



LINCOLN LORE

●●● NUMBER 1908 SPRING 2015

MOODY TEARFUL NIGHT

Learn more on page 2.

Lincoln Lore

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ABOUT THE COVER



Photos by Katie Hutmacher

Moody, Tearful Night

By Richard Masloski
Donated by Ian and Mimi Rolland

Titled "Moody, Tearful Night" from Walt Whitman's poem "When Lilacs Last in the
Dooryard Bloom'd," this statue by Richard Masloski shows the mortally wounded Presi-
dent being carried by a doctor and four soldiers from Ford's Theatre to the William Peterser
House across Tenth Street, where he would die at 7:22 a.m. the next day, April 15, 1865.

This statue was purchased by Ian and Mimi Rolland and was recently donated to the Allen
County Public Library with the expectation that generations of library patrons would be
able to view this exceptional work of art.



UPCOMING EVENTS



FEBRUARY 7 – JULY 5
SO COSTLY A SACRIFICE: LINCOLN AND LOSS EXHIBIT
INDIANA STATE MUSEUM | INDIANAPOLIS, IN

See the article on page 14 for information on this exhibit at the Indiana State Museum.

*Painted plaster cast bust of Abraham Lincoln. Gutzon Borglum, 1908
 Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection at the Indiana State Museum*



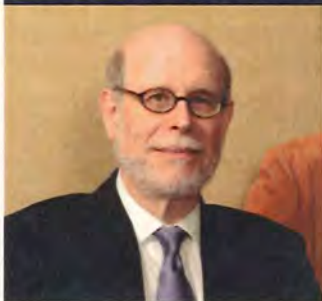
MAY 6, 2015 | 7:00 PM
“KILLING JOHN BROWN, KILLING LINCOLN: SECRETS OF THE ASSASSINATION”
2015 IAN AND MIMI ROLLAND LECTURE
ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY | FORT WAYNE, IN

David Reynolds, Professor at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, will give the 2015 Ian and Mimi Rolland Lecture at 7:00 pm at the Allen County Public Library in Fort Wayne, IN. Reynolds is the author of many books, including: *Lincoln’s Selected Writings, Mightier than the Sword: Uncle Tom’s Cabin and the Battle for America, John Brown Abolitionist, Waking Giant: America in the Age of Jackson, and Walt Whitman’s America: A Cultural Biography.*



JUNE 19, 2015 | 7:00 PM
“WHEN FREEDOM CAME: EMANCIPATION AND THE QUESTION OF TIMING”
ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY | FORT WAYNE, IN

Edna Greene Medford, Professor of History at Howard University, will commemorate the anniversary of Juneteenth (1865) with a program at 7:00 at the Allen County Public Library in Fort Wayne, IN. She is the author of *Lincoln and Emancipation* and coauthor of *The Emancipation Proclamation: Three Views.*



SEPTEMBER 2015
ANNUAL R. GERALD MCMURTRY LECTURE
ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY | FORT WAYNE, IN

2015 Lincoln Prize Award Winner Harold Holzer will give the annual R. Gerald McMurtry Lecture at the Allen County Public Library in Fort Wayne, IN. More details will be available in the summer issue of Lincoln Lore.

An interview with Frank J. Williams on the year 1865

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HARPER'S WEEKLY.

APRIL 8, 1865.]



THE BURNING OF COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, FEBRUARY 17, 1865.—[SKETCHED BY W. WARD.]

The Burning of Columbia, South Carolina, February 17, 1865. Sketched by W. Ward. Harper's Weekly, April 8, 1865

Sara Gabbard: Please describe “the last battles” of the Civil War.

Frank Williams: The second Union expedition captures Fort Fisher near Wilmington, North Carolina January 13-15, 1865, foreclosing the last major port for blockade runners. On February 1, General William T. Sherman leaves Savannah, Georgia, and advances into South Carolina with greater destruction of homes and property than in Georgia. General Ulysses S. Grant renews the Union offensive at Hatcher’s Run southwest of Petersburg, Virginia. Sherman’s army enters Columbia, South Carolina, on February 17 with widespread fire and looting ensuing. On February 18, Confederates evacuate Charleston.

On February 22, Union troops capture Wilmington. General Philip Sheridan’s cavalry routs the remnants of General Jubal Early’s force at Waynesboro, Virginia, on

March 2, ending organized fighting in the Shenandoah Valley. On March 11, Sherman occupies Fayetteville, North Carolina. Restored to command by Jefferson Davis, General Joseph E. Johnston attacks the left wing of Sherman’s army near Bentonville on March 19 with 21,000 men and is repulsed. Sherman enters Goldsboro on March 23 and joins General John M. Schofield’s forces.

Newly appointed General-in-Chief Robert E. Lee, who still commands the Army of Northern Virginia, attacks, unsuccessfully, Fort Stedman southeast of Petersburg on March 25. On March 27, Major General Edward R. S. Canby begins a siege of the Confederate strong point on the eastern side of Mobile Bay. On March 31, Grant orders Sheridan to lead a major offensive west of Petersburg with heavy fighting at Dinwiddie Court House and White Oak Road. Sheridan overruns Confederate positions at Five

Forks west of Petersburg on April 1, capturing 2,500 prisoners. Grant orders a general assault on Petersburg on April 2 which breaks the Confederate lines and forces Lee to evacuate Petersburg and Richmond on the night of April 2. The Union sustains about 42,000 men killed, wounded or missing from June 1864 to April 1865 during the fighting at Petersburg, with Confederate casualties of approximately 28,000.

Union cavalry captures Selma, Alabama, on April 2. Lincoln tours Richmond on April 4. Lee retreats westward to Amelia Court House on April 4 and is unable to secure needed supplies. His route to North Carolina is blocked by Union troops, so Lee continues his retreat westward. Pursuing Union troops capture more than 6,000 troops at Saylor’s Creek on April 6. After his retreat is blocked by Union troops at Appomattox Court House, Lee surrenders to Grant on

April 9. On the same day, Union troops assault Fort Blakely near Mobile. Sherman resumes the offensive in North Carolina on April 10. Union cavalry captures Montgomery, Alabama on April 12, the same day Confederates abandon Mobile. Sherman occupies Raleigh on April 13.

While watching the British farce, *Our American Cousin* at Ford's Theatre on April 14, President Lincoln is assassinated by actor John Wilkes Booth. Vice President Andrew Johnson is sworn in as 17th president on April 15.

Sherman and Johnston meet near Durham Station, North Carolina, on April 18 and sign an agreement providing for the surrender of the remaining Confederate armies. On April 21, Johnson and his cabinet reject the Sherman-Johnston agreement.

Lieutenant General Richard Taylor surrenders Confederate forces in Alabama, Mississippi and eastern Louisiana to general Canby on May 4 – the same day Lincoln is buried in Springfield, Illinois. Union cavalry capture Jefferson Davis near Irwinville, Georgia, on May 10 and imprison him at Fort Monroe, Virginia, the same day Confederate guerrilla leader William Quantrill is fatally wounded in Kentucky.

Surrender terms for the Confederate Trans-Mississippi department are negotiated in New Orleans on May 26. Unaware of the Confederate surrenders, the commerce raider *Shenandoah* begins capturing and destroying whaling ships on May 29 near Alaska. On June 28, after making its final capture in the Bering Sea, the *Shenandoah* ceases hostilities and sails to Liverpool, England on November 7.

Johnson signs a proclamation of amnesty and pardon on May 29 and begins to establish new state governments in the south under conditions the Radical Republicans think too lenient.

Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith signs Trans-Mississippi surrender on June 2.

Total deaths of the Civil War, original pegged at 620,000, have been revised by demographic historian J. David Hacker to 752,000 for the period 1861 to 1870.

SG: Why did Lincoln decide to force the vote on the 13th Amendment with the House of Representatives which had refused to pass it in 1864? Did he consider the possibility of waiting for the newly elected Congress to be seated before addressing the issue?



William T. Sherman

FW: AS Pulitzer Prize winner Eric Foner put it, "Emancipation had become an end in itself, which Lincoln would not abandon even if it meant risking his own reelection." Despite fears of losing the election, sudden military victories by General William T. Sherman at Atlanta on September 2, 1864 and Admiral Farragut at Mobile Bay, brought the President a second term – the first since Andrew Jackson. Lincoln told the Congress in his December 1864 annual message that the election result was a referendum on the 13th Amendment and that it was time for the House to, yet again, consider the issue in its lame duck session as the Senate had passed the resolution to send the 13th Amendment to the states earlier in 1864. Lincoln used his reelection victory to claim that a popular majority favored the 13th Amendment. While he had the votes in the House once the new Congress convened in late 1865, the time was now and he pressed the House to action with the promise of patronage and other favors if lame duck Congressmen would vote for the resolution. The president was also worried about legal and practical ramifications of his Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, a military order that he believed could only be effective in Confederate held states and terri-

tory as the Constitution protected slavery in the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware and Missouri and federally occupied territory unless and until there was such an amendment abolishing slavery everywhere. Lincoln worried about a legal challenge in the courts that could find his Emancipation Proclamation unconstitutional. And as the proclamation was a war measure intended to last for the duration of the war, what would be its effect once the war had ended? Would African-Americans, absent a constitutional amendment, be required to return to bondage? With the war ending, it was prudent to act quickly. The House of Representatives approves the amendment (119-56) on January 31, 1865.

Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward wanted passage of the 13th Amendment resolution by the lame duck Congress in January 1865, rather than waiting for the new Congress that the President said he would convene in March, for fear that the war would soon end with slavery intact. The war's end would result in the loss of impetus by Congress for enacting final freedom, and the Emancipation Proclamation would be considered moot and expired. If the amendment were imposed after the Confederate surrender, it could appear vindictive to Northern voters given the fact that the federal government had promoted abolition as a war measure. If the war ended, why would the government still promote the concept?

SG: Please describe the ratification process for the Amendment. Were there major obstacles to ratification in the North? What was the reaction of Southerners?

FW: Once approved by the House of Representatives with two thirds in favor, as the Senate had approved it earlier, the resolution was sent to the states for ratification. The President signed the resolution although not required to do so and engendering some criticism by members of the Congress who believed that this was strictly a Congressional action. Delaware, Kentucky, New Jersey and Mississippi voted against ratification, but the 13th Amendment was approved by twenty-seven states, with Illinois and Rhode Island leading the way, and including eight former members of the Confederacy by December 6, 1865. On December 8, Secretary of State William H. Seward will declare ratification complete with three fourths of the states voting for the amendment.

SG: What was the general mood of the people in early 1865? North? South?

FW: War-weary is the best way to describe the public mood—North and South not only in 1865 but from early 1864 as mass death and suffering had become a permanent presence in the American psyche. Northerners and Southerners alike contended with the shock of seeing men without arms or legs, disfigured by shrapnel or ravaged by disease. Still the war continued as soldiers and civilians on both sides accepted the necessity of a fourth and fifth year of fighting with a mixture of determination, resignation and regret. Many in the North expected that Grant would quickly defeat Lee with his Overland Campaign in the Spring of 1864 and capture Richmond, while Confederate hopes focused on the gradual exhaustion of the northern will to fight and the defeat of Lincoln at the polls. As spring came in 1865, both sides would plunge into battle – yet again.

By this time, Confederate morale had clearly dropped from the early optimism of 1861 and the steely resolve of 1863, but in large measure, that drop in morale came because of battlefield losses. Conversely, Union morale was heightened in 1865 as civilians and soldiers could see and feel victory.

SG: Same question regarding the mood of troops, both North and South.

FW: The fight, which was initially expected to be short and a rout, turned out to be a bloody war of attrition, where defensive firepower so overwhelmed the offense that at Antietam, Fredericksburg, the Wilderness, Petersburg and west to Amelia Court House and Appomattox – the soldiers mostly just stood there and watched each other die.

There is a wide consensus that the Civil War is the central theme of American history. It was the central theme in the lives of Northern and Southern men who fought in it. A Wisconsin soldier stated in one of his last wartime letters, “What an experience the last few years have been! I would not take any amount of money & have the events which have transpired in that length of time blotted out from my memory.” Yet, the survivors of the war in spring 1865 could only feel, as the veterans of any war, an abhorrence for the cruelty and killing they had witnessed.

SG: Were there any efforts to seek peace during hostilities in 1865?

FW: From both sides there were cries for peace. One final effort to end the Civil War was made by Democrat Francis Pres-

ton Blair. With Lincoln’s approval in late December 1864, Blair traveled to Richmond to visit his political colleague Jefferson Davis. Blair’s suggestion to intervene in the Mexican Civil War was a non-starter. But Davis did give a letter to Blair for Lincoln offering to appoint commissioners to “enter into conference with a view to secure peace to the two countries.” Lincoln had Blair return to Richmond offering to receive any commissioner that Davis “may informally *send to me with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.*” Overlooking the discrepancy between “two countries” and “one common country,” Davis appointed a commission composed of Vice President Alexander H. Stephens, President Pro Tem of the Senate Robert M. T. Hunter, and Assistant Secretary of War John A. Campbell. The agents were told by Major T. T. Eckert—the President’s representative—they could not proceed unless they agreed to Lincoln’s “one common country” as a basis for talks. The conference seemed aborted until General-in-Chief Ulysses S. Grant, who usually refrained from politics and had been directed by President Lincoln to stay away from policy other than military matters, intervened. Grant demonstrated shrewd political acumen—for which he has not been credited. He telegraphed the President on February 2, “I am convinced, upon conversation with Messrs. Stevens [sic] & Hunter that their intentions are good and their desire sincere to restore peace and reunion.... I am sorry, however, that Mr. Lincoln cannot have an interview with [them].... I fear now their going back without any expression from any one in authority will have a bad influence.” This is all Lincoln needed to hear. On reading Grant’s wire, the President went to Virginia to join Secretary of State Seward for a meeting with the commissioners. This extraordinary “informal” four-hour meeting of the five men took place on February 3, 1865 aboard the steamer *River Queen* at Hampton Roads. Lincoln would not accede to an armistice while peace negotiations took place. What about official negotiations while the war continued? Stevens noted that even King Charles I had entered into agreements with rebels in arms during the English civil war. Lincoln replied, “I do not profess to be posted in history. All I distinctly recollect about the case of Charles I, is that he lost his head.” With the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment resolution by the House of Representatives three days earlier with several states already ratifying it, including Illinois

and Rhode Island, Lincoln insisted that slavery was dead. He did promise a pardon for Confederate leaders and went so far as to suggest that if the Confederate States abolished slavery, he would seek compensation. Davis described Lincoln’s terms as “degrading submission” and “humiliating surrender” to rally Southerners. While the Hampton Roads conference failed to bring about an earlier peace, it could not have occurred without the deftness of U.S. Grant.

SG: What were Lincoln’s primary objectives when crafting his Second Inaugural Address? Did he succeed?

FW: One thing that sets this inaugural apart is its biblical and theological language. Within 701 words Lincoln mentions God fourteen times, quotes the Bible four times and invokes prayer three times. All of his words are directed away from himself. He does speak of all and both. His second paragraph is marked by his inclusive language. This is a clue to the larger purpose of his address. Parties in any war have a difficult time understanding the aspirations or point of view of the other side. Lincoln knew the audience would have cheered him if he had demonized the South, but he chose a different path by portraying a path that North and South could follow.

Lincoln’s meaning flows from the largest paragraph. He infers that the North, even while seeking reunion, knew that slavery was the cause and the key moral issue. He suggests that the South also knew that, despite its search for independence, slavery was its way of life.

The president believed that there was a common responsibility for the war – from North as well as South. Lincoln’s final declamation in the speech was a plea for both sides to live in the future in a spirit of reconciliation.

Lincoln would state following the address that, “Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference between the Almighty and them.” He told Thurlow Weed that, “It is a truth that I thought needed to be told.”

Lincoln would die six weeks later without the chance to effectuate reconciliation. It would take another 100 years for civil rights legislation, as well as the courts, to see it through. Yet the Civil Rights Act of 1866, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution would aid in insuring the vision of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal and would help define the meanings of freedom, citi-

HARPER'S WEEKLY

A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

LINCOLN LORE

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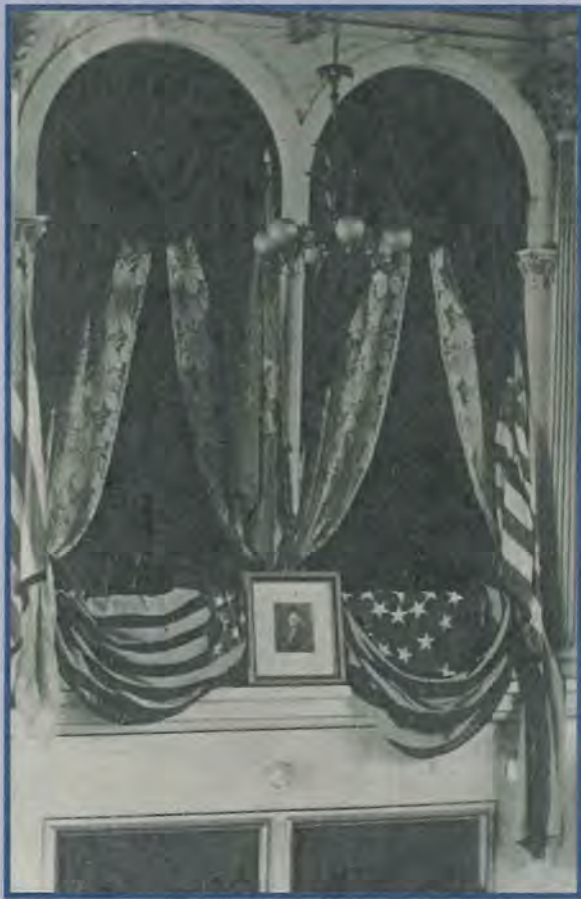
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SCENE IN THE HOUSE ON THE PASSAGE OF THE PROPOSITION TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION, JANUARY 31, 1865.

13th Amendment
Celebration,
Harper's Weekly,
Feb. 18, 1865.



Presidential Box at Ford's Theatre



John Wilkes Booth

zenship and equality.

SG: Were there “clues” about Booth’s plans for April 14 which should have been discovered?

FW: There were plots for the capture and kidnapping of the President, but neither the War department nor National Police were aware of them. (The government had no intelligence apparatus to assist in gathering such information.) After the death of John Wilkes Booth, details emerged about the chain of events that led to the President’s assassination. In 1864, Booth had devised a plan to kidnap the President and exchange him for Confederate prisoners of war. Booth’s group in this kidnapping plot included Samuel Arnold, Michael O’Laughlin, Lewis Paine, George Atzerodt and John Surratt. There were at least two failed attempts in January and March 1865 to kidnap the president. Booth felt he was out of time so he changed his kidnapping plot to murder.

SG: Did Booth firmly believe that his act would receive universal approbation, at least in the South? Would history treat him as a hero? What was the general response to the assassination in the South?

FW: Lincoln’s death came too late to have an impact on the war and Confederate independence. Although there were still over 120,000 Confederate troops and three Confederate armies in the field at the time of the assassination, the war was lost for the Confederacy and only weeks from ending.

The killing shocked the country. Northerners feared saboteurs among them,

while many Southerners believed the murder would bring harsh retribution from the post-war government. The escaping Booth became a pariah in the public mind, astounding the assassin, who believed he would be regarded as a hero for dispensing with the “tyrant.” Booth really believed that by killing the president the Confederacy would be revived and revitalize the Southern cause. Thus, the meaning of his death bed utterance, “tell my mother I die for my country.” Recognizing the futility of his actions, Booth covered his face and moaned, “Useless, Useless.”

SG: The initial assassination conspirators were tried in a military court, even though the Civil War had officially ended at Appomattox. Do you agree with this decision?

FW: Yes, the war continued after Lincoln’s death and Washington was still a military city under martial law (President Andrew Johnson would not declare the end of war until August 1866). Abraham Lincoln was not only the Chief Magistrate but the nation’s Commander-in-Chief. Trial of the conspirators by military commission was proper and appropriate.

While the U. S. Supreme Court, a year later, ruled in *ex parte Milligan* that a military tribunal could not try civilians where the civil courts were open and operating with no threat by an enemy existed, many jurists disagree to the applicability of this case to the Lincoln military tribunal. In 1868, a U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida upheld the jurisdiction of this military tribunal. In 1942 and again in 1946, the U.S. Supreme Court, in two cases stemming from World War II, upheld the jurisdiction of military tribunals even though two of the defendants were U. S. citizens. In 2001, a federal court in the District of Columbia upheld the jurisdiction of the Lincoln tribunal to try U.S. citizens in a lawsuit brought by Dr. Samuel Mudd’s grandson. Despite denial of some due process at the trial, the commission itself was constitutional. The war on terror U. S. Supreme Court cases following September 11, 2001 have also allowed the use of military tribunals, with the consent of Congress, even though U. S. citizens have been charged.

SG: What are the main differences between a military and a civilian trial...with special emphasis on the trials of Mary and John Surratt?

FW: Mary Surratt was tried with her co-

defendants before a nine-man military commission authorized by President Johnson who wanted a speedy trial with no leniency toward the conspirators. The commissioners would act as both judge and jury. Her son, John, would be tried two years later in 1867 in a civil trial resulting in a hung jury.

So, the civilians who allegedly conspired to assassinate the president were tried in a military court – before Army officers rather than civil judges without a jury. Initially the Judge Advocate General, Joseph Holt, wanted to hold the sessions in secret but newspaper protests led to limited access, record keeping and eventual publication of officially approved transcripts.

The overly broad indictment was an attempt to try the Confederate government as part of the conspiracy by claiming a link between the Confederates to Booth's plot.

SG: I once read that “The assassination of Abraham Lincoln changed the United States forever.” Is this overstating the impact?

FW: Abraham Lincoln's legacy to the nation was an essential one – the preservation of the Union and the end of slavery. This regicide severely impeded the journey for equality. What changed was America itself. The world's first grand experiment in democracy had murdered its president. As the *Illinois State Register* said on April 15, 1865, “The effect of this terrible blow cannot now be estimated.” It was easy to hold the South responsible for Booth's act. It was less easy to regain the republic's innocence. In the years that followed, we found it was lost forever in the mystery of democratic government.

SG: Although we will go into more detail when you are interviewed for the 150th anniversary of 1866, what were the initial decisions which were made regarding Reconstruction in 1865?

FW: Abraham Lincoln could not have imagined that the pro-Union Democrat he wanted as his running mate in 1864 to calm Wall Street would become sole leader of the nation for seven of its most crucial months. But on April 15, 1865, less than three hours after Abraham Lincoln had breathed his last, Johnson took the presidential oath. With Congress out of session, Johnson was in charge of what he called the “restoration” of the Union.

Most politicians expected Johnson to be tougher on the South than Lincoln would have been. Claiming to be following Lincoln's plan of reconstruction, Johnson



John Surratt

was true to the notion he had articulated on November 24, 1863, that slavery was destroyed and “there is no good reason... for destroying the states to bring about the destruction of slavery.” He worked for immediate restoration of the seceded states to the Union. He sustained conservative Southern regimes with government patronage. As Peyton McCrary says of Johnson's policies in Louisiana, “When Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency in 1865 he pursued a reconstruction policy antithetical to that of his predecessor, if viewed in terms of its impact on the party system rather than in light of superficial constitutional similarities.” Johnson's conflict with the Republican Congress over this question led to his impeachment in 1868.

SG: What is your next Lincoln-related project?

FW: My work on an annotated Lincoln bibliography of all books published since 1865 continues. I have a contract to do a book on Ulysses S. Grant as hero and I am editing a book on *The Lincoln Assassination Riddle* with Michael Burkhimer.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Frank Williams

Frank Williams recently retired as Chief Justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court. He co-founded The Lincoln Forum and is author of *Lincoln as Hero* and *Judging Lincoln*. He co-edited (with Michael Burkhimer) *The Mary Lincoln Enigma*.

Teaching Lincoln and the Civil War

An interview with Sally Benjamin Butler a Towles Middle School teacher in Fort Wayne, IN.



Battle of Gettysburg, Kurz & Allison, 1884

(Editor's note: When I first read these "letters," they sounded so authentic that I assumed that the assignment was simply to find a historical figure and submit a letter that he/she had actually written, not to study a specific individual's life and create a letter. The reason that the letters sound so authentic is that Sally Butler is an extraordinarily gifted teacher with a passion for history that she is able to convey to her students.)

Sara Gabbard: Is it difficult with middle school students to develop an interest in Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War? What portion of the story is most appealing?

Sally Butler: Having worked in four different middle schools over the course of twenty-nine years, I have never had difficulty developing an interest in Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War. Middle school students are definitely a breed apart: social beings on an emotional roller coaster, half grown yet predominately immature, and able to be incredibly creative, insightful, and thoughtful despite moments of inattentiveness, insecurity, and selfishness. (My sanity has been questioned due to the fact that I love working with this age group!) No matter how diverse their backgrounds, young people are drawn to Lincoln and the Civil War. I suspect that the fascination with the man and the era that I have witnessed in eighth graders is similar to the interest most adults in the United States and around the world have for Lincoln and the Civil War. What

causes this universal appeal? What is it that attracts us to the story? Is it the tragedy of the lives lost? Battlefield casualties from 1861-1865 produced staggering statistics: 51,000 at Gettysburg, 23,000 at Antietam, 24,000 at Shiloh, more than 620,000 in all. Does the sorrow echoing through the White House at the death of Willie resurrect feelings of sadness many have experienced due to the passing of a loved one, and this connection makes learning more meaningful? Or is it simply the personalities involved? Studying Lincoln and Lee, Grant and Gordon, Davis and Douglass produces wonderful quotes and scenarios that draw people to the time period. "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan...". Words, such as these from Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, demand attention. Perhaps the overarching theme of slavery is in itself enough to spark interest. The nearly four million enslaved Americans who shaped our nation without recognition or respect is proof of an injustice that simultaneously intrigues and disgusts my pupils. This unfairness causes them to want to know more. Probably, the interest in Lincoln and the Civil War is a combination of all these things and more. One must keep in mind the description of an adolescent: social beings on an emotional

roller coaster. The story of Lincoln and the Civil War produces a wide array of emotions. There are feelings of sorrow stemming from the tremendous loss of life and yet laughter from one of Lincoln's jokes. Learners are filled with indignation at the treatment of slaves and also feel patriotism with words from the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and the "Gettysburg Address." They feel the excitement of Pickett's Charge along with the melancholy caused by viewing Alexander Gardner's photographs of the dead at Antietam. Therefore, what students in the middle find most alluring about Lincoln and the Civil War is that they can relate to the information and somehow see a picture of themselves by studying the nineteenth century.

SG: What do students of that age already know about slavery and how do they respond to this reality?

SB: Students start to formally learn about slavery in the fourth and fifth grade. By the time they reach middle school, they are usually familiar with Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass. Some students have experienced the Underground Railroad scenario at Camp Potawatomi (located near Fort Wayne), where at night they take on the roles of escaped slaves. Many elementary school students begin reading about slavery through wonderful examples of historical fiction such as *Copper Son* and *Night-john*. By the time students get to my class, they have a basic knowledge of the topic

and are interested. It is my privilege as a middle school teacher to be able to build on this basic foundation of understanding. The maturity level of teenagers affords a deeper and more serious examination of the subject of enslavement. Eighth graders certainly come to me with a strong reaction to the unfairness of slavery. Because adolescents tend to feel strongly about injustice in general, the issue of slavery is something that makes them feel angry. I have had some of my African American students feel hesitant to delve into the harsh realities of slavery because the truth is so painful. However, I approach this sensitive subject with the idea that learning about all of our nation's past, especially the ugly parts, can truly mold us into better human beings and more responsible citizens. I often tell my students that I care less about what they know in their heads and care more for what they strongly feel in their hearts about the people who lived long ago. Studying those who shaped our nation's history becomes our story. Their pain is our suffering. Their triumph is our victory. We learn from the mistakes and make our world a better place because we are rich with the knowledge of those who came before us.

I was especially pleased this year with my students' responses to lessons about slavery. I currently teach at Towles New Tech, which opened last year in Fort Wayne. Amy Nagel is my co-teacher, and our class is a combination of Language Arts and Social Studies. New Tech uses project-based learning. During our unit on the causes of the Civil War, students collaborated with each other to write slave narratives. Individually, they composed poetry about injustice after doing research on a wide variety of abolitionists such as the Grimké sisters, Sojourner Truth, John Brown, and Levi Coffin. Students also analyzed poems dealing with slavery written by authors such as Walt Whitman and Herman Melville. When their stories and poems were shared orally with the class, I was extremely delighted with what the students had created. Historical accuracy was in place, but in addition the students had captured the emotions associated with the topic of slavery. I was very proud of their accomplishments and knew that they "got it!"

SG: How do you teach Lincoln's assassination? Again, how do your students respond?

SB: We spend many weeks with Mr. Lincoln in my class. We start discussing him in our unit on the pre-Civil War. We analyze his quotes, examine his early days, study

his career, and follow his movements from Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. We spend time looking at photos of him and of his family. We read his speeches. When we get to 1860, we have a mock election and some students, representing Southerners, don't find his name on the ballot. Of course, we look at all of the decisions, difficulties, and dreadfulness connected with Lincoln and the Civil War. By the time we get to April 14, 1865, the students don't want him to be assassinated. They have known all along that it was coming, but they feel real regret that he was killed. They are fascinated with the conspiracy. It always surprises me how little they know about the assassination plot. I have used a variety of tools to teach about this. We have acted out the scene at Ford's Theatre. There is a game that I have used in which the students hear evidence about the killing and then have to decide which of the accused are guilty and what sentences should be handed out. Students usually don't think that Mary Surratt should have been executed! Mostly, students just want to talk about what happened. They genuinely feel sad about Lincoln's death. They take it personally, as if he were a friend or relative. Students love to view pictures of Ford's Theatre, the Petersen House, the blood-stained chair, the derringer, and the bodies of the accused at the ends of their ropes (literally). They audibly let out a sigh at learning Tad's quote: "Pa is dead and I am only Tad Lincoln now, little Tad, like other little boys. I am not a president's son now. Well, I will try and be a good boy and will hope to go to heaven someday to Pa and brother Willie, in heaven." Students feel emotional and regretful about Lincoln's death. This is especially true as we continue in history with lessons on Reconstruction. Of all the people we learn about in U.S. History, I feel that Lincoln is the one person for whom most students develop a bond of affection. I suppose the fact that their teacher is so enamored with him has something to do with this!

SG: Please tell our readers about your "field trips" to Gettysburg.

SB: I worked at Fort Wayne's Memorial Park Middle School for 17 years from 1996-2013. During my first year as a history teacher there, Ellen Heiny, a parent of one of my students, suggested that we take a big field trip. I agreed and asked her where we should go. Out of the blue, she said Gettysburg. At that point, I had only been to this national treasure once but had fond memories of how beautiful and well

preserved it was. So, the planning began in earnest. Over Memorial Day weekend in 1997, my love affair with Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, began, and I have had the privilege of exposing the wonders of this battlefield to hundreds of my students. My philosophy for leading trips to Gettysburg was twofold: make the adventure as close as possible to what the actual soldiers experienced and use the monuments and memorials to bring the story to life. To help the students have a sense of the hardships the Union and Confederate soldiers experienced, I forced everyone to walk the battlefield for four straight days. It didn't matter if the temperature was in the 90s or it was pouring down rain. Complaints were met with the idea that we should endure these hardships in honor of the men in blue and gray who struggled and died on this sacred ground. This approach definitely paid off. Year after year, I heard the same comment as we headed west toward home: "Mrs. Butler, I could feel the importance of this battlefield." And, of course, they didn't want to leave! One of the traditions associated with this trip was having the students "adopt" one of the 80 Hoosier soldiers who are buried in the National Cemetery and were discussed by Lincoln on November 19, 1863, as some of the honored dead. Before we went on our journey, a list was provided with each soldier's name, regiment, and company. Students were encouraged to do research to find information about the man they selected. Once we arrived in Gettysburg and started our four days of touring, I always included the monuments dedicated to each Indiana regiment and gave details about the fighting in which they were engaged. When the time came to go to the cemetery, students searched for "their" soldier's grave and once located, placed a red carnation on the headstone. My heart is still touched when I remember those solemn moments when these teenagers knelt by the tombs of soldiers they never met from so long ago and paid them the most sincere tribute. That is why I have been a teacher for 29 years. The power to move someone, to help them understand another's sacrifice, and to lead them to feel emotion is incredible. Every time I visit Gettysburg, and I go as much as I can, I view a tangible reminder of the fabulous experiences my students were provided on these field trips. It is the monument in Evergreen Cemetery. One year on our trip, we discovered that the cemetery caretaker, Brian Kennell, was raising money to put up a memorial to the women who helped with the

aftermath of July 1-3, 1863. The monument would be sculpted of Elizabeth Thorn, who was the wife of the cemetery keeper during the Civil War. Her husband Peter enlisted in the 138th PA Infantry. While he served his country elsewhere, the Confederates paid a visit to his town, his home, his cemetery. Cemetery Ridge and Cemetery Hill are, of course, named for the Evergreen Cemetery. Intense fighting occurred right among the gravestones and men died, ironically, in this place. Elizabeth gave information about the layout of the roads in town to General O.O. Howard during the early phase of the fight. She lived in the cemetery gatehouse with her two children and her parents. She was six months pregnant with her third child when war interrupted her life. Like so many other civilians, it became necessary for her to flee from her home during the battle only to return to broken windows, stolen linens, and death. The first soldiers to be buried after the battle were interred in Evergreen Cemetery by Elizabeth Thorn. With little help, this woman did the impossible and put to rest more than 100 of the dead. When her baby girl was born three months later, she was named Rose Meade Thorn, in honor of General George Meade who gave the Union a much needed victory at Gettysburg. Elizabeth's story touched the hearts of students and adults alike, and we decided that we would help raise money for this new monument. By this point, our field trips to Gettysburg had already become art/history experiences as the art teacher, Sherry Shepard, joined me in our yearly adventures. Tying the design of the monuments with the stories of the battle had always been our goal. Now our students were able to connect the two subjects in a concrete manner. For two years, the young people of Memorial Park, a fine arts school, created jewelry, painted pictures, and designed charcoal drawings. These works of art were then sold and the proceeds went to the monument fund. When we brought a check for \$1000 to Brian at Evergreen, he was touched. Why would students from Fort Wayne, Indiana, care about a monument being built more than 600 miles away in Gettysburg, PA? Why? The answer is because they had learned that history is about more than just a bunch of old dead people. These students had learned through travelling to this beautiful town and hiking for miles along these battlefield roads, that history is emotion. I am reminded of this each time I go to Gettysburg and look at the statue that exists in part because of my

wonderful students.

SG: In studying the Civil War, I know that you emphasize the use of primary source material, especially letters from soldiers. Please explain how you used this method to instruct students to submit essays this spring.

SB: Thankfully, my father worked on the genealogy of our family and wrote books in which he included copies of my ancestor's Civil War letters. In addition, a book entitled *Hell on Belle Isle* has been written about one of my relatives. Jacob Coburn was in the 6th Michigan cavalry and had the misfortune of being sent to Belle Island in Richmond in 1863. Before dying of starvation as a prisoner, he kept a diary. These family pieces were shared with my students to give them an understanding for what correspondence and journaling from the nineteenth century was like. The task at hand was for the students to write a narrative as if they were someone from the Civil War. Civilian or soldier, the choice was theirs. An emphasis was placed on making sure the final compositions captured the vocabulary, information, and feel of authentic writing from the time period. Students were also able to choose from dozens of photographs of Civil War soldiers. They used the name and regiment of these men to do research about their experiences. Their narratives could then be based on reality, but the students had to use their own skills to add more details and descriptions. By reading the words of real soldiers, the young authors were able to get a feel for the phrasing and vocabulary of the Victorian era. We had conversations about how different people are today in the twenty-first century. Civil War soldiers not only wouldn't know anything about modern technology, they also would not have been as blunt as people are today about mentioning the unmentionable. Discretion was discussed. It is good for students to realize how much communication has changed in 150 years. It was also beneficial for them to stretch themselves by trying to get into the mind of someone from so long ago. I think analyzing quotes and passages from the real figures, both famous and obscure, helped the students immensely to take on these roles. I was very impressed with their final products.

One of the resources we provided to the students was a list of vocabulary used by Civil War soldiers. Looking at the partial list below, the reader will realize how most of these young authors took advantage of this guide to help them compose their nar-

atives. They were also instructed to write in the vernacular of the day.

CIVIL WAR SLANG:

- Sheet Iron Crackers:** hardtack
- Sardine Box:** cap box
- Graybacks:** lice or Southern Soldiers
- Arkansas Toothpick:** a large knife
- Pepperbox:** pistol
- Top rail #1:** first class
- Greenhorn, Bugger, Skunk:** officers
- Sawbones:** surgeons
- Hornets:** bullets
- Possum:** a pal, friend, or buddy
- Grab a root:** potato or have dinner
- Tight, wallpapered:** drunk
- Bark juicce, tar water, nokum stiff,**
- Joy Juice:** liquor
- Quick step:** diarrhea
- Sunday soldiers, kid glove boys, parlor soldiers:** insulting words for soldiers
- Fresh fish:** raw recruits

Sources: *The Life of Johnny Reb* by Bell Irwin Wiley and *The Life of Billy Yank* by Bell Irwin Wiley, Courtesy of U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service

SG: Please comment on the following subjects which your students explored in their essays.

SB: Friendships – During our Civil War unit, the students read the novel *Soldier's Heart* by Gary Paulsen. This work of historical fiction is based on the real experiences of a teenager named Charley who joined the 1st Minnesota regiment in 1861. Two of our students decided to take what they learned in this novel about how the men (and boys) tended to enlist with their friends and family members. Companies were often composed of loved ones. This made the inevitable horrors of war even harder to bear. The following two narratives give a feel for how deep friendships between soldiers could be.

BURYING A POSSUM

by Carson Bearcat (*Bercot*)

I was about 22 when the Civil War begun and me and Isaac my best friend had enlisted together. We were so ready to get into the war and fight for our beloved country. Both me and Isaac were boys from the wilderness of Minnesota and knew how to take care of ourselves when times got tough. Of course me and Isaac were in the same regiment coming from the same place and growing

up together. I was fit as a fiddle but unfortunately Isaac was not. He had been coughing since before the war started and I was becoming a little worried. He was like a brother to me, and I knew there wasn't a lot we could do for sickness.

Isaac was the one person I trusted to be by my side for the war because I knew we had each other's back no matter what. Sure he could be a little uppity at times but I knew no matter what happened, Isaac would be right next to me every step of the way. Before we left off for war, Isaac's Ma had told me to make sure he got out of this war safe. She told me to keep my eye on him so he wouldn't get hurt because he was all she had. His Pa had just died two years ago and life had been hard at home for him and his Ma.

We enlisted together on May 18th and were going to be sent off to camp in the next week. Camp life was hard. Neither of us got much food and we didn't have any proper place to stay. The sergeants would run us day and night to get us prepared for the war. We would run drills after drills, and by the end of training, I was all played out but I felt ready for the war.

They told us we gotta ride the train to get to Pennsylvania where our regiment was staying. On the train we met the men that would stand beside us in the war and were talking with them about home and our past. The train was real nice with nice seats and very welcoming for a bunch of soldiers. I was excited for the war to fight for my country and risk my life for my country. All I wanted was our country to become strong again and the way to do that is fight in this world to make sure it happens.

Me and Isaac met Col. William Colvill who would be commanding our regiment. Col. Colvill told us we would be going into battle soon at Gettysburg. I was so excited to be fighting for my country and against those rebels. Col. Colvill was a hard case but was a solid colonel and I felt that he would really lead us to win the battle.

We marched to Gettysburg with the rest of our regiment to get ready to fight against rebel scum. My haversack was completely full, my gun was ready to fire, and I was ready to fight in this battle. I looked at Isaac and he had a face I had never seen before, almost a face of rage but it seemed like he was ready to fight.

We charged the Confederate soldiers, guns' blazing, bullets flying everywhere. It was mayhem. Isaac was charging at the Confederate line and was in total rage. I watched as

people from our regiment fell to the ground left and right but we just kept charging. Men that me and Isaac had known from town, neighbors, all dead. We seemed to be whipping their line right out of shape. I had lost Isaac!! He was just next to me; where did he go? I kept charging hoping that Isaac would show up but he did not.

Just as I looked over to fire more shots at the greyback's line I saw Isaac!! I found him but I was too late... I saw a Confederate right in his face and he shot a bullet. The dumb greyback's artillery shell went straight into Isaac's shoulder. I watched him fall to the ground and couldn't believe that he got hit. I ran toward his body and sat next to it. I tried everything to stop the bleeding but there was nothing to do. The bleeding wouldn't stop; tears swelled up in my eyes... His last words were, "Patrick, Patrick, don't cry. I'm... I'm gonna... I'm going home now..." And with one last smile, Isaac was gone. My best friend gone... but I had to be strong for Isaac I had to keep fighting. So I charged at his killer and stabbed him with my bayonet over and over. Col. Colvill had our regiment retreat for the night. The war went on the next day but I didn't get any action because I had quickstep. After the battle ended everyone was celebrating but I walked over to Isaac's body, picked him up, and brought him to a proper burial, one he deserved, one that would be appropriate for Isaac.

SHELL SHOCK

by Max Colchin

I was 19 when I joined the Union Army. I signed up with my Possum, Patrick. We had been best pals for as long as I can remember. We were both boys from Minnesota and knew how to take care of ourselves when things began to take a turn. Luckily we were enlisted together in the same regiment. I was grateful to go to war with my best friend and there wasn't anyone else I wanted by my side.

Patrick was a good ol' Hard Case. We were extremely ready to fight in this war and I'm glad that we'd be going in together. I had worked as a blacksmith before I enlisted and the conditions were not always the best. Sometimes I have these violent fits of uncontrollable coughing but eventually they would pass.

Me and Patrick both enlisted on May 18th and were put into the same Regiment and Camp. Camp life was hard. We had to do drills over and over again until we got blisters on our hands. Many things became second

nature for me and Pat, things like reloading a rifle, fixing bayonets, and presenting arms. The food in the camp was less than satisfactory: we were fed salted pork and sheet iron crackers. Sometimes we were given coffee. I never drank much coffee before, but being in the army taught me to love it.

After a couple of weeks at camp, they loaded all of us on a train and we headed to Pennsylvania. There was talk of a big battle but I didn't believe any of it. The food they fed us on the train was way better than the stuff at camp, and, for once, my bread basket was full. The train was real nice with nice seats and comfy beds. On the train we met a good ol' chap named Charlie, He couldn't be older than 15 years old and he was already off fighting in a war.

Me and Patrick both met Colonel William Colvill, the man who would be commanding our regiment. He seemed to know what he was talking about strategically and seemed like a good ol' chap. Nothing else happened the rest of the train ride and it was very uneventful so I seized the opportunity to catch some shut eye.

When I awoke we were already in Pennsylvania and people were leaving the train. I quickly grabbed all my things and exited the train with the others. When I got off, I searched for Patrick. He was in the middle of pitching a tent. I ran over to him and he greeted me and we exchanged our thoughts and feeling about the war and if there would really be a battle here or not. We both agreed that nothing would really happen here and that it was nothing to worry about.

The next morning me and Patrick both awoke to the firing of gunshots and cannons firing. We quickly got up and grabbed our equipment and rifles and exited the tent. There was smoke to the immediate south and we guessed that was where the battle was and that was the direction that we headed in. As we approached the cloud of smoke we saw our regiment lining up and we quickly joined in. We started marching into a large open field where we would probably chase off some greybacks.

The sight that met us when we got closer was absolutely terrifying. It could easily be the entire Confederate army on the other side of the field. I looked behind us and was actually surprised by the sight. We actually had an army to match. Easily 40,000 men were standing behind me. All of our regiment took a knee and looked up to our commander. He muttered two words, "Fix Bayonets'. All of a sudden I could see why.

The Confederate army was running towards us hollering a rebel yell. We quickly attached our bayonets to our rifles and awaited further orders. His next orders were to load our rifles and we did so flawlessly. All that drilling had paid off. Then Colonel Colvill had hollered one last order, "Charge!"

We did as he said and we all got up and started charging at the Confederate line, closer, closer. I could feel the adrenaline in my blood and I then realized how scared I actually was. I looked to my right and saw Patrick right next to me, fierceness on his face, I knew he was ready. We were now about 300 yards from the Confederate line and they had already started launching cannonballs and artillery shells at us. Closer, closer now only 150 yards out, we slowed down and started firing at the advancing line. Wave after wave they were all dropping like flies and we just kept reloading and firing.

The Confederates continued firing artillery shells at us and they blew huge holes in our line of infantry. The Union army was still advancing on the Confederates marching straight at them, fearlessly. Now, only 50 yards away, an all-out war waged between the two sides. Shot after shot we took Confederates down and shot after shot they were taking us down. The battlefield was now filled with smoke but I could see the people around me getting shot and dying where they lay.

We got closer to the Confederates and began battling with the greybacks with our bayonets. My face had been right in the face of a Confederate soldier when it happened. An artillery shell was fired and hit me directly in the shoulder. I fell to the ground. I saw Patrick run over to my final resting place and stab the greyback multiple times with his bayonet, and he didn't stop until his bayonet was completely red. He came over to me and slumped down. I could see the tears swelling in his eyes. "Patrick, Patrick, don't cry. I'm gonna... I'm going home now..." I died with a smile on my face. A smile because I had my best friend by my side.

Bulter's comments: Description of Camp Life – Students learned about how the soldiers lived between battles. The type of food that was eaten, clothes that were worn, and activities that filled up the long hours were discussed. Civil War soldiers spent more time contemplating and reminiscing about battles than actually fighting in them. The following journal reflects on some of these very things.

A PRIVATE LIFE MADE PUBLIC

by Alex Ryskamp

Journal of Private Pacolet Fernandez

29th of April, 1863

I have begun to realize that camp life is rough as I just enlisted six days ago. Once I enlisted others who had enlisted the same day as I marched for a two day journey to Fort Massachusetts in Mississippi. It was a long and hard journey, longer than I had anticipated, but it was worth it as I am to be fighting for what I believe is right. Once we arrived, we set up our tents and gathered all of our items that we were given such as our sheet iron crackers, and our sardine box, and the rest of the resources that we would need throughout the war. Throughout the first week that we stayed encamped at Fort Massachusetts, more recruits and enlisted men came in, while occasionally a regiment or two stopped by to see the sawbones after some battles. Just yesterday a regiment that made it through the battle of Manassas came through with more than half wounded. This week I have been practicing battle maneuvers and rifle tactics with my company the Lamar Rifles, of the 11th Mississippi regiment.

Tomorrow, we are to begin moving towards Virginia, where we will meet with the rest of our brothers in arms under General Lee, who is a chief cook and bottle washer. We have been told to be prepared for everything, making me scared for my life.

9th of May, 1863

I write this with my pen in hand as I have survived my first major battle. On the day of May 3rd, the 11th Mississippi finally met with General Lee only to be put straight into battle in the middle of Chancellorsville. The Federals outnumbered us 2-1, making it a massacre. As I charged into battle, men that I had known fell all around me. The hornets ripped into one of my closest possum's body; he had possibly a dozen wounds, all of them either in the chest or bread basket. Because of this there was nothing I could do as he cried out for my help. All I could do was keep moving past, as soon as I took one step away from him I felt the regret wash over me, as he had been there during my training and showed me how to clean my rifle, and reload quicker. Unfortunately we were ordered to pull our regiment back away from enemy lines to prevent losing more men. I had to walk back past my possum as he laid there bleeding to death. It was an absolute horrific sight, to see him lying there, with-

ing in pain and agony with nothing for me to do to help.

In the end we may have succeeded in the battle, but we sustained a great loss. General "Stonewall" Jackson was shot by one of his own men as Lee had ordered us to flank the Federal soldiers. Jackson survived with the wounds for only a few days before he passed. He was a great leader. The loss of "Stonewall" is devastating to us and the rest of the Confederacy.

I may have survived this battle, but I fear that I will not make it home after the war. I had a vision in my sleep last night that I would not survive the next battle, making me try to live my life to the fullest possible. This is proving to be difficult as the Greenhorns are becoming harder and harder on their men, trying to prepare us for the next time we face the Federals. Some of the men have become restless at night and try to sneak off to trade with the Federal troops. Six men have been caught leaving camp so far. Each of them was executed today. As we are only volunteers and enlisted men, food is hard to come by; the most we get each day is our hardtack and the occasional bark juice. The actual food is normally eaten by the buggers and other leaders. More and more men are getting sick with dysentery. The rest of us are all played out from our practice and marching.

Tomorrow we plan to move into Federal territory. I fear that I will not survive the horrors of what lay there. I say goodbye to the world that could have been made great, that was ruined as brother turned on brother.

(This narrative was a fictional story of a nonfictional person, Private Pacolet Fernandez. He enlisted in the 11th Mississippi Regiment, the Lamar Rifles, on May 23, 1863 to fight in the Civil War. He was born in South Carolina, a student, was single and 17 years old. He was paroled at Appomattox after the surrender was signed.)

Bulter's comments: Fear – The following piece is a great example of how teenagers are able to relate to Civil War soldiers because they so often were their same age. We discussed how the soldiers were supposed to be eighteen, but many were much younger than that. We examined photos of soldiers and were amazed at how many were just boys. Many would never live to be men. Many would come home forever scarred by what they saw, what they experienced, what they did, and what they became. War is frightening for all ages, for all involved. But it is especially a fearful thing for the youth

who enlisted with thoughts of glory, naïve to the realities of war.

THE TRUTH ABOUT WAR

by Chez'lene Cornwall

My Name is Jacob Hershberger and this is my record of my stay with the 142nd Pennsylvania.

It's dark and cold, wind howling, owls hooting. It's quiet, but I still can't sleep. I remain awake because I know that tomorrow we'll be fighting again, dying again, and losing ourselves once more.

I lie silently and think about my family. My brothers, my father, and my dearest mother whom I love so much. The one who gave me the very journal I am writing in, the journal I have only chosen to use now. She told me to use it when I need someone to talk to, when I need to put my thoughts down. I need it now. I feel like I'm dying, losing myself. I'm slowly losing sight of who I was and who I wanted to be. I feel like my heart is being squeezed until it turns to dust, floating away in the wind along with my will to live.

I hear the wounded groan and scream in pain, their voices blending with the whistling of the wind. They moan and call for loved ones that will never come. The life draining from their bodies with every passing minute. Their parched and dry throats slowly quiet them, but until then, I've learned to tune them out. It portrays me to be inhumane, but I am no longer human. For a human would not yearn to claim another's soul...

... Honestly, I'm afraid. Not of the war, but of going home. I'm afraid they won't accept me. I am no longer the boy I used to be. No longer the child they once knew. I've seen things I shouldn't have seen, done things no child should do. I miss my family terribly and I don't know if I will ever see them again. That thought alone breaks my heart and shakes me to the core...

... I will need to shine and clean my gun soon. The third day of battle will begin at daybreak. I prepare myself for the carnage, the tears, and explosions. Sadness drapes over me like a cloak, I feel my shoulders sag and I wonder how long I will last. I don't know if I can continue. I wonder as I stare out into the darkness, Can I save myself, before it's too late?

Bulter's comments: Courage/Acceptance of Death – One cannot study the Civil War without realizing the tremendous risk each soldier faced daily. The horrors of battle are easy to understand from viewing photos of the dead and

reading descriptions of the aftermath of battles. Even more deadly were the diseases that inflicted the men in both the blue and the gray. Soldiers faced sheer exhaustion from long marches, suffered from unsanitary conditions, and camped in all kinds of weather. The extreme bravery and unremitting willingness to die seem alien to our modern way of thinking. Though we may not comprehend the reasons for the amazing endurance of Civil War troops, we can still admire their resilience.

MY DEAREST ETHEL

By Lauren Kiefer

My Dearest Ethel,

It has been a happy seven years of marriage we have shared. I am so sorry to inform you that I will not make it through the battle of Gettysburg. I was ready for war; you were reluctant for me to go. I now know that the fear of losing me was the reasoning for your reluctance. I have been wounded right in my bread basket while leading my men of Company B, 8th Florida regiment. I have been lying on the ground for almost a day now, who knows how long I will stay here. I have no chance of recovery but a man brought me water and said he would find help. Even if he finds help, I won't make it.

It is July 1 of 1863, soon to be the second. I am sure I will not make it another day. I will die a meaningful death, and I hope that you are proud of what I've done for the Confederacy. I have fought a good fight, but I am sorry I will not be able to see you again. You will be sent all the greenbacks I have earned throughout this bloody war. Please don't be uppity with the money, for I want you and our daughter to use it wisely.

Time in between battles was harsh; it was scarce as hen's teeth that we got any food other than goobers and biscuits. Many of the men are dying of quick-step and being starved. I am happy to not be going out like that, for now I feel like I will have died toeing the mark. I have seen many men get shot down. The hornets hardly stop. My own best possum was captured as a jailbird right in front of me, another was wounded by a hornet right in the head. He was dead instantly. These men, I watched die. I couldn't do anything but keep fighting, or else I would die too.

I know you are already distressed from the news of your brother passing. He was a good man. I always fought side by side with him on the battlefield. I remember the fifth day of the seven days battle when he was shot

down. I couldn't do a thing to help him. I remember getting sawbones to go back for him that night but they wouldn't do anything because they knew he would soon die. I sat next to him and he asked for me to take him out, so that he wouldn't suffer. I thought it best you should know before I died.

I want you to take good care of our daughter; I want the best for you and Esther. Break the news to her lightly, but don't push her away. Be a hard case, for her sake. I know that the two of you will be alright without me. I understand if you are fit to be tied, just know I had to do something for this country. I sure have been through the mill, and I hope that is enough for you.

I wanted to take my last hours of life writing you this letter; there is so much for me to tell you and so much more that I want you to know. It is July 2 now, almost the 3. I am very weak, I will go soon. I have thought about my passing a lot, instead of mourning I want you to be bully, for I have done much for the country. Whichever way the war turns out I want you and Esther to live a fulfilling life. If we, the Confederacy win, I will have accomplished what I set out for. If the Union wins, I still want you to be happy for the country and know that it will all work out.

With my dying breath, it is July 3, 1863. I have been on the battlefield wounded for three days. The sawbones are about to work on me now. The surgery will not be successful, but that is alright. Sending all my love to you and our daughter...

Love your husband, Captain Thomas R. Love, of Company B, 8th Florida regiment.

Bulter's comments: Concern for families at home—Students tried to make their writing sound authentic. Ideas were given as to what soldiers would discuss in letters. Of course, students also read letters, diaries, and journals from the period to get a feel for what should be included. A recurring theme was concern for those left behind.

Part 2 of this article will appear in a later issue.

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So Costly a Sacrifice: Lincoln and Loss

by Dale Ogden

From February 7, 2015, through July 5, 2015, the Indiana State Museum will mark the sesquicentennial of the end of the American Civil War, and of Lincoln's death, through the display of more than 120 artifacts and documents. The exhibition, **So Costly a Sacrifice: Lincoln and Loss** examines these monumental events within the context of Victorian America's approach to human mortality.

MORTALITY IN 19TH CENTURY AMERICA

During the mid-19th century, death was a familiar element of everyday life in the United States. The typical American woman bore six or seven offspring during her lifetime, and nearly 30% of American children born prior to the 1880s died before reaching puberty. Unsanitary birthing procedures that resulted in puerperal – or “childbed” – fever, and other ills claimed one young mother for every fifty successful births. The infectious disease tuberculosis was the leading cause of death, but common maladies such as measles, appendicitis, influenza, and even diarrhea resulted in the deaths of countless Americans each year. The likelihood of reaching adolescence without intimately experiencing the death of an acquaintance or a close relative was practically nonexistent.

Harrison County, Indiana, judge and seven-term Indiana state legislator, William Porter, fathered seven daughters, four of whom died of tuberculosis in their teenage years, or as young adults. Two weeks before her death, William and Elizabeth Porter's eldest daughter, Mary Jane, a 26-year-old schoolteacher, penned a will from her deathbed:

My Own Dear Father and Mother:

I feel that my time on earth is short and I thought I would write some of my little wishes about the disposition of my things. It is true, they are not many, nor very valuable, but they will serve as keepsakes from me.

Give to Attia, my darling baby sister, my watch, chain and the pin belonging, and also my gold ring which has no set in it, and my cameo breast-pin.

Give to Aurelia my medal, my pencil, my ring with the white set, and my books, except the Bible I received from my Sunday School Class, which I want father to have, and the Hymn Book which I got at the same time, and which I want Mother to have.

To Helen, give my bracelets, my breastpin with white sets and the one with father's miniature, and my mourning pin. – (I forgot to say give Relia my little mosaic pin, I want her to have it.) Give my big lace cape to Relia.

Father gave me that little black breastpin and now I wish mother to take it, it will be suitable for her to wear, and I wish her to do so. My white crepe shawl she must take, and if she can, get it fixed for her own wearing.

As to my money, father says I have something more than three hundred dollars. Give to my dear Relia, Helen and Attia, each one hundred dollars, let them appropriate the amount as they choose, I hope it will be wisely.

Mother, that ring which was your mother's take, and do with as you please, I do not feel that I have any right to dispose of it. My clothes, do with as you please. They are not worth much. The less gold pen was Lizzie's, the larger is father's. To Aurelia and Helen give each a chemise button, both gold and jet.

Mother, take five dollars of my money, and give dear Aunty Betsey a present, or perhaps she would prefer a five dollar gold piece. I think maybe she would. Tell her I loved her till the last. To you, mother and father, I have nothing to leave but my unalterable, dying love and gratitude. You have been dear, good parents to me and as much as I have loved you, I

fear I have not always done right but I know you forgive me. My love to all who have been so kind to me and all the children I love dearly, Good-bye, all.

M. J. Porter

(Collection of the Indiana State Museum and Historic Sites, Corydon Capital SHS)

THE FIERY TRIAL

While life expectancy for males in mid-19th century America hovered around 45 years, that statistic was distorted by the number of children who died in infancy. If an American boy survived childhood, he had a reasonable chance to live a long life. The carnage of the Civil War dashed that hope. Suddenly, huge numbers of otherwise healthy young men were dying at an appalling rate. The scale of death was unprecedented in the history of the United States. More than 4,000 Americans died on a single day at the Battle of Antietam, and twice that number were killed during three days at Gettysburg. In the 14 months Andersonville Prison existed, nearly 13,000 Union POWs died from disease, malnutrition, or exposure. As many as 140,000 soldiers died of dysentery or chronic diarrhea during the course of the war. One in five white southern men of military age did not survive the conflict. Such slaughter would test the nation's character for generations to come.

The Civil War was the first American conflict where efforts to comfort every casualty, account for every fatality, and provide for every survivor rose to heroic heights. For many citizens of the time, an especially painful aspect of the violence was that tens-of-thousands of young men were dying alone and anonymous. Identifying, reclaiming, preserving, and burying the dead became a national obsession. The first widespread use of embalming and the rise of undertaking as a profession, the development of national cemeteries, and an endless progression of new methods for coping with death emerged.

Volunteers with the U.S. Sanitary Commission, including many women such as Dorothea Dix and Louisa May Alcott, served at field hospitals and camps as nurses, raised



Flag that draped President Lincoln's casket in Indianapolis. April 30, 1865
This flag draped Abraham Lincoln's body when it lay in the Indiana state capital on April 30, 1865. It was taken as a souvenir by Corp. Abraham Trubey, a member of the guard that shielded Lincoln's casket during its time in Indianapolis. Indiana State Museum

money, worked to educate the government and military on matters of health and sanitation, or provided food, lodging and care for soldiers returning from service. After the war, their newfound skills enabled some volunteers to find work in jobs previously closed to women and encouraged many others to become actively involved in a range of social movements from temperance to women's suffrage.

A TIME TO BIND THE NATION'S WOUNDS

The Civil War extracted an especially terrible physical and emotional toll on Abraham Lincoln. On a personal level, the Lincolns were devastated by the death of their cherished son Willie, claimed by typhoid fever in 1862; and the president's wife, Mary, lost a brother, a step-brother and the husband of her favorite sister, each one who died while serving in the rebel army. Simultaneously, the task of ordering multitudes to their deaths was a crushing burden for a man who is remembered for his compassion. Upon hearing news of the slaughter at Fredericksburg, Lincoln lamented, *If there is a worse place than Hell, I am in it.*

But in the spring of 1865, the Lincolns were looking to the future with anticipation. The President's re-election had been secured the previous November. On April 9, Robert E. Lee surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia to the Union commander Ulysses S. Grant, and the end of the country's bloody nightmare was at hand. As thoughts turned to the hard work of national reconciliation, Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln planned an evening of relaxation at Washington's popular Ford's Theatre.

Washington was crazy with joy over the surrender of Lee. Every one of the Public Buildings was illuminated, and every private house was blazing with candles from top to bottom the people were wild with excitement.

John B. Stonehouse "Dear Johnny"
April 16, 1865

Gilder-Lehrman Collection at
the Pierpont Morgan Library

The fall of Richmond on April 3, and Lee's surrender six days later, affirmed the hopelessness of the Southern cause. The imminent conclusion of a war between massed armies, however, did not mean that all rebel partisans were willing to abandon the fight. A few diehards believed that a single grand gesture might yet rally the Southern populace to

push a dispirited North into a negotiated peace. John Wilkes Booth's assassination of the 16th President was the culmination of this concept of a grand gesture.

I never saw Mr. Lincoln so cheerful and happy as he was on the day of his death. The burden which had been weighing upon him for four long years, and which he had borne with heroic fortitude, had been lifted; the war had been practically ended; the Union was safe. The weary look which his face had so long worn... had disappeared. It was bright and cheerful.

Hugh McCullough of Fort Wayne, IN.
Secretary of the U.S. Treasury
1865-1869

"DETAILS OF THE DREADFUL TRAGEDY"

Throughout history, the news of momentous events typically required weeks, or even months, to become known throughout the general population. When John Wilkes Booth and his band of reactionaries hatched their plot to kill Abraham Lincoln on Good Friday of 1865, details of their success flashed across the continent via the newly completed web of the telegraph. On Saturday morning, the citizenry awoke to the horrifying report that the President of the United States had been shot the night before and had died earlier that morning. For the first time in history, an entire populace experienced a national calamity, essentially, simultaneously. Not only did Americans learn of the "Terrible News" (Lincoln was the first U.S. president to be assassinated and most Americans had believed such atrocities were reserved for savages and a depraved Europe) together, they debated the meaning of the tragedy, and followed the hunt for Booth, and the subsequent trial and execution of the conspirators in chorus. Such a universal experience magnified every aspect of the crisis and altered the character of a nation.

Many Americans got the report from newspaper extra editions that had been rushed into print. These single-sheet handbills were passed from hand-to-hand and posted in public places. Despite a break in telegraph wires between northern Wisconsin and central Minnesota, by Sunday morning *The Saint Paul Press* was able to publish an extra edition on the assassination with the promise of more news to follow immediately upon the completion



Union shell jacket belonging to Sergeant William Wilson, 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry, of the legendary Iron Brigade. Shot four times, Wilson carried a Minié ball in his chest for the rest of his life.
Indiana State Museum



Confederate artillery shell, circa 1863. This shell struck the 18th Indiana Light Artillery at Chattanooga on August 23, 1863, killing Corp Abram McCorkle.
Indiana State Museum



Patriotic Banner that hung in the Presidential Box at Ford's Theatre, April 14, 1865



The New York Herald 10:00 o'clock edition, Saturday, April 15, 1865

of the necessary repairs. By the time California's evening newspapers were published on the day of Lincoln's death, according to the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, the news had traveled all the way to the Pacific Ocean "By Magnetic Telegraph." Though it boasted a population of less than 2,000 citizens, within a few days of the tragedy Rockville, Indiana's Parke County Republican was reporting that "Already it is known from Maine to California, that Abraham Lincoln, the beloved of all Loyal men, is dead!"

Within weeks of the President's murder, the butchery of the American Civil War had ended. Yet many questions remained unresolved, and the abrupt removal of Lincoln from the dispute led to confusion. The authority of the federal government, the inherent rights of individuals, and the capacity of states to govern their own affairs are issues that continued to be debated. Absent clear answers, many Americans of the post-war era struggled to grasp the meaning of the war and the inexplicable loss of their leader.

Barely a month prior to Lee's surrender, Abraham Lincoln had concluded his Second Inaugural Address with a speculation on the possibility of a Divine Purpose behind the Civil War. Before offering his "With malice toward none; with charity for all" olive branch to the Confederacy, the President suggested that perhaps the horrific price the nation had paid was simply a penance for the ghastly sin of slavery that the country had tolerated for so long:

Heaven ... shall make him serve his country even more in death than by his life.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, April 19, 1865

The President was attacked on Good Friday, and his death the following day moved countless American ministers to draw parallels between Abraham Lincoln and Jesus Christ in their Easter sermons, for which nearly half of the population are estimated to have been in attendance. Some Northerners had detected, in the President's "With malice toward none" plea, an unsettling inclination to forgive the South for the blood that had been shed. A few of that persuasion speculated that God had intervened to stay such an injustice. Many others were inclined to accept the need for a blood sacrifice in order that the nation's sins be forgiven. The sacred term "martyr" was widely applied to both Christ and to Lincoln. Other observers found parallels between George Washington – the "Father" of his country – and Abraham Lincoln – the "Savior" of

that union. For three days, the fallen leader's remains lay in state in the rotunda of the nation's capitol while tens of thousands of mourners filed past. The crusade to define the meaning of the war and to place Abraham Lincoln within that purpose was just beginning.

THE EASTER SERMONS

Throughout 1865 and into the following year, the Easter sermons of many revered American pastors were collected and published in anthologies that were widely read and discussed among the educated class. Other homilies from less distinguished pulpits were widely circulated in pamphlet form. All attempted to bring some measure of solace and meaning to the horrors of the war, and to the president's death.

Rev. Phineas Gurley

Chaplain of the United States Senate

[W]e must see another hand – the chastening hand of a wise and faithful God ... In the midst of our rejoicings we needed this stroke, this dealing, this discipline, and therefore he sent it ... It is his prerogative to bring light out of darkness and good out of evil.

Rev. Henry Bellows

All Saints Church. New York, NY

It was expedient for [Jesus] to go away from all bodily presence with his followers ... Thus alone could [He] ... keep them from closing in again with their narrow earthly horizon – keep them from falling back into schemes of worldly hope – from substituting devotion to his visible person.

[Gurley and Bellows statements are cited in "The Lincoln Memorial: A Record...of the Martyred President" John Gilmary Shea, Catholic historian, author, editor and publisher: New York: Bunce & Hunington, 1865

"THE MARTYR PRESIDENT. A SERMON"

Rev. John Egar.

The Church of St. Paul.

Leavenworth, KS

The murderer ... is an object of Divine wrath, and the curse of God But brethren, this crime – and it may have been permitted to teach us the sacredness of human life – sinks into the nation's heart deeper than can any private crime because the moral foundation of our institutions is attacked.

"ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. A SERMON"

Rev. John Drumm

St. James Church. Bristol, PA

2d Samuel iii 38. "Know ye not that there

is a prince, and a great man, fallen this day in Israel?"

When we last met for morning worship, it was to commemorate the murder of the Lord Jesus Christ and to grieve over the sufferings of Him who ... died for our salvation We expected that on this day we should emerge from the gloom and sorrow of the Passion Week, and rejoice in the fact and the lessons of the Savior's resurrection.

The Southern view of Lincoln's death was more complicated. Many of the elite recognized their fate in Lincoln's hands was more hopeful than it might be under less sympathetic leaders. Others felt the murder was a righteous retribution. *What torrents of blood Lincoln has caused to flow, and how Seaward has aided him in his bloody work. I cannot be sorry for their fate. They deserve it. They have reaped their just reward.*

Kate Stone, Tyler, Texas, April 1865

Attempting to touch the life of a great person by obtaining a personal souvenir has been a human impulse since medieval hucksters swindled the faithful by supplying countless splinters from what they claimed to be the "True Cross" of Jesus. Such an industry developed around the martyred president almost immediately upon his death. Chips of wood from the house in which he died, remnants of sheets from the deathbed and scraps of clothing from those in attendance were among the artifacts prized for their intimate connection to the great and terrible event. That some of these relics were authentic while others were forged for financial gain has had little relevance to their place in the American imagination for 150 years.

Facing the horrors of the Civil War, Americans struggled to find a metaphysical, even religious, meaning for their losses. Abraham Lincoln grew from a common man who shared the ordeals of his fellow citizens, to the Martyr President, to the Savior of the Nation. In our time, the 16th president is often viewed as a caricature of the man he was, as his image continues to evolve to this day.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dale Ogden :

Dale Ogden is the Chief Curator of Cultural History at the Indiana State Museum in Indianapolis. The Exhibit "So Costly a Sacrifice: Lincoln and Loss" is on display now through July 5, 2015.

An interview with Edna Greene Medford



Thomas Lincoln

Sara Gabbard: What is your opinion of Thomas Lincoln?

Edna Greene Medford: Lincoln's father was a hardworking, but apparently moderately ambitious, man. Unlike his son, he seemed comfortable with his way of life. Lincoln senior did not understand his son's drive to improve himself intellectually. In that way, he was not very different from parents of any era who clash with their children over life choices. We tend to think of Thomas as unreasonable, but this is because we know what Lincoln became. From the perspective of Lincoln's environment, Thomas could be considered reasonable. He was preparing his son for survival on the frontier. His dreams for his son were no broader than that.

SG: How reliable is William Herndon as a source for historians?

EGM: All sources are problematic. Herndon is no exception. We know he had certain biases and was not shy about pursuing his own agenda. If we keep that in mind, and if we compare his observations with other contemporaries, I think we get a better perspective of Lincoln and his times. Herndon is certainly not so problematic that we can afford to ignore the many insights he brings to the study of Lincoln.

SG: What is the "mud sill" theory?

EGM: The "mudsill" theory was proposed by James Hammond, senator from South Carolina. Hammond and other southerners

believed that all great societies were built on a mudsill. The mudsill consisted of the labor of a subordinate class. This left the "superior" beings the time to think and perfect society and government. To the extent that the South had this mudsill in the African American enslaved laborers, Southerners considered themselves superior to Northern society.

SG: Frederick Douglass' opinion of Abraham Lincoln seems to change through the years. Please comment.

EGM: African American leaders, including Douglass, were initially suspicious of Lincoln. It had more to do with the policy of the Republican Party rather than the man himself. The Republicans were most concerned about the extension of slavery into the territories rather than its immediate demise. Most of them, including Lincoln, were generally willing to wait for decades for the institution to collapse. When Lincoln became the Republican nominee in 1860, African Americans hoped for the best, but understood that he was not likely to champion the end of slavery. Yet, when the war began, Douglass, especially, pressed the president to strike a blow against the institution. Until Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, Douglass kept up a steady stream of criticism through his newspaper and in public addresses. After 1863, he continued to criticize the president's handling of the war, especially as it involved black soldiers—pay inequities, their lack of opportunity for promotion, treatment on the part of Confederate forces, etc. For a time before the 1864 election, Douglass had threatened to support a more radical candidate. He regained some degree of confidence in Lincoln when the president enlisted his assistance in devising a plan to get as many enslaved people as possible out of southern hands before he was forced to negotiate a peace agreement. When Lincoln was assassinated shortly after Lee's surrender, Douglass grieved with the rest of the country. In a June speech at Cooper Union, he suggested that Lincoln was "emphatically the black man's president." During his administration, great things had occurred—recognition of Haiti and Liberia, freedom for the enslaved, acceptance of black men as soldiers in the Union army. Eleven years later, however, on the occasion of the dedi-



THE RIOTS IN NEW YORK: DESTRUCTION OF THE COLOURED ORPHAN ASYLUM.

1863 Race Riots

cation of the Freedmen's Memorial, Douglass judged Lincoln to be "emphatically, the white man's president." Black men and women were, at best, his stepchildren. Of course, Douglass was disillusioned by the lack of progress for African Americans during the intervening years. Yet he continued to praise Lincoln for his cordiality on the three occasions that they met and for what Douglass believed to be a lack of prejudice against people of color.

SG: What was the Douglass Institute?

EGM: The Douglass Institute was established in Baltimore in 1865 by a few dozen black men and named in honor of the great orator and abolitionist. It was the site of gatherings and meetings of organizations dedicated to improving the condition and advancing the cause of African Americans in the city. When Douglass dedicated the building in October 1865, he saw the Institute as serving a much larger population. Not only would it play a prominent role in the

"freedom and elevation" of black men and women in Baltimore, but in the entire state of Maryland and throughout the United States. The Institute kept its doors open until 1890, when the building was sold.

SG: Were there white Southern clergymen who supported emancipation? If so, were they able to persuade their congregations?

EGM: Although the southern clergy generally supported, even championed slavery, there were those who recognized the immorality of holding human beings as property or simply thought slavery was not in the best interest of the South. For their efforts, they were routinely treated with condemnation, ostracism, loss of employment, and banishment; at its worst, they were imprisoned, physically abused (including lashings), and sometimes murdered. As the war encouraged the South to stamp out dissent, the tactics became more brutal. Certain clergy were even charged with treason and sentenced

to death. David Chesebrough, who wrote a very revealing book about dissent among the southern clergy during the antebellum and Civil War eras, provides an excellent account of the challenges of those who dared to defy the South's effort to crush dissent on the matter of slavery and the war.

SG: Please comment on the significance of Juneteenth.

EGM: On June 19, 1865, Major General Gordon Granger arrived at Galveston, Texas, and informed the residents there that enslaved men and women were freed by the provisions of the Emancipation Proclamation. Of course, this announcement came two and a half years after Lincoln issued the proclamation. For years African Americans in Texas celebrated this day as the end of slavery. The event was later celebrated by African Americans all over the country. However, the recognition of Juneteenth as the end of slavery is not universal. January 1st was celebrated in many areas, with "watch

night” programs held on the 31st of December. In Richmond, residents celebrated April 3rd, the day the Union troops arrived and seized control of the city. One could just as easily make a case for the celebration of December 6, when the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified. The important thing is not so much when emancipation occurred or when slavery ended, but that freedom and the prohibition of slavery occurred at all. It was certainly not a foregone conclusion.

SG: Regarding the 1863 draft riots in New York City: Was legal action ever taken against the leaders? Did any person of influence stand out as a peacemaker? What was the media coverage of the tragic results?

EGM: The 1863 draft riots represented the deplorable mistreatment of African Americans in many of the northern cities. When a new conscription act was put in place in July 1863, which allowed wealthy men to buy their way out of service, working class men and women, especially the Irish, offered strenuous objections. In their rioting they attacked government buildings and the homes and businesses of African Americans, even setting fire to and destroying the Colored Orphan Asylum that housed over 200 children. The press, which had fueled the discontent in the days leading up to the riots, sent newsmen to the streets to follow the rioters and record their actions. Black men, women, and children were attacked.

White women who were married to black men, businesses that catered to African Americans, and white men and women who attempted to quell the rioting or had offered support to the black community also came under attack. At one point, the Archbishop of New York appealed to the rioters in the name of God and the Catholic Church. Thousands of white men, women, and children participated in the rioting. If anyone was brought to justice, it would have been a fraction of those who were guilty of murder and destruction of property.

SG: What classes do you teach at Howard University? How do your current students view the study of history? Is their attitude different than that of students of the past?

EGM: I teach United States History to 1877, African American History to 1877, Civil War and Reconstruction, and the Jacksonian Era. My students are concerned that there is still too much emphasis on “the great men” and the majority population in the study of history. Many of them arrive on campus with very little formal exposure to anything but this traditional approach to the past. They are hungry to know more. My students have very definite opinions about what they should be taught. African American history is a major focus for them, but they are enthusiastic about other areas as well. They understand that history cannot be taught in a vacuum, that all groups

and ideas must be included in the narrative.

SG: Will the end of the “150th anniversary years” of Lincoln’s presidency and the Civil War lead to a decreasing interest in the subject? What do you see as the most significant direction which scholars should follow in the future?

EGM: The sesquicentennial has done wonders to energize the American public and to get Americans interested in the Civil War era and the Lincoln presidency. Scholarly conferences, special television programming, and other public events have attracted audiences eager to hear more. It has been exciting for those of us who live and breathe that history to witness the renewed interest in the era. There may be a lessening of enthusiasm when the commemoration has ended, but I imagine there will always be strong interest in both Lincoln and the war. After all, we are still dealing with the consequences of actions taken and certain inactions during that period. It is the obligation of scholars to broaden the narrative of the Civil War era, to include all the participants in what was one of the most important periods in the nation’s history. If we are successful in doing this, we will secure the continued interest of larger, more diverse portions of the national population.

SG: What is your next Lincoln-related Project?

EGM: I have just completed a concise volume on the president and emancipation. Its focus is on Lincoln and his unspoken partnership with African Americans. I argue that together the president and people of color helped to destroy slavery, and in so doing, moved the country closer to realization of the promise of the Declaration of Independence and America’s creed. My next project will involve a study of the recognition of Haiti and Liberia during the Lincoln administration. Research is currently underway.

"When Freedom Came: Emancipation and the Question of Timing"



Friday, June 19, 2015 | 7:00 pm
Allen County Public Library | Theater, Lower Level 2

Dr. Edna Greene Medford, professor of history at Howard University, will present a lecture celebrating the sesquicentennial of Juneteenth. The event is free and open to the public.

Dr. Medford’s talk, titled “When Freedom Came: Emancipation and the Question of Timing,” will address the issue of how we identify the arrival of African American freedom. As Dr. Medford explains:

Every schoolboy and girl knows that on January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln signed a proclamation declaring that all enslaved people in the states (or parts thereof) still in rebellion “are and henceforward shall be free.” What happened after that is contested ground. We know that enslaved people experienced emancipation at myriad times and in myriad ways. Some were freed immediately; others were not freed until they exercised agency and fled the plantations; the vast majority awaited the arrival of federal military personnel. Even within certain states that had been visited by Union forces, knowledge of the proclamation did not reach all enslaved inhabitants swiftly or in any uniform way. How, then, do we determine the proper date to celebrate African-American freedom?

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Edna Greene Medford

Dr. Medford teaches courses on African American history, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and nineteenth-century America. She is a coauthor of *The Emancipation Proclamation: Three Views* (2006) and a recipient of a 2009 bicentennial edition of the “Order of Lincoln” from the State of Illinois for her study of the president and the Civil War era.

A Law Student Looks at Abraham Lincoln

by Justin McKinzie, Indiana Tech Law School

INTRODUCTION

"I simply wanted to tell you that there are some men in this world who were born to do our unpleasant jobs for us."¹ Much like Atticus Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Abraham Lincoln was one of those men destined to embark upon a journey that was far from pleasant, but the world is grateful for him today.

Abraham Lincoln is prominently remembered as a bold leader through a time of war. His legacy as the President who forged the path for all people to be free is heralded as a shining example for all statesman to adhere to. Less mentioned in the history books is Lincoln's success as an attorney and the wonderful lessons he provides any individual seeking to practice law. His perseverance is legendary; through adversity, failure, and war Lincoln maintained that the "...resolution to succeed, is more important than any other one thing."² Lincoln respected and encouraged the rule of law to "be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap."³

Lincoln was a skilled trial attorney who commanded the respect of his opponents. Peers recognized "his mastery of the art of cross-examination, in which he had no equal."⁴ He rarely practiced criminal defense, but when he did "it was invariably in defending some poor unfortunate who was unable to hire an attorney, and Lincoln, out of the goodness of his great and sympathetic heart, came to the rescue."⁵ He sometimes experienced defeat but constantly persevered to provide his clients with the best representation possible. In a period of twenty-one years, Lincoln tried nearly two hundred cases before the Illinois Supreme Court.⁶

The practice of law was the embryo for Lincoln's political career. His integrity and values were tested and developed while he was an attorney. His fundamental belief in the necessity of a unified nation was forged while he played a major role in the development of railroad law. His Presidential platform included a strong plan to expand the railroad to the Pacific Ocean.⁷

Lincoln's legal career is not without blemish. While his opposition to slavery was consistent throughout his life, he did not always represent the morally acceptable party. In

fact, he represented slaveholders and others who practiced acts that are reprehensible. Lincoln biographer William Barton explained this by stating, "Lincoln's opposition to slavery did not prevent his accepting a fee from a slaveholder, any more than his opposition to murder kept him from accepting a fee from a murderer."

In Lincoln's *Notes for a Law Lecture*, he remarked that he was "not an accomplished lawyer. I find quite as much material for a lecture in those points wherein I have failed, as in those wherein I have been moderately successful. The leading rule for the lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence. Leave nothing for to-morrow which can be done to-day."⁸

Throughout the annals of history, Lincoln's reputation for being honest, disciplined, and always striving to do the right thing is intact. The lessons to be learned from his life are valuable and his work as an attorney was a stellar example to any person embarking upon the path of becoming a lawyer.

LINCOLN THE LAWYER

Lincoln was not known to be "a diligent student of the law, but when pressed by necessity, he was a sophisticated user of the available sources of legal information ... Lincoln's [study] was directed toward the case before him."⁹ Lincoln believed that self-study and practical experience should govern the practice of law.

Lincoln learned a significant amount from other attorneys, and his partnership with Stephen Logan was extremely rewarding; "[i]t is fair to say that no man contributed more toward bringing Lincoln's natural gifts as a lawyer to their fullest fruition."¹⁰ Logan



Lincoln-Herndon Law Office

said that Lincoln "was not much of a reader ... he would get a case and try to know all that was connected with it; and that way ... he got to be quite a formidable lawyer."¹¹

Despite this experiential form of learning, one of Lincoln's partners, William Herndon, remarked that he "knew nothing of the rules of evidence, of pleading, or practice, as laid down in the text books, and seemed to care nothing about them."¹² However, "he relied on his keen sense of justice and struggled for it, throwing aside forms, methods, and rules, until it appeared pure as a ray of light flashing through a fog-bank."¹³ This instinctual form of lawyering served Lincoln well as he combined it with good manners and an amiable personality. Lawrence Weldon, a peer, once wrote that, "Mr. Lincoln was always respectful and deferential toward the court, and never forgot the professional amenities of the bar."¹⁴

Notwithstanding his lack of technical skill, Lincoln was a fantastic attorney in the courtroom and "was masterful in a legal argument before the court his knowledge of the general principles of the law was extensive and accurate, and his mind was so clear and logical that he seldom made a mistake in

their application.”¹⁵ Lincoln “dealt with the deep philosophy of the law, always knew the cases which might be quoted as absolute authority.”¹⁶

was very successful. One of the more famous cases that he tried displayed his cunning use of cross-examination and his brilliant perception of people. As any trial attorney

Lincoln ran into his share of difficult witnesses, he “would neither show resentment nor attempt to coerce the witness but would go after him in a nice, friendly way, questioning about [irrelevant] things ... placing him at ease ...and before he was aware of the harm ...the whole story would be laid bare, and then Lincoln would compliment the witness on his fairness.”¹⁹

The Almanac Trial is one of the legendary cases that displayed the skills he possessed. However, “[f]or perhaps the only time in his career at the bar Lin-

coln found himself in the excruciating position of having to defend a client he thought guilty, a cause in which he didn't believe.”²⁰ William “Duff” Armstrong had been charged with murder. The key witness for the prosecution was Charles Allen, who had testified that he could see clearly when he witnessed the event because the light of a full moon gave him visibility. Lincoln put doubt in the mind of the jury by providing an almanac that showed that the moon was low on the horizon that night and was not as the witness described.

Ultimately, Armstrong was found not guilty, but Lincoln wrestled with the moral dilemma of assisting a guilty individual go free. He had chosen his client over justice but had discovered he was “ready to do violence to the principals [sic] that had always guided him. His sensitive spirit stirred to its utmost by that old debt of gratitude, he was preparing to subvert the law, something he'd never been known to do before, and apparently never did again.”²¹

Lincoln would never escape moral dilemmas. These tough choices would haunt him for the rest of his life. In the end, it would

lead him to choose freedom over peace. It would bolster his resolve so that he would have the courage to eventually rally his nation to become closer to what he hoped it could become.

LINCOLN'S CASE FOR FREEDOM

Lincoln once spent an entire night arguing about slavery with Judge T. Lyle Dickey. “Lincoln insisted that slavery could not continue to exist in the nation; Dickey contending that slavery was an institution recognized by the Constitution ...[Lincoln] said, ‘I tell you, Dickey, I am right. It is not possible for slavery to continue to exist in the nation; it's got to go.’”²²

In a case that attracted much attention, Lincoln represented Bailey who had not paid on a promissory note in exchange for a girl named Nancy who had been sold as a slave. *Bailey v. Cromwell*, 3 Scam. 71 (Ill. 1841). Lincoln argued that Bailey was not liable for the debt because: “the consideration for which the note was given was a human being, and under the laws of Illinois, a human being could not be bought and sold, the note was void. A human being could not be an object of sale and transfer in a free State.”²³ Lincoln had to appeal the case to the Supreme Court of Illinois where Judge Breese “established the broad principle that ‘the presumption of the law in Illinois is that every person is free without regard to color,’ and ‘the sale of a free person is illegal.’”²⁴ Because Lincoln proved that the sale of Nancy was illegal, the contract for her sale was void and Bailey was free from the debt.

This case occurred when Lincoln was only thirty-two years old and gave him the opportunity to carefully examine the issue of slavery in Illinois and across the nation. Another case later in his career gives us an even clearer picture of his opinion on slavery.

A man named Hinkle had moved to Illinois from Kentucky with a family that he held as slaves. Because slavery was illegal in Illinois, he freed them and one of the sons got a job on a steamboat that traveled south. “At New Orleans the boy had gone ashore, forgetting, or not knowing, that he was liable to arrest ...he was seized by the police and locked up, the rules of the city requiring that any colored person found at large, after night, without a written pass from his owner, should be confined in the ‘calaboose.’”²⁵ The boy was tried and ordered to pay a fine which he could not afford, and the government threatened to sell him into slavery so that the fee could be collected.



Outside of the courtroom, Lincoln “often took advantage of opportunities for mediation and compromise. He was able to resolve many cases by repairing the damage to the plaintiffs’ reputation... [he] acted as a peacemaker and showed sensitivity to what was actually at stake in those cases.”¹⁷ No matter the case, Lincoln maintained his principles and “discouraged pettifoggery and often proposed amicable arrangements, even if it meant losing fees.”¹⁸

The integrity and skills he developed as an attorney translated into the success he experienced in the political arena. His quick wit and likeable personality enabled Lincoln to win the office of the presidency and lead this nation through one of the bloodiest conflicts in the world's history. The discipline and rule of law instilled into Lincoln, the lawyer, granted him the ability to be one of the most important figures in American history and the effects of his life continue to be felt today.

LINCOLN THE DEFENSE ATTORNEY

Lincoln did not often represent defendants in the criminal courts, but when he did he

Meanwhile, the boy's mother sought help from Lincoln, "being one of the very few lawyers in Springfield who dared to undertake a case involving what were called the rights of slavery."²⁶ Lincoln and his partner Herndon went to the Governor of Illinois to see if they could bring the boy home. When the Governor said there was nothing he could do, "Lincoln rose to his feet, in great excitement, and said: 'By the Almighty! I'll have that negro back soon, or I'll have a twenty years' excitement in Illinois until the Governor does have a legal and constitutional right to do something in the premises!'"²⁷ Eventually, "the two lawyers sent money of their own to New Orleans, entrusting the case to a correspondent; the fine and other expenses were paid and the boy sent home to his grateful mother."²⁸

The most controversial case involving slavery and Lincoln was the Matson Slave Trial which occurred just before he had left for Washington as a Congressman. Matson had slaves in Kentucky whom he sent to his farm in Illinois seasonally to work. One of the loopholes in the slave law at the time was that if they were not "permanently situated in the State of Illinois" they would not lose "their legal status as slaves."²⁹ However, Anthony Bryant was an exception for Matson, and he permanently resided in Illinois. One day Matson's housekeeper threatened to deport Bryant's wife back to Kentucky and sold into slavery in the deep south. Afraid of the housekeeper, the Bryants ran away, and Matson sought to have them returned through the court.

Lincoln was persuaded by his friend Usher Linder, who was representing Matson, to join in the defense of the slaveholder. "No one can guess what went on in Lincoln's mind when he accepted the defense of the Kentucky planter; his motives will probably always remain open to conjecture and dispute."³⁰ Regardless, "Lincoln was pitifully weak. His arguments in behalf of a cause his conscience detested were spiritless, half-hearted, and devoid of his usual wit, logic, and invective. He lost the case. Jane Bryant and her four children were released from imprisonment."³¹ The court held "that the slaves should 'be and remain free and discharged from all servitude whatever to any person or persons from henceforth and forever.'"³² Lincoln's client "hurriedly left the State of Kentucky, crossed the Wabash, evaded his creditors and never paid Lincoln his fee."³³

Historians argue about the importance of

these cases in Lincoln's life and how they represent his views on slavery. However, "throughout Lincoln's rhetoric and later his policy on slavery and antislavery ran a profound commitment to do everything possible to enforce the law. As a lawyer he felt a sacred obligation to defend the interests of his clients, whatever they might be."³⁴ Regardless of the views that evolved throughout his life, Lincoln's practice as an attorney is a testament to the importance of the law in our lives and how one lawyer can impact the world.

CONCLUSION

Abraham Lincoln, like many of us, embodies a jumbled up and confusing set of ideals that he was not always able to practice. There are goals and principles that we strive to attain and protect, but on occasion we fail to uphold them. Most people are consistently inconsistent. However, when it mattered the most, Lincoln was true to his values and took action when he could make a positive impact on the lives around him. He was not perfect and there are many acts I am sure he wished he could atone for, but who of us is any different? Lincoln fought for what he believed was right and sacrificed more than any man in the cause for freedom. He ultimately paid with his life for his dedication "to the proposition that all men are created equal."³⁵

Lincoln's life as a lawyer should inspire us all that it only takes one attorney to make a significant impact on the entire world for centuries to come.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, p. 215 (1960).
- 2 Roy P. Basler, et al., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln II*, (1953), 327.
- 3 Abraham Lincoln, *The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions: Address Before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois*, (1838), *Collected Works*, I, pp. 108-115.
- 4 Joseph Benjamin Oakleaf, *Abraham Lincoln as a Criminal Lawyer*, p. 6 (1912).
- 5 Id.
- 6 Id.
- 7 James W. Ely Jr., *Abraham Lincoln as a Railroad Attorney*, pp. 1-2, (2005).
- 8 William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* p. 335.
- 9 Mark E. Steiner, *An Honest Calling: The Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 40-41 (2006).
- 10 John J. Duff, *A. Lincoln: Prairie Lawyer*, pp. 94 (1960).
- 11 Michael Burlingame, editor, *An Oral History of Abraham Lincoln*, John G. Nicolay's Interviews

and Essays, p. 38 (1996).

- 12 William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Life of Lincoln*, pp. 271-272 (1889).
- 13 Id.
- 14 *Abraham Lincoln: Tributes from His Associates*, (Lawrence Weldon, Reminiscences of Lincoln as a Lawyer), pp. 240-241 (1895).
- 15 Paul M. Angle, editor, *Abraham Lincoln by Some Men who Knew Him*, (James S. Ewing, speech to the Illinois Schoolmasters' Club, Bloomington), February 12, 1909, p.39-40 (1910).
- 16 Id.
- 17 Mark E. Steiner, *An Honest Calling: The Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 84 (2006).
- 18 Oliver Fraysse, *Lincoln, Land and Labor*, p. 161 (1994).
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- 20 John Evangelist Walsh, *Moonlight: Abraham Lincoln and the Almanac Trial*, pp. 32 (2000).
- 21 Id. at p. 46.
- 22 Paul M. Angle, *The Recollections of William Pitt Kellogg*, editor, *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, Volume III, No. 7, September 1945, p. 326.
- 23 Noah Brooks, *Abraham Lincoln: The Nation's Leader in the Great Struggle through which was Maintained the Existence of the United States*, p. 124-125 (1888).
- 24 John J. Duff, *A. Lincoln: Prairie Lawyer*, pp. 86-87 (1960).
- 25 Noah Brooks, *Abraham Lincoln: The Nation's Leader in the Great Struggle through which was Maintained the Existence of the United States*, pp. 125-126 (1888).
- 26 Id.
- 27 Id.
- 28 Id.
- 29 John J. Duff, *A. Lincoln: Prairie Lawyer*, pp. 130-131 (1960).
- 30 John J. Duff, *A. Lincoln: Prairie Lawyer*, p. 135 (1960).
- 31 Albert A. Woldman, *Lawyer Lincoln*, p. 68 (1935).
- 32 Reinhard H. Luthin, *The Real Abraham Lincoln*, p. 75 (1960).
- 33 Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, p. 397 (1928).
- 34 Kenneth J. Winkle, *The Young Eagle: The Rise of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 259 (2001).
- 35 Abraham Lincoln, *The Gettysburg Address*, (1863).

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