bloody Bones' of the Abolition Ogre," but they learned what others knew, that is, "that his ability to move men by his *oratory*, has not been excelled in the case of any man of his century." On any topic related to African slavery, he was a "blazing meteor upon the platform" and "[h]is eloquence in argument and denunciation scorched and burned to the quick."

Further examples could be drawn from Lovejoy's speeches in the Illinois state legislature, to which he, along with Abraham Lincoln, was elected in 1854, and from his years of service in the United States Congress from 1857 until his death in 1864. There, as exchanges with antagonists included here show, he proved to be a sharp-tongued and quick-witted debater.

But rather than citing them, let us take note of Lovejoy's relations with Lincoln by recalling how Lincoln eulogized him in 1864: "My personal acquaintance with him commenced only about ten years ago, since when it has been quite intimate, and every step in it has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending, with his life, in no less than affection on my part. . . . Throughout my heavy, and perplexing responsibilities here, to the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say, he was my most generous friend."

His Brother's Blood is an extraordinary accomplishment, its only serious deficiency being an inadequate index. Scholars of the Lincoln era owe a debt of gratitude to William and Jane Ann Moore, ordained ministers in the United Church of Christ and co-directors of the Lovejoy Society, for making Lovejoy's writings so readily accessible.

American Brutus: John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Conspiracies

By Michael W. Kauffman
Random House, New York, 2004
Reviewed by Sarah Joan Ankeney

American Brutus is a highly detailed account of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. The background of John Wilkes Booth, his plans to kidnap Lincoln, the assassination, and its aftermath are described with the thoroughness of a dedicated researcher. With intensity the author says, "On some nights [the moon] is enormous; it gives me chills to think that this same moon lighted the way for Lincoln's killer as he passed this spot [the Navy Yard Bridge] in his first hour on the run." In this intensity there is the desire for truth. We want to trust what is being called Kauffman's controversial material.

After an account of the assassination, Kauffman turns to Booth's background, to his childhood in Hartford County, Maryland, and to Booth's father, Junius, an actor who would own no slaves. "Critics called him the 'mad tragedian' and delighted in telling stories of his eccentric behavior." Junius taught his children not to kill — not even a fly. This was a lesson that was considered part of a "mad humanity." Once he purchased a house and rolled it onto his property on logs. On the stage, he would "snap out of a part...just to return a taunt from the audience."

John Wilkes was sent to Milton Academy, a college preparatory school that had a Quaker headmaster. The school was "an island of serenity in a turbulent world." Booth was then enrolled in St. Timothy's Hall, a military academy that stressed order to an unusual degree.

None of Booth's early experiences point toward a future murderer, although, according to Kauffman, Booth from childhood had craved fame and glory. Booth was cheerful and agreeable in his early years and had a "sunny self-assurance."

Kauffman does not give a satisfactory explanation for the carefully planned violence that was to come. Perhaps nobody can do that. Did Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation threaten Booth's need for order? Kauffman says, "the nation came closer to collapse than most people realize today." How might this have affected a man trained to an unusually high degree to respect discipline? On the other hand, the family claimed a relationship to John Wilkes, "the agitator," "whose story is one of unflinching hostility to the power of government." Perhaps the "sunny" lad was merely living up to the reputation of his famous relative.

Kauffman goes on to explore Booth's early theatrical successes, disagreeing with the popular notion that the assassination was Booth's reaction to his lack of popularity with Northern audiences. "Houses were full and critics gushed." "Booth seemed not to play a part, but to become it." (Abraham Lincoln attended seven of Booth's performances, several times with his secretary of state, William Seward.)

Booth wanted to be a "southern actor." "Republicans were hated in the Old Line State." But Booth followed the "standard path" for rising young actors. He did not lack training, and he cultivated his voice, a fact denied "by most historians." His mistakes, such as forgotten lines, did not influence Northern audiences against him, and he remained extremely popular.

At the time of John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, Booth began to lose interest in acting and took more interest in the politics of a dividing nation.

The concept of Lincoln as a Caesar was being formulated in the press, and to make a Brutus of Booth, Kauffman has to utilize this image: "Lincoln, to [the Democrats], was Caesar in need of a Brutus. Indeed, the parallels were often noted." "... when the fighting stopped, the tyranny did not." Kauffman makes Lincoln appear to be "an issue unto himself, quite apart from slavery or union." A word or two is needed to separate Kauffman's view of Lincoln from that of the Democrats and John Wilkes Booth. Kauffman identifies with Booth to the extent of confusing us as to his own feelings. "In the middle stood Abraham Lincoln, blamed for the war and fired upon by all sides." This one-sided view of Lincoln, who was also the most popular of presidents, sets the stage for the egomaniacal actor, Booth, to plan and execute his dark deed.

Booth's first idea was to kidnap Lincoln as he rode alone to the Soldiers' Home at night. This proved unworkable, so Booth decided to accost Lincoln in Ford's Theatre. This idea, too, was met with the disapproval of the co-conspirators as unworkable. Finally, Booth decided to murder Lincoln, a bagatelle! The South was losing the war, and it would have been useless to hold Lincoln for ransom. Indeed, his plan to assassinate Lincoln seems to have been for no other reason than revenge.

The fact that he did not inform all his motley crew of conspirators of his new plan to kill Lincoln shows the extent of his deviousness. In the shock of the assassination of Lincoln, historians may have overlooked some of Booth's sordid personality traits. His capacity to murder (by shooting a man in the back of the head) was supported by many other grim capabilities. Lying and deceiving, tricking the gullible men he had trapped in his web, were as easily come by to Booth as if he had been deceiving and plotting all his life. He showed a degree of paranoia in the traps he set for his men. In case they might expose him, Booth made sure that their complicity had already been noted. One of the most clever of his moves was making sure that the men were witnessed in the purchase or rental of a horse in his name.

Besides adding detail to the assassination story, Kauffman makes some interesting changes, controversial to experts. Booth did not

limp across the stage; he strode. He did not use Mary Surratt's boarding house as his main meeting place. He used locations such as public stables.

Booth never regretted the assassination. He had become violently pro-Confederate, and the tension was "palpable" between him and his brother, Edwin, "who gloated over the North's success." He brought grief to his mother, who was distressed by his hostility. "Mary Ann was resigned to an unhappy future. She knew John Wilkes would throw himself, heart and soul, into a last-ditch effort to save the Confederacy."

"Tell my mother I die for my country." Booth managed to say after being mortally wounded by Boston Corbett. It is difficult for some to feel that his professed feelings for this mother were sincere.

Kauffman's analysis of Booth never quite satisfies, as fascinating as it is. "[Booth's] role models were the heroes and martyrs of history . . . they were giants, immortalized by the teachings of the elder Booth. With all the odds against them, they had fought to the death in a last-ditch effort to stave off tyranny."

As remarkable as is the above parallel, it does not explain why this one man, Booth, chose to murder Abraham Lincoln. Indeed, Kauffman does not dwell on motivation, using his investigative powers to sleuth out every detail of Booth's regrettable activity. Kauffman lived in Booth's house and "re-created key parts of [the] escape." Did Kauffman feel a "chill" when he crossed the bridge in the moonlight, or was it a thrill! Sometimes it is hard to tell.

He brings to the fore the sense of terror of the American public as word of the assassination rapidly spread. The death of Lincoln, the brutal attack on Secretary of State Seward, and the implication that Vice President Johnson was involved (another of Booth's pre-meditated tricks) plunged the nation not only into grief but also into chaos and confusion. It was hard to believe that the source of all this grief and Pandemonium lay in the dark soul of one man. (Besides the all-too-well-known Surratt, Powell, Herald, Atzerodt, and O'Laughlen, there were a large number of obscure fools who were caught in Booth's web.)

One last puzzling question: If Booth took so much trouble to implicate others, why did he reveal his own identity on the stage after shooting Lincoln?

As grim as it is, *American Brutus* is a book that needs to have been written. And we have Kauffman to thank for putting himself in Booth's shoes to walk across the Navy Yard Bridge in moonlight.



"The Murderer's Doom. Miserable Death of J. Wilkes Booth, The Assassin of President Lincoln" TLM #1692

His Truth Is Marching On: God and the Union

By Sara Gabbard, Editor

[Editor's note. The first article in this series, "For the Bible Tells Me So: The Use of Scripture To Justify Slavery" appeared in Lincoln Lore #1879. This second article demonstrates the use of religious writing and symbolism by Union supporters.]

Ranking with "Onward Christian Soldiers" as a rallying cry for the Church Militant, Julia Ward Howe's magnificent "Battle Hymn of the Republic" is a primary example of what was considered to be proof that God favored the Northern cause during the Civil War. The hymn is laden with words that would immediately provoke reactions from a mid 19th Century audience. The word "wrath", for instance, is mentioned 261 times in the King James Version of the Bible, while "sword" can be found in 485 references. The vision of God "trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored" and using His "terrible swift sword" would resonate then, as it still does today. In fact, to Howe's 19th Century New England audience, these sentiments might evoke memories of Puritan thought and belief, as expressed in such monumental sermons as "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" by Jonathan Edwards.

Howe brings comfort to the lonely sentinels as they man the "watch-fires of a hundred circling camps", and she compares each soldier's mission to that of Christ, a "Hero, born of woman" who will ultimately "crush the serpent with his heel". The thought of Confederates as serpents brings to mind Genesis and the serpent in the Garden of Eden.

Comparing Christ's sacrifice ("As He died to make men holy") to the sacrifices of Northern soldiers ("Let us die to make men free") most certainly elevates the Union cause to the highest point of glory "While God is marching on". The enduring popularity of Battle Hymn perhaps illustrates the need to believe that one's personal crusade is in accordance with God's will. (An interesting note to this particular section of the music is that some renditions change the wording to feature "Let us **live** to make men free", bringing to mind, perhaps, a philosophical question about the courage required not only to die for a cause but also to live for one.)

Abraham Lincoln's use of Biblical imagery is well known, as is his reluctance to claim God's support for the Union cause. His Meditation on the Divine Will (early September 1862) is an excellent example of his belief that God was involved in the War.

*"The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both **may** be, and one **must** be wrong. God can not be **for** and **against** the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party – and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect His purpose. I am almost ready to say this is probably true – that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By his mere quiet power, on the minds of the now contestants, He could have either **saved** or **destroyed** the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And having begun He could give the final victory to*



Julia Ward Howe, c1902, Library of Congress USZ62-99602.

either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds." (Collected Works V, page 403-404)

We see in this Meditation both a precursor of the Second Inaugural and a kind of fatalism which dictates that man is unable to comprehend God's plan for the nation. The belief that "God wills this contest" is more fully developed on March 4, 1865, with the statement that "He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence [i.e. slavery] came". And even though "Fondly do we hope – fervently do we pray – that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away", there is no guarantee that the plan of God and the hopes of men are one and the same.

Unlike Lincoln, radical abolitionists expressed no doubt that God was on **their** side, and theirs alone. God favored and supported their cause, which gave credence to the belief that a "higher law" revealed a calling to ignore civil law, sometimes even including the Constitution. When they claimed scriptural authentication, they argued against Southern interpretation. "To the argument rooted in the Biblical injunction that 'the powers that be are ordained of God,' abolitionists replied with the Pauline injunction to 'wrestle against principalities, against powers...against spiritual wickedness in high places.'" (Mayer, page 413)

Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law provided a grand opportunity for abolitionist rhetoric and demonstration. The 1851 return of escaped slave Thomas Sims to the whipping post in Savannah caused Frederick Douglass to proclaim, "Let the Heavens weep and Hell be merry. Daniel Webster has at last obtained from Boston... a living sacrifice to appease the slave god of the American Union." (Mayer page 412) Theodore Parker "shocked his audiences with the observation that the only apostle who had obeyed the Pharisees' command to reveal the fugitive Jesus to the marshals



"A Communion Gathering in The Olden Time" *Presbyterian Reunion: A Memorial Volume* TLM #3482

of Jerusalem was Judas Iscariot, whose thirty pieces of silver were equivalent to the ten Yankee dollars the Boston commissioner had received for performing his 'constitutional obligation' to remand Sims." (Mayer, page 413)

Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison recalled that he had shared the "ordinary prejudices" when growing up in Massachusetts. An admonition from his mother changed his mind (and his life). A black woman named Henny had cared for his mother who later stated, "Although a slave to man, [she is] yet a free-born soul by the grace of God." (Mayer, page 68) A pamphlet, *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable*, written by Rev. George Bourne in 1816 helped to define Garrison's feelings, especially as "the pamphlet boldly declared that every slaveholder who considered himself a Christian or a Republican was 'either an incurable Idiot who cannot distinguish good from evil, or an obdurate sinner who resolutely defies every social, moral, and divine requisition.'" (Mayer, page 69)

Garrison was ecstatic when Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. At the end of this document, Lincoln allowed himself a brief, formal reference to, per-

haps, a higher law, "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, **I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.**" Headlines of *The Liberator* read:

The Proclamation

Three Millions of Slaves Set Free

Glory Hallelujah!

"In the years to come, the editor would pronounce this day the 'turning point' that fixed slavery's destiny. 'The stars in their courses fought against Sisera,' he would say, likening the Confederacy's doom to the fall of an ancient oppressor of the Hebrews (Judges 5:20)." (Mayer, page 547)

Mark Noll expresses the consequences of the diffusion of religious interpretations in regard to issues facing mid 19th Century Americans. "Among the most important casualties of the Civil War was American theology as it had developed over the preceding two generations. More than anything else, the crisis that brought this theology down was the inability of

Reformed and literal biblical interpretation to handle the reality of black chattel slavery." (Noll, page 385)

There was sufficient controversy between acceptance of literal Biblical interpretation, which appeared to affirm the institution of slavery, and the belief that there may be implications in Scripture which appeal to a different interpretation of a more spiritual relationship, based upon a concept of equality for all people created by the same Divine Being. There is no doubt, however, that proslavery forces could use the *Bible* as a trump card. There was just so much "evidence". Perhaps this reality led abolitionists to go "higher" than Scripture and claim guidance directly from God. This dichotomy led some radicals to threaten to abandon the *Bible*. Noll (page 394) quotes Henry Ward Beecher:

"[I would] lift up my voice, with all my heart and soul, against any man who, professing to be ordained to preach, preaches out of Christ's Gospel the doctrines of human bondage. When the Bible is opened that all the fiends of hell may, as in a covered passage, walk through it to do mischief on the earth, I say blessed be the Infidels!...When a man takes the Bible and lays it in the path over which men are attempting to walk from Calvary up to the gates of heaven — I declare that I will do by the Bible what Christ did by the temple: I will take a whip of cords, and I will drive out of it every man that buys and sells men, women, and children; and if I cannot do that, I will let the Bible go, as God let the temple go, to the desolating armies of its adversaries."

William Lloyd Garrison is also used by Noll (page 387) to illustrate the decision of some abolitionists that it was sometimes necessary to choose between Scripture and the cause to which he was dedicated. "But to come to this conclusion, Garrison was forced to abandon the view of Scripture that was everywhere regnant in America. 'To say that everything contained within the lids of the Bible is divinely inspired, and to insist upon the dogma as fundamentally important, is to give utterance to a bold fiction, and to require the suspension of the reasoning faculties. To say that everything in the Bible is to be believed, simply because it is found in that volume, is equally absurd and pernicious.'"

One can only imagine the depth of soul-searching which must have taken place in the hearts and minds of abolitionists as they faced the reality of the apparent approval of slavery in Scripture and the belief that an attack on slavery could be considered to be an attack on the Bible. Perhaps it wasn't as traumatic for laymen such as Garrison, but the dichotomy between long-held reverence for Scripture and the current cause of the abolitionist must have led to painful decisions for some members of the clergy.

More moderate voices, however, attempted to formulate a middle ground by arguing that "the Biblical Hebrew and Greek for 'servant' and 'master' did not designate exactly the legal relationships found in the slave states, that the slavery sanction in the Old and New Testaments was a different sort of institution, or that the biblical sanction of slavery was localized in its effect (Canaanite and Roman) and therefore was not relevant to contemporary American society." (Noll, page 390)

Mark Noll (page 417) argues that it is impossible to separate beliefs about slavery from beliefs about race. "The main reason, however, that alternative hermeneutics failed on the question of slavery was the widespread commonsense consensus about race. Although the Bible and race was never the same question as the Bible and slavery, only African Americans perceived this reality clearly at the time. With white Americans it was virtually impossible to recognize that race and slavery were two distinct issues."

Some slaves equated their condition to the sojourn of the ancient Hebrews in Egyptian captivity, perhaps praying for a modern Moses to lead them out of bondage. "The Episcopal priest Absalom Jones illustrated in his thanksgiving sermon in 1808 a common mode of biblical interpretation in which blacks identified their experience with narratives of deliverance, especially the freeing of Israel from bondage in Egypt. His rendition of the Exodus story depicted a God who appeared 'in behalf of oppressed and distressed nations, as the deliverer of the innocent, and of those who call upon his name.' Black orators reiterated the themes of Acts and the Pauline epistles, especially Paul's assurance that God made all nations of 'one

blood' (Acts 17:26), and they highlighted the assertion of the Psalmist that princes of Ethiopia would stretch their hands once again unto God (Ps. 68:31)." (Holifield, page 314)

Black abolitionists, like Whites, also continued to refer to the Declaration of Independence and the statements about equality before the Creator. Reverend Daniel Payne said that "American slavery was sinful because it destroyed moral agency and so subverted 'the moral government of God.' Insofar as the black clergy employed the concepts of inalienable human rights, human equality, and republican liberty, their gospel of antislavery was as indebted to the enlightenment as it was to Paul and the book of Exodus." (Holifield, page 315)

Holifield again quotes Payne (page 315) "I began to question the existence of the Almighty, and to say, if indeed there is a God, does he deal justly? Is he a just God? Is he a holy Being? If so, why does he permit a handful of dying men thus to oppress us?" Preacher Nathaniel Paul asked God, "Why was it that thou didst look on with the calm indifference of an unconcerned spectator, when thy holy law was violated, thy divine authority despised and a portion of thine own creatures reduced to a state of mere vassalage and misery?" (Holifield, page 315)

African Americans reacted with skepticism to the argument that somehow God had allowed slaves to be captured so that they could eventually be converted. According to James W. C. Pennington, "God must have 'permitted' Africans to be enslaved 'with intention to bring good out of evil,' though he could not escape the haunting idea that God 'could have brought about that very good in some other way,' giving the gospel to Africans without making them slaves and enriching America 'without making its riches to consist in our blood, bones, and souls'". (Holifield, page 316)

Appeals to religious sentiments to condemn slavery were used abundantly by abolitionists, both Black and White. These arguments were just as heartfelt and passionate as those from Southerners, who argued in support of what they considered to be their birthright. However, Scripture was not quoted as extensively in the

North. Instead, supporters of the Union relied more heavily on a general depiction of God's displeasure with the "peculiar institution" of slavery. Abraham Lincoln's statement in his Second Inaugural that "Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God" is such an insightful comment on the manner in which humankind has continuously used religious justification to promote conflicting causes. The practice continues today throughout the world.

Suggested Reading/ Source Material

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America's Lincoln Heritage in Virginia: One Man's Efforts to Enshrine that History

By Joseph E. Garrera, President of The Lincoln Group of New York

Virginia's landscape is scarred with Civil War history and enshrined with hallowed ground. Virginians remember the mortal combat at First and Second Manassas and at Chancellorsville, where 60,000 Confederate soldiers from the Army of Northern Virginia defeated the 130,000 man Union Army of the Potomac in May 1863. They remember the dignified surrender of General Robert E. Lee at the now historic McLean House in Appomattox. These victories and defeats are enmeshed in Virginia, former seat of the Confederacy, home



Joseph E. Garrera

to more Civil War landmarks than any other state in the nation. So it should be no surprise that in 2003 when the Richmond-based U. S. Historical Society decided to place a life-size bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln and his young son Tad in the capital of the old Confederacy, it ignited a firestorm of protest and captured news headlines across the country. This article revisits the Richmond Lincoln statue controversy and the unprecedented efforts of one life-long Virginian to enshrine Abraham Lincoln's ancestral ties to the Shenandoah Valley and the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Northerners and Southerners alike were startled to read the Associated Press headlines in early 2003 that declared in part: *Great Emancipator regarded as bad guy in the South*. For Phillip Stone of Bridgewater, Virginia, America's sixteenth president is an old and trusted friend. "Of course, I was disappointed with the negative position taken by some," said Stone. What makes Stone so unique is that for twenty-nine years he has been presenting public lectures on Lincoln's life to the residents of Virginia. Stone's most noted contribution is a graveside ceremony held every February 12th on Abraham Lincoln's birthday at the old Lincoln family hillside cemetery located in the Shenandoah Valley, approximately six miles north of Harrisonburg on the east side of Route 42 in Rockingham County, Virginia. Buried in this small, primitive cemetery are Abraham Lincoln's great grandparents, Rebekah Flowers Lincoln and "Virginia John" Lincoln, who relocated to the Shenandoah Valley circa 1768. Other members of the Virginia Lincoln clan are also interred in the soil with perhaps two former slaves.

"I am impressed with role models," says Stone, "I'm impressed with people who are thoughtful, empathetic, and fair to others. Years ago I became interested in the biographies of Washington and Lincoln and to a lesser degree Jefferson," said the 62-year-old Virginian who has spent half of his entire life promoting the

importance of role models. For many Virginians, Stone himself is an important role model and civic leader who is now serving his thirteenth year as President of Virginia's Bridgewater College located in the heart of the historic Shenandoah Valley. Stone, previously a practicing attorney and former president of the state bar association, made a gradual progression to academia. His ties to the Lincoln clan are anchored in far more than admiration and respect for role models. He once owned a portion of the John Lincoln a/k/a "Virginia John" family homestead that is adjacent to the Lincoln ancestral cemetery. John, great-grandfather to the sixteenth president, is buried in the cemetery along with another Abraham Lincoln who is kin to the sixteenth president. Stone's father-in-law had purchased a portion of the old Lincoln homestead in the 1930s and then in the 1970s, Stone, who had acquired the land, sold it to his son who still resides there.

The Shenandoah Valley is rich with Lincoln lore. Not far from the Lincoln cemetery is the Linville Creek site where the president's father, Thomas Lincoln, was born circa 1778. In 1976, Stone along with two other local residents convened what has since become an annual ritual that has endured for twenty-nine consecutive years. "I really enjoyed that first cemetery ceremony back in 1976; it made me feel really good about what we did. I felt a special respect for heritage, history, family, and community that we were there for the man who had saved this nation. I felt that I was honoring heritage, and I certainly felt like I was honoring Abraham Lincoln," said Stone. Nearly three decades have passed from that meager ceremony. Braving unpredictable, adverse weather conditions, every February 12th Stone has trekked up a small hill to reclaim history with a graveside ceremony that honors America's 16th president and his Virginia ancestors buried in the shade of the tall tree that marks this local shrine.

Stone states, "The Virginia people with whom I interact see in Abraham Lincoln character, value, and integrity. They are not caught up in that lost cause myth like that of the former Confederate General Bedford Forest's approach, which is to punish or to be vindictive or disdainful of Abraham Lincoln. That was never a part of anything I have experienced. Of course, there has been some good-natured teasing. Yet in twenty-nine years of talking about Lincoln, I have never experienced any serious criticism. Some who regularly attend our annual cemetery pilgrimage celebrate the fact that they are sons of the Confederacy and there are others who regularly attend who are daughters of the Confederacy, and they still look forward to attending a ceremony that honors the legacy of President Lincoln and what he stood for."

On April 5, 2003, a headline appeared in *The Washington Times*; "Lincoln Statue Still Divides Richmond". The story went on to state, "Lincoln's return, however, has not been embraced in a city where traffic on a main thoroughfare navigates around towering statues of Confederate heroes and remnants of the Civil War are common-

place.” Indeed, *The Washington Times* article was only one of the ubiquitous news stories that reported smoldering opposition to the placement of a Lincoln statue in the former Confederate capital of Richmond. The September 2003 issue of *The Civil War News* reported that the National Park Service superintendent of the site where the statue was placed “received more than 1,000 e-mail messages objecting to the statue.”

The drama began to unfold at the foundry in Beacon, New York, in January 2003, when officials from the Richmond-based U. S. Historical Society unveiled to the public the life-size clay model that would be used to cast the bronze statue to be dedicated in Richmond on April 5, 2003. The dedication date was selected to commemorate the 140th anniversary of President Lincoln’s visit to Richmond with his young son Tad on April 4–5, 1865, only hours after the beleaguered capital had collapsed as the epicenter of Confederate authority. Elevating the symbolic importance of the statue was its placement at the Tredegar Iron Works, formerly a prominent manufacturer that operated day and night producing ammunition and Confederate artillery along with other war materials that the foundry supplied to Confederate forces during the war. As reports of the statue’s existence and its intended placement began to make headlines across the country, the controversy became divisive. For example, north of the Mason Dixon line, the Sunday, March 30, 2003, issue of the *New Jersey Sunday Herald* carried a nearly half-page Associated Press feature story with the title: “Battle of Richmond: Lincoln Statue Stirs Debate”. Just below the title headline was a bold quote from within the article: “Great Emancipator regarded as ‘bad guy’ in the South.” It was obvious that America’s 16th president was not as widely embraced in the South as he is in the North. A commander of the Virginia Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans asserted, “He [Lincoln] is

regarded in the South, and justly so, as a bad guy.” Many, including Phillip Stone, were shocked at the vitriolic dictum used to describe Lincoln’s role in American history.

When recalling the Confederacy, Stone proclaims, “What I find in Virginia is a tradition that is more like the Robert E. Lee tradition, which is let us celebrate the courage, the chivalry, the integrity, the sense of loyalty to state. But let us also understand that history has demonstrated that Virginia should not have broken away from the Union. We should not have sided with the state over the Union. And, even if we did not approve of it personally, we should not have defended slavery. That was a mistake!” Stone believes that Virginians and all Americans should take a more active role in learning their history. Still, he declares, “Most Virginians would rate Abraham Lincoln as fully as the people from other states. I think we all see Lincoln as the greatest president.”

Among the most memorable annual graveside ceremonies that Stone recounts is one from the late 1970s when as a practicing attorney and the President of the Virginia Bar Association he was attending a meeting in Richmond. The city was crippled by a blinding blizzard, but Stone, undaunted, knew he had to combat the elements and return home to convene the cemetery ceremony. Revealing to his lawyer colleagues only that he had “urgent business back home,” Stone departed Richmond under the treacherous weather conditions. “When the lawyers from all over Virginia who had been stranded with me read in the *Richmond Times Dispatch* that I had traveled home to conduct the annual Lincoln ceremony, they began calling me and giving me friendly grief that I had risked my life and limb to conduct a ceremony in a cemetery, but it was worth the effort,” said Stone. On that inhospitable day Stone conducted the ceremony for himself and his dog, which fittingly enough, was a Saint Bernard.



Dr. Phillip Stone. Photo courtesy of Bridgewater College.

“Another severe snow storm occurred in the early 1980s. It was around 2:00 p.m. and I was preparing to start the service. Judge Paul, a good friend, and I were standing in the cemetery,” explains Stone, “when suddenly, coming from the lower fields I saw an aberration walking toward the cemetery. Amid a driving snowstorm I asked the judge if he, too, saw what I did and he said that he did. As the tall, gaunt figure approached, it looked more and more like Abraham Lincoln. Shortly he appeared at the gate to the cemetery. It turned out to be a man who portrays Abraham Lincoln,” said Stone. “We all had a great laugh and enjoyed the ceremony that year.” Stone takes pride in noting that some of Lincoln’s distant relatives from as far away as Kentucky have braved the harsh February weather to attend the graveside ceremony. “The family members have been very grateful and kind, not simply because it honors Abraham Lincoln — but because they are family,” said Stone.

In conducting his graveside ceremony, Stone selects a new theme every year. He begins his ritual by restating Lincoln’s ancestral connections to Virginia. “I explain to the people just exactly who is buried in the Lincoln cemetery, where the former Lincoln properties are located, and how Abraham Lincoln relates to his Virginia ancestors. From there I develop a new theme that is relevant for that year,” said Stone. Stone has discussed Mary Todd Lincoln as a woman who suffered terribly and was probably mentally ill. Stone



"Dr. Phillip Stone at the Lincoln Cemetery." Photo reproduced with permission from the Daily News Record of Harrisonburg, VA. Courtesy of Joseph Garrera.

suspects that Mary saw in her husband the makings of a great leader, perhaps long before Lincoln himself understood the possibilities. Other popular themes that Stone has discussed include Lincoln as a lawyer. "You do not have to read the excellent material from the Lincoln legal project to understand that Lincoln was a great lawyer," said Stone. Other topics have included Lincoln as a scholar and decision maker. He once discussed the role of ethics in Lincoln's leadership — a topic that Stone has detailed in other lectures including a program that he presented in October 2001 at the Miller Center for Presidential Studies at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

Of the many Lincoln themes that Stone has promoted in Virginia, his favorite deals with Lincoln's character and its importance. "I do not start with the premise that Lincoln was perfect. I do not see him as divine. I attempt to explain him in the context of his era, and so when I hear others criticize Lincoln I'm disappointed. When people take Lincoln out of context, they are mistaken. For example, when people try to create a motivational talk and then focus on how Lincoln was a failure in everything he ever tried until he was elected president, I think that concept is outrageous," said Stone. One of the Lincoln character traits that Stone most admires and loves to promote is Lincoln's ability to avoid being judgmental. "Even in the middle of the war Lincoln avoided being judgmental against the South. He wasn't much for having a drink, but he did not become a fanatic over the Temperance Movement. Lincoln was a man who had a true balance about himself," said Stone.

Recalling the April 2003 dedication of the Lincoln statue in Richmond, Stone remembers "I was intending to enjoy a great day of celebration in the sunshine and frankly it never occurred to me that there would be anything that day that would be unattractive. I was aware that some were critical of the statue, but I did not think that these people were to be taken seriously. As a Virginian six or seven generations deep, it had not occurred to me that I should feel any ambivalence. But then as I began to hear the hooting, the jeering, and booing, I was shocked, especially by the tag line pulled by the light plane flying overhead with its banner that read *Sic Semper Tyrannis*. I thought to myself how awful it is to quote the words of John Wilkes Booth [thus always to tyrants] with pride and affirmation. Booth did not represent Southern chivalry," said Stone.

At that very instant the life-long Virginian, the good-natured man who has promoted and lectured about Lincoln in his beloved land of Virginia, was appalled and embarrassed by what he was seeing. Amid a crowd of eight to nine hundred people, a small but vocal minority of perhaps eighty protesters promoted Confederate heritage as they waved the Stars and Bars from a hillside overlooking the dedication site. Instantly, to Stone, the situation became extremely serious. "I looked around and saw the racially mixed audience including older African-Americans whose homes might have been violated with crosses and sheets. That is what hit me — that the pain for some did not represent cute or good-natured rivalries. To me, the situation resuscitated those feelings of tak-

ing the lost cause mentality to an extension of the Bedford Forest mode which is, 'we will redeem the South,'" said Stone.

A man of deep respect for all people, Stone takes issue with the Confederate flag. He respects the position of some heritage groups that insist that the Confederate flag represents the chivalry and devotion of Southerners. But Stone states, "The reality is, at least for the past thirty years or more, the Confederate flag has come to represent something that is very different. And folks who were involved in true heritage acquiesced in the transition. They acquiesced because they did not object to the use of the Confederate flag for purely racist barbaric activities," said Stone. "The Confederate flag was used by the Klan and partisan Southerners during the era of Jim Crow and segregation, so it's not as if it was recently revived. In a sense, the Confederate flag has a sordid history because certain people used it to harass and terrorize blacks. They allowed the Confederate flag to become the symbol of white supremacy," said Stone.

For Stone, the vitriolic tone of the Richmond Lincoln statue controversy encouraged him to pursue his dream. For years he had contemplated the formation of a non-profit historical society in Virginia that would honor the legacy of Abraham Lincoln and his ancestral heritage. On February 12, 2004, he chartered The Lincoln Society of Virginia. "My objective is to perpetuate and preserve and to make better use of the landmarks in Virginia associated with Lincoln's ancestors," said Stone. "I would like to see the old Lincoln house that was built circa 1800 by Jacob Lincoln, Great Uncle of President Lincoln, preserved and turned into a museum, and the adjacent Lincoln family cemetery permanently open to the public. My second objective is to educate the public about our local Lincoln heritage. I would like to see a museum that could assist local students and scholars in learning more about our Virginia connections to Lincoln genealogy." Perhaps most important is Stone's third objective, "... to make the statement by putting Virginia in the name – to make a bold statement – that Virginia got over the war. That, like Robert E. Lee, the true representative of chivalry in the South, we bound up our wounds, went back to work, and said we would be good citizens. And to that extent we need that as a counterweight to the more visible activities of some of the so-called heritage people that insist on living a negative part of the past," said Stone.



The controversy and intrigue that elevated the debate over the placement of a Lincoln statue in Richmond in April of 2003 demands close examination. On the surface one senses Virginia's disdain and ambivalence for Lincoln's place in history. Indeed, with Associated Press headlines of March 30, 2003, declaring: "Battle of Richmond: Lincoln Statue Stirs Debate", followed by a subtitle stating: "Great Emancipator Regarded as 'Bad Guy' in the South", there is little wonder why many Lincoln enthusiasts cringed as they learned of the controversy. Even the highly respected *New York Times* joined the fray by publishing an editorial on February 17, 2003, with the title: "Lincoln Returns to the Old South". In a conciliatory but decisive tone, the *Times* editorial supported the statue.

Perhaps in fifty years when social historians rewrite the history of Civil Rights, Reconstruction, and Lincoln's place in history, they will point to the clamor created by Lincoln's 2003 symbolic return in the form of a bronze statue to the "old capital of the Confederacy" as historical evidence of the sectional rift that lingered long after the Civil War ended. Perhaps they will cite the fact that some organizations were so outraged with the U. S. Historical Society that they even fueled a federal investigation into the legality of that group's non-profit status. Perhaps they will use the incident to fortify claims of Lincoln's continued unpopularity in the former Confederacy. Some scholars might rely upon newspaper reports as compelling evidence attesting to the uproar caused by the statue. In this instance, the uncritical reader will be misled by the frenzied inaccuracies of news reporting. Despite riveting newspaper stories that portrayed a major controversy over the statue, despite the existence of momentarily compelling evidence that suggests Virginia's disdain for President Lincoln's legacy — this viewpoint lacks the elements of balanced truth. Perhaps as many as 80 people did protest outside the gates of the dedication site. However, questions remain as to the protestors' state of residency and their true motives. Coincidentally, at the time, a large number of out-of-state Confederate re-enactors were visiting Richmond for a special reunion, yet only a very small fraction sought to disrupt the Lincoln statue dedication ceremony.

Conjecture aside, it is important to remember that the City of Richmond contributed \$45,000 of local taxpayers' money to help fund the Lincoln statue in what Mayor Rudolph C. McCollum



"President Abraham Lincoln and son Tad." Photos courtesy of Joseph Garrera and U.S. Historical Society.



"Statue Dedication." (left to right) Joseph E. Garrera, President of The Lincoln Group of New York, Former Virginia Governor L. Douglas Wilder, Sculptor David Frech, and Dr. Phillip Stone. Photo courtesy of Joseph Garrera and U.S. Historical Society.

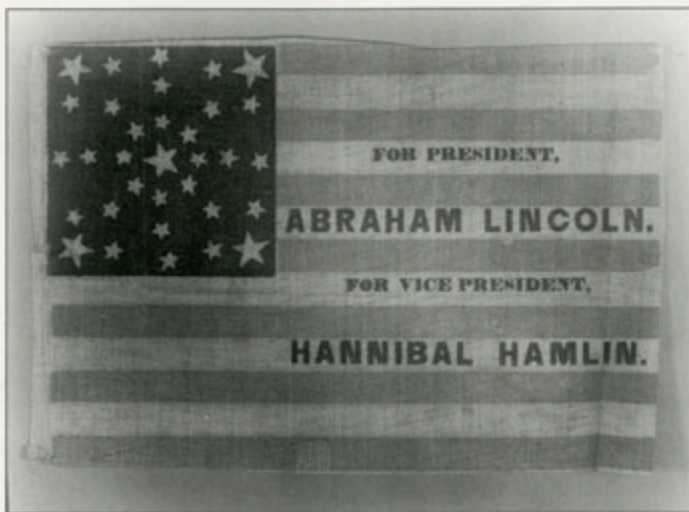
termed "the best \$45,000 this city has ever spent." In the end, those meager forces that created the uproar over Lincoln's symbolic return to Richmond enlarged the importance and notoriety of the Richmond event. A public relations expert working for the U. S. Historical Society documented that the total number of circulated copies of newspapers that had carried news of the statue in some form prior to the dedication day of April 5, 2003, had exceeded 51 million copies. This exposure, in conjunction with television and radio news reports, provided publicity that would have otherwise been prohibitively expensive for the U. S. Historical Society.

Phillip Stone took all of this in stride when on February 12, 2004, he founded Virginia's first historical society dedicated to Abraham Lincoln's legacy and Lincoln's ancestral sites located in Virginia. Stone continues his task of educating the public on the importance of role models and Virginia's place in Lincoln history along with the national importance of America's sixteenth president. He insists that he does not awaken every day with the thought of trying to act like Abraham Lincoln, but he does insist, "I hope others would see in me, after a lifetime of work and service to others, that I have demonstrated qualities that could also be identified in Abraham Lincoln". Those who know Stone can easily identify in this apostle of Lincoln studies the attributes of compassion, dependability, and wisdom. "I want to make people more conscious of Lincoln's role in preserving the Union by focusing on Lincoln activities here in the heart of the former Confederacy and here in the Shenandoah Valley," said Stone. He states that it is important

to remember that, "Lincoln preserved our union; Lincoln redeemed our nation; and Lincoln ended the blight of slavery which was such a stain on our good character as a nation. Through studying Lincoln I'm proud that he had Virginia connections, and if we can make a contribution along those lines then that is something to be proud of."

Perhaps the most important contribution of Phillip Stone's enduring commitment is the knowledge that Abraham Lincoln's greatness continues to inspire others through the activities and determination of people all across the country, even those from "old Virginia," the heart of the former Confederacy now home to the Lincoln Society of Virginia. Through it all, one senses an outstanding accomplishment of which Abraham Lincoln would truly be proud. And that is, with the passage of time, and the leadership of people like Phillip Stone, America continues to reconcile the past as it upholds, "the great task remaining before us."

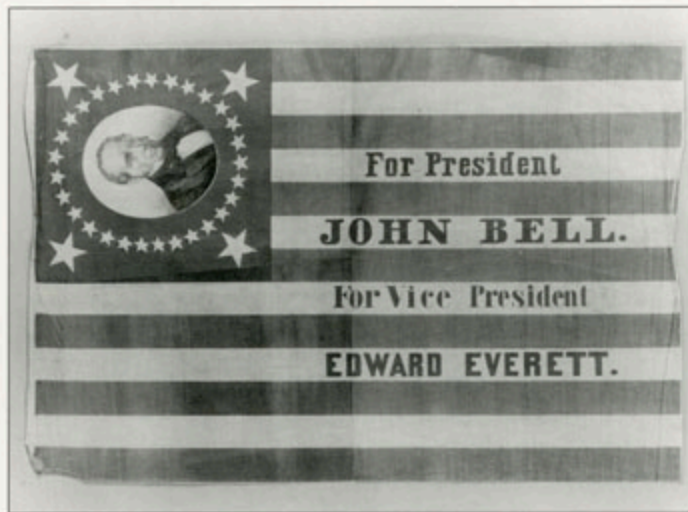
1860 Presidential Campaign Flags from The Lincoln Museum Collection



TLM #1730

Lincoln/Hamlin

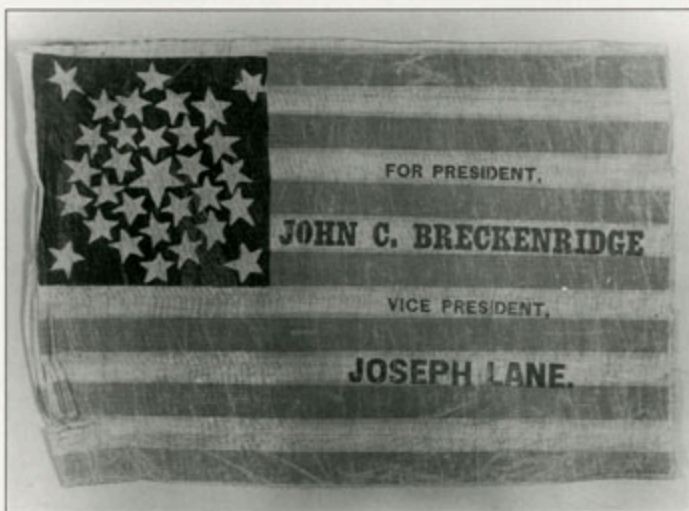
Popular vote1,866,352
Electoral vote180



TLM #1738

Bell/Everett

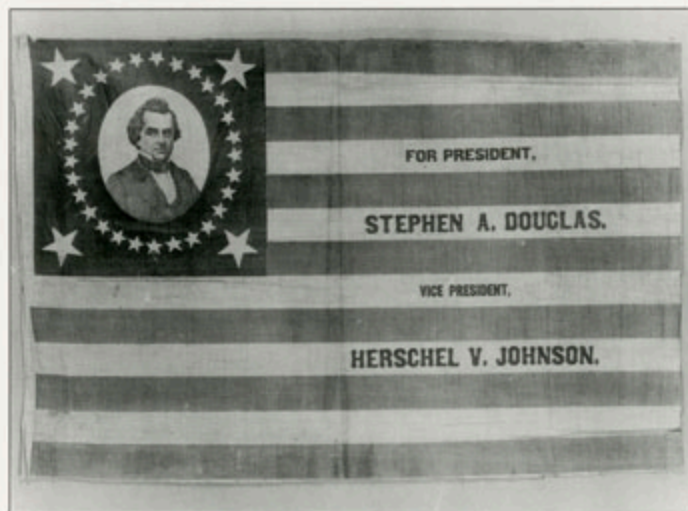
Popular vote 589,581
Electoral vote39



TLM #1736

Breckenridge/Lane

Popular vote 847,953
Electoral vote72



TLM #1735

Douglas/Johnson

Popular vote1,375,157
Electoral vote12

Voting statistics from *Encyclopedia of American History*. Richard B. Morris, editor. Harper & Row, 1976.

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[Editor's note: Every effort has been made to present a current list at the time this issue is sent to the printer.]

Museum News

The 2005 McMurtry Lecture will be held at The Lincoln Museum on September 17th. Professor William D. Pederson will deliver, *The Impact of Abraham Lincoln's Constitutional Legacy: A Global Look*.



President Abraham Lincoln and son Tad

The non-profit United States Historical Society commissioned award winning American sculptor David Frech to sculpt the life-size bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln and his son, Tad, to commemorate their April 4-5, 1865 visit to the just-fallen Confederate capital. Unveiled at dedication ceremonies on April 5, 2003, the statue now honors Lincoln in Richmond where he first came in peace "to bind up the nation's wounds." The Society donated the statue to the National Park Service. Visitors from around the world now come to enjoy this inspiring statue in a park-like setting at the Civil War Visitor Center in Richmond.

Because of its artistic excellence, its rich symbolism capturing the timing of the President's historic visit to the just fallen

Confederate Capital, and its placement in Richmond, Virginia, the statue has been called "the most important statue of Lincoln in the world."

Museum-quality 8 1/2" replica statues, also created from an original sculpture by David Frech, are available by contacting U.S. Historical Society (800-788-4478) or The Lincoln Museum (260-455-3864) or visit our website at www.TheLincolnMuseum.org.