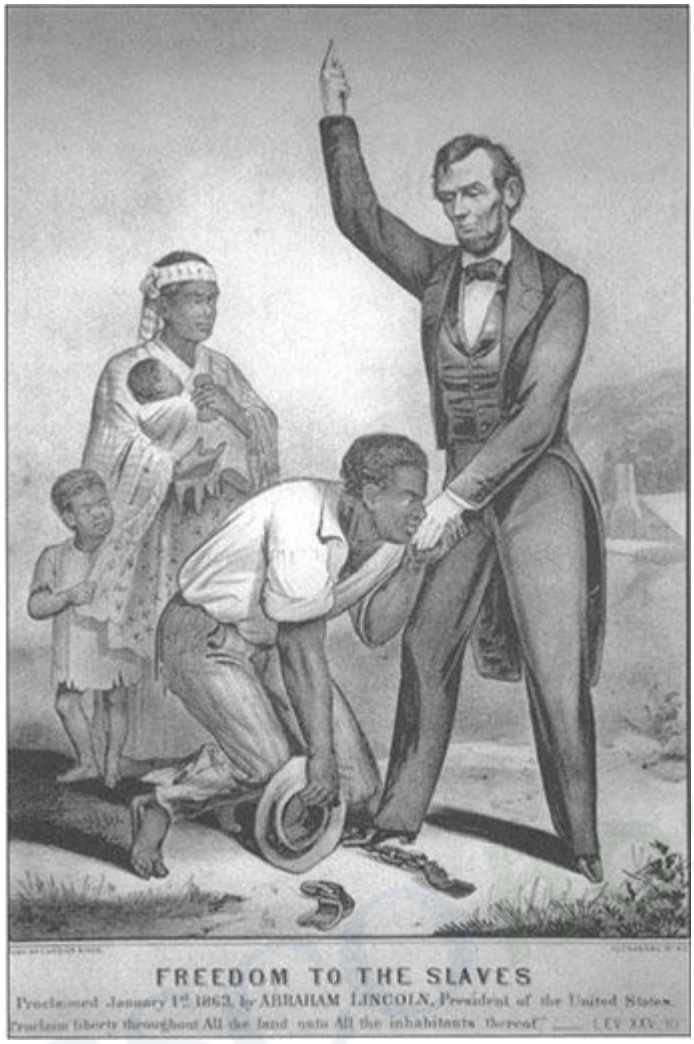

FIG. 18

Currier and Ives, *Freedom to the* Slaves. *Proclaimed January 1st. 1863,* by Abraham *Lincoln, President of the United States. "Proclaim liberty throughout All the land unto All the inhabitants thereof"*—Lev. XXV, 10. Lithograph, New York, ca. 1865. (Collection of Harold Holzer)

To either the giant printmakers Currier and Ives of New York, or the virtually unknown Philadelphia firm of J. Waeschle, belongs the "credit" for first imagining the ritualized unshackling that Lincoln failed to provide. One of these firms—it is unclear which—touched off what soon became an industry in emancipation graphics and, later, in public statuary.

Copyright laws were seldom strictly enforced in the Civil War era, and as a result, the period print buyer, as well as the modern collector and historian, frequently finds evidence that lithographers and engravers routinely stole ideas from each other, and issued the results as originals. Because printmakers did not always register their compositions with, the federal authorities, it is sometimes impossible to know for sure which of two similar, undated prints arrived on the market first, and which served as the model for a thinly disguised copy.[60]

Where emancipation was concerned, Waeschle and Currier and Ives issued virtually identical prints showing Lincoln, his right arm pointed heavenward, allowing his left hand to be kissed by a freshly liberated, kneeling slave, broken shackles lying at his feet, his tattered wife and family looking on. Waeschle's print was called *Emancipation of the Slaves* (Fig. 17). Currier and Ives's bore the title *Freedom to the Slaves* (Fig. 18). It is impossible that either print appeared before 1864—once again, in time for the crucial election campaign—because in each the portrait of the president was modeled after a photograph made that year.[61]

The most persuasive clue about which publisher first thought of the design can be found in their

respective subtitles. Currier and Ives called their print *Freedom to the Slaves. Proclaimed January 1st 1863 by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. "Proclaim liberty throughout All the Land unto All the inhabitants thereof."—Lev. XXV, 10*. Waeschle's picture, on the other hand, celebrated not the final 1863 proclamation but the preliminary version issued one hundred days earlier. It was called *Emancipation of the Slaves. Proclaimed on the 22d September 1862 by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of North America*.

It is not unreasonable to conclude from this small hint that, in this singular case, the fabulously successful and always news-conscious New York lithography firm may have "borrowed" one of its most important emancipation images from an obscure Chicago rival. What remains indisputable is that both pictures perfectly fit what David Brion Davis describes as the typical "emancipation moment" image, "depicting joyous, half-clad blacks holding up broken manacles and kneeling in gratitude to well-dressed whites." What might be added is that such images were principally crafted to make emancipation seem less dangerous to whites—less a threat to the social order than a benevolent act aimed at ending injustice.

True, as Davis has said, such art was in part "designed to emphasize the indebtedness and moral obligations of the emancipated slaves as well as their dependence on the culture and expectations of their liberators." But it is also true that such imagery, however politically incorrect it may appear to twenty-first-century eyes, helped make Lincoln's revolution palpable to the skittish white population of the 1860s. It is unreasonable to take sides on the long-term effect of such images without acknowledging their sanguinary impact, in their own time, on the predominately white audiences for whom they were published.[62]

Until well after the Emancipation Proclamation and Thirteenth Amendment officially ended American slavery, almost no artistic depictions of what Francis B. Carpenter described as the "second Declaration of Independence" were principally designed for its chief beneficiaries, African Americans.[63] This deficit is not altogether surprising. With few exceptions, newly freed blacks were not wealthy enough to afford to purchase art for their homes. Their principal goal was basic survival, not interior decoration. Confirming this point in 1870, Frederick Douglass wrote: "Heretofore, colored Americans have thought little of adorning their parlors with pictures… Pictures come not with slavery and oppression and destitution, but with liberty, fair play, leisure, and refinement." But sounding a hopeful note, Douglass hastened to add: "These conditions are now possible to colored American citizens, and I think the walls of their houses will soon begin to bear evidence of their altered relations to the people about them."[64]

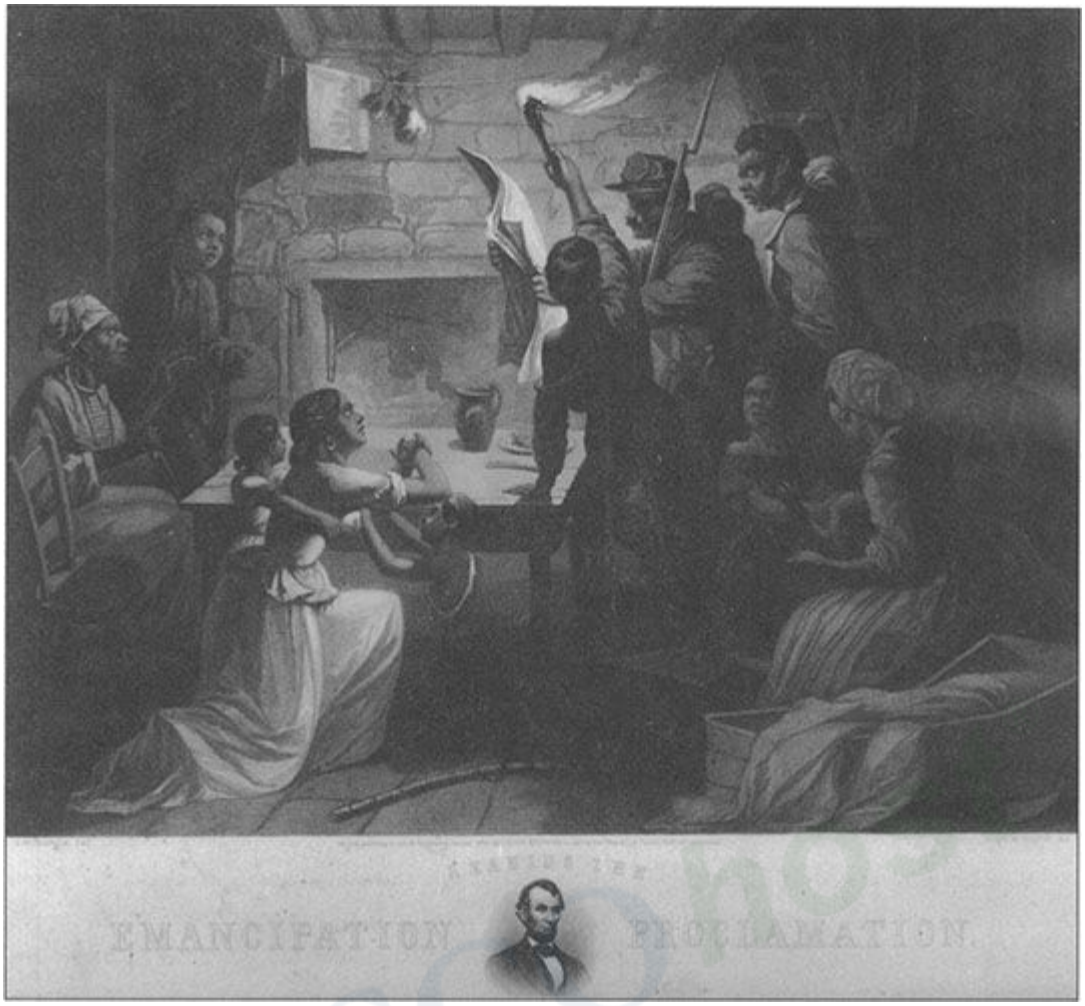

FIG.19

J. W. Watte, after a drawing by H. W. Herrick, *Reading the Emancipation Proclamation*. Published by Lucius Stebbins, Hartford, 1864. (Library of Congress)

By the time he made these observations, Douglass was celebrating the appearance of a handsome L. Prang and Company chromolithograph of Hiram Revels, the first African American ever elected to the U.S. Senate. “We colored men so often see ourselves described and painted as monkeys,” he ruefully noted, “that we think it a great piece of good fortune to find an exception to this general rule.” In fact, one notable exception had appeared much earlier, during the crucial election campaign of 1864, when a few emancipation graphics first appeared.[65]

That year, S. A. Peters and Co. of Hartford, Connecticut, issued J. W. Watte’s engraved adaptation of H. W. Herrick’s drawing *Reading the Proclamation of Emancipation in the Slaves’ Cabin* (Fig. 19), identified in subsequent editions as *Reading the Emancipation Proclamation, or The Midnight Hour*. The poignant scene, sold originally at $2.50 each, portrayed a Union soldier reading aloud the words of Lincoln’s order to an excited slave family and their guests, who gather by torchlight in a primitive cabin somewhere in the Confederacy. The picture, copyrighted by Hartford book publisher Lucius Stebbins, was accompanied by a small promotional pamphlet, *Emancipation Proclamation of January 1st, 1864 [sic]*.

Its artist, Henry W. Herrick (1824–after 1904), was a New Hampshire-born painter and engraver who worked for a time for book and bank-note printers in New York City before returning to spend his final working years as an artist and historian in his native state. Little else is known about him, and the identity of engraver Watte and the other collaborators in this worthy project remains shrouded in

mystery.[66] But the product they created was certainly exceptional. According to a "Description of the Engraving," published in the pamphlet, the scene was meant to show emancipation from a unique perspective:

> Old man at the right with folded hands, Grand-father; old lady at the left with cane in hand, Grand-mother; man leaning on ladder, the father; woman with child in her arms, the mother; lad swings his hat, oldest son; little girl, oldest daughter; infant in the arms of its mother. Young woman with two children, the house servant of her master, not belonging to the cabin but happened to be in on the occasion. Party reading, Union Soldier.
>
> The internal view of the cabin is true to nature. The stone chimney, garrett *[sic]*, ladder, side of bacon, rough cradle, piece of sugar cane and cotton balls, etc., all combine to give a correct idea of the slaves home.[67]

Its publisher promoted the print enthusiastically. When Lucius Stebbins issued a book called *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons*, for example, he made sure that it included a full-page notice describing the "new national engraving." The advertisement left little doubt that even for a print as daring as this one, its creators expected the principal audience to be not newly liberated slaves but philanthropic white abolitionists. Frederick Douglass's appeal to African Americans to decorate their homes with pictures was still six years in the future. As Stebbins wrote in 1864:

> This is a beautiful illustration of a great event in the world's history—the emancipation of slavery in the United States will ever be so considered by all civilized nations and for all time to come.
>
> The sight of this engraving will always produce happy reflections in the minds of every Christian and philanthropist, and should adorn the dwelling of every family in our country.
>
> It is the most appropriate illustration that can be made, as it represents the only way in which the glorious news could reach the downtrodden and oppressed slaves, viz.: through the faithful soldier, without whom the Proclamation would ever have remained a dead letter.
>
> The design is entirely original, by a bank note artist, and is truly elegant. The engraving is by one of the best workmen in the country, and is superbly executed.[68]

Whatever its popular reception, the Stebbins engraving proved to be the only print to show a "first reading of the Emancipation Proclamation" from the point of view of those whom the order was designed to free. Whether or not the finished result appealed, as Frederick Douglass would have liked, to black as well as white audiences, remains a matter of conjecture. Sales records for this print, as for all prints of the era, are long lost, and the historian is left to judge from imperfect and incomplete evidence—like the number of copies observed in modern institutional and private collections over a period of years. In fact, relatively few copies of *Reading the Emancipation Proclamation* have survived, indicating that, like most of the ground-breaking and atypical emancipation art of the period, Stebbins's laudable engraving proved rather like the proclamation itself—not immediately popular with everyone.

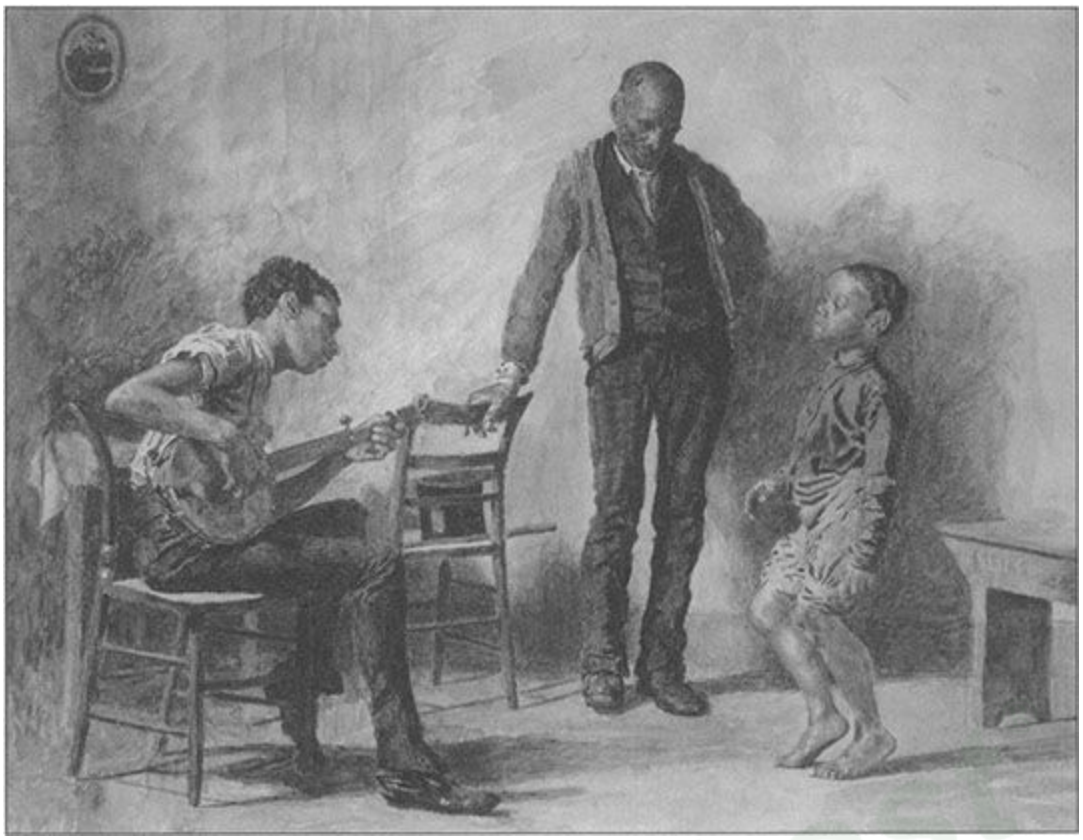

FIG.20
Thomas Eakins, *Negro Boy Dancing*. Watercolor on wove paper, 1878. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1925, 25.97.1)

Yet evidence exists to suggest that Lincoln—and his portrait—did indeed become enormously popular with African Americans. Writing from Galveston, Texas, in 1867, a Reconstruction-era schoolteacher named Sarah M. Barnes who had gone south to educate freedmen, testified: "I have often noticed in their cabins pictures of Abraham Lincoln, sometimes when there was wanting the bare necessities of life, his face has appeared looking down from the black murky ceilings. I asked at one house, why this was so, and was answered, 'He freed us, and I like him, so I have it there.'"[69]

Other African Americans shared this view. Historian Benjamin Quarles has noted that, "to the mass of Negroes, Lincoln had passed from history to legend even before Booth's bullet. The flesh-and-blood Lincoln paled before this legendary figure—a figure who came alive in the hopes and aspirations of colored Americans." Quarles concluded of Lincoln's reputation among African Americans: "They loved him first and have loved him longest." That affection was reflected in art.[70]

The celebrated American artist Thomas Eakins (1844–1916) offered intriguing evidence of his own, albeit from the perspective of a white painter who during his lifetime suffered from what he bitterly described as "misunderstanding, persecution, and neglect." In his 1878 watercolor *Negro Boy Dancing* (Fig. 20), he showed three African-American males—an elderly man, a young man, and a boy, respectively making, enjoying, and responding to music. It is a simple scene, set in a bare room. A top hat and cane sitting on a chair suggest that this is a professional troupe, rehearsing or simply expressing their tireless love of music by "jamming" during their off hours. The only decoration in the room is a small portrait on the wall: a reproduction of the famous Mathew Brady photograph of Lincoln and his son Tad.[71]

Art historian Albert Boime has praised Eakins's *Negro Boy Dancing* for its "individualized treatment of the people he portrayed." More recently, Alan C. Braddock countered that the picture reveals Eakins to be less a "sympathetic progressive" than a "detached voyeur" with an "ambivalent approach to racial and ethnic issues." Acknowledging the significant inclusion of the Lincoln-and-Tad image, Braddock

perceptively recognized that it might have been meant “to mirror and promote the apparent father-son dynamic” reflected by the family of dancers. He went on to suggest, however, that the Lincoln image “produces mixed signals about black education in the aftermath of emancipation.” White children may rise in life, Braddock asserted, but blacks like Eakins’s dancers remain locked in a “holding pattern” dictated by racial inequality, “doomed to a life of representing stereotypical blackness.” However we respond to this gloomy interpretation, for purposes of this study what remains remarkable is that, painting fifteen years after emancipation, Lincoln seemed to Eakins an enduring touchstone representing freedom and opportunity—whether or not its full promise had been fulfilled.[72]

One piece of unforgettable, unimpeachable visual evidence has survived to support the Quarles theory that African Americans at one time venerated Lincoln as an emancipator: a remarkable photograph (Fig. 21) taken on a Richmond, Virginia, street on “Emancipation Day”—presumably January 1—1888. It portrays a day of celebration: the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation. The scene shows a group of African Americans gathered in front of a shop decorated for the occasion. This family is a generation removed from the slave family listening breathlessly to the words of the Emancipation Proclamation in the cabin depicted by H. W. Herrick for the 1864 Lucius Stebbins lithograph. Here, instead, is a grandfather in his ankle-length white apron; a mature man in a handsome derby, perhaps his son; and three young males—two little boys and one teenager playfully holding what appears to be a wad of cotton over the face of one of the smallest of the boys. A little girl at left moves during the camera exposure and only her tiny feet remain in focus. Huddled in the doorway is a woman cradling an infant in her arms.

What sets this image apart from the Stebbins scene is first, of course, that the 1888 family is now engaged in trade, not involuntary servitude. The slave cabin has been discarded for a small shop, perhaps with a residence on the second floor whose balcony the viewer can glimpse in the photograph. What astonishes the modern viewer is the sight of a banner-sized portrait, strung from the rafters of the porch. It distinctly shows Abraham Lincoln.[73]

FIG. 21
Photographer unknown, Emancipation Day Celebration in Richmond, Virginia, January 1, 1888. (Valentine Richmond History Center)

So did a number of Great Emancipator prints, thoughtful and insensitive alike, whose proliferation suggested a growing audience for such graphic tributes in the months following Lincoln’s assassination. As noted, nineteenth-century art publishers, even those whose product was political in nature, worked

independent of organized political parties and politically motivated commissions. They portrayed their subjects whenever they sensed a potentially lucrative market. The Emancipation Proclamation—its controversial, and socially threatening nature softened in the afterglow of Lincoln's murder and martyrdom—became such a subject because the market evidently demanded it.

After 1865, for example, printmakers rushed out a variety of calligraphic tributes to emancipation (Fig. 22) and, once A. H. Ritchie's engraving of the Carpenter painting arrived on the market, thinly disguised piracies of Lincoln and his cabinet as well. Even Lincoln's widow recognized the image-altering significance of the Ritchie print. Notwithstanding her intense and prolonged mourning, she took time to thank its publishers for a copy of the picture, adding, as if by way of endorsement: "I have always regarded the original painting, as very perfect, and the engraving, appears to me quite equal to it." She never wavered in her belief that it included the most "accurate" representation of her "lamented husband."[74]

Generic postassassination tributes frequently eulogized Lincoln not only as a national martyr but also as an unforgettable emancipator. Lithographer C. Nahl's extravagant *In Memoriam* (Fig. 23), for example, the only important contemporary Lincoln image ever published on the West Coast, showed the plump figure of Columbia weeping at Lincoln's grave—behind which a half-naked black man sheds tears of his own. In the foreground lies the slain dragon of rebellion, and beside it a scroll marked "Emancipation," accompanied by the inevitable broken shackles. The viewer is left with little doubt about what weapon killed the disunion monster: Lincoln's proclamation.[75]

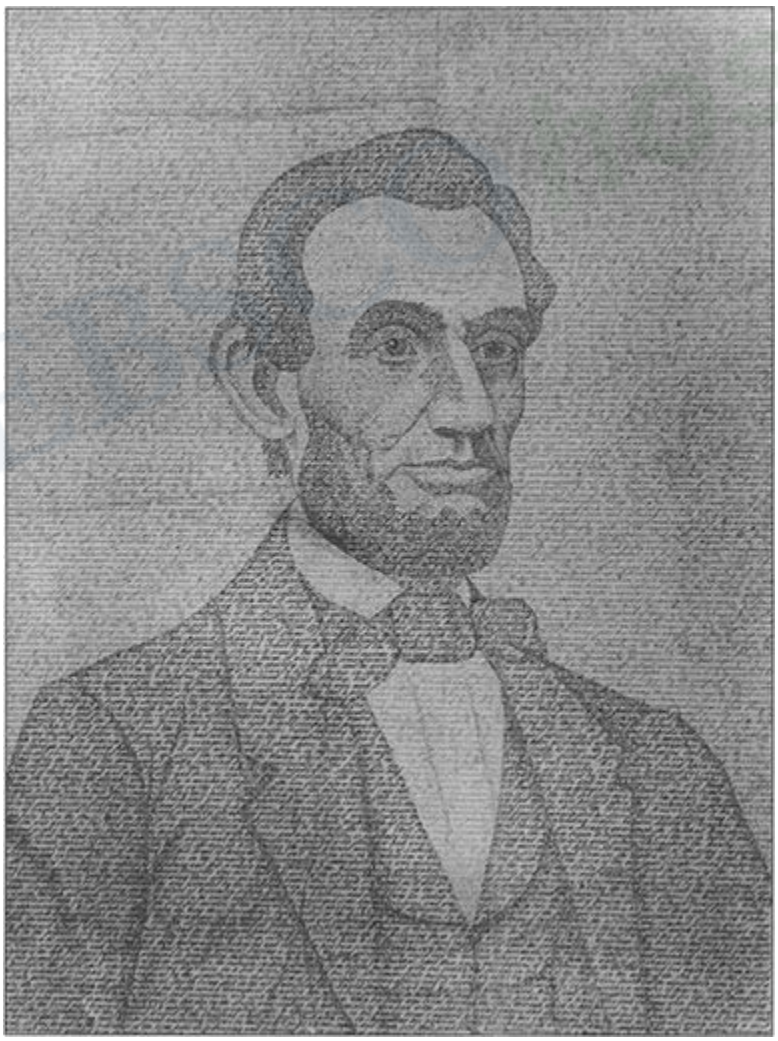

FIG. 22

W. H. Pratt, *[Abraham Lincoln]*. Calligraphic lithograph, published by A. Hageboeck, Davenport, Iowa, 1865. (The Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, IN, Ref. #3314)

Many such mourning prints showed Lincoln, his portrait festooned with flags, holding some sort of document marked “Proclamation” or “Emancipation.” Broken shackles abounded in such prints, as did saddened women carrying laurel wreaths, and goddesses of liberty holding capped liberty poles—the enduring symbol of slave manumission. E. J. Post’s 1865 lithograph *The Father [and] the Preserver of Our Country* (Fig. 24) used these figures in depicting the first and sixteenth presidents side-by-side, adding the tiny figure of a liberated slave raising his arms in tribute, with the broken shackles and Emancipation scroll lying nearby.[76]

FIG. 23

C. Nahl, To *Abraham Lincoln the Best Beloved of the Nation. In Memoriam*. Printed by L. Nagel, published with *Puck, the Pacific Pictorial*. Lithograph, San Francisco, 1865. (Courtesy of Harold Holzer)

Engraver John Chester Buttre reiterated this notion of veneration and—implicitly—obligation, in his 1866 print, *Abraham Lincoln Entering Richmond, April* 3d, *1865* (Fig. 25). The picture showed Lincoln being greeted with wild enthusiasm by the African-American residents of the conquered Confederate capital, a welcome to which several eyewitnesses testified. Interestingly, here was one occasion in which a freed slave might accurately have been portrayed kneeling—for one elderly laborer, crying, “There is the great Messiah,” actually did fall to his knees at the sight of the president, only to see Lincoln, in turn, lift his hat and reply: “Don’t kneel to me. That is not right. You must kneel to God only, and thank Him for the liberty you will hereafter enjoy.” Thomas Nast produced a similar scene of jubilant welcome.[77]

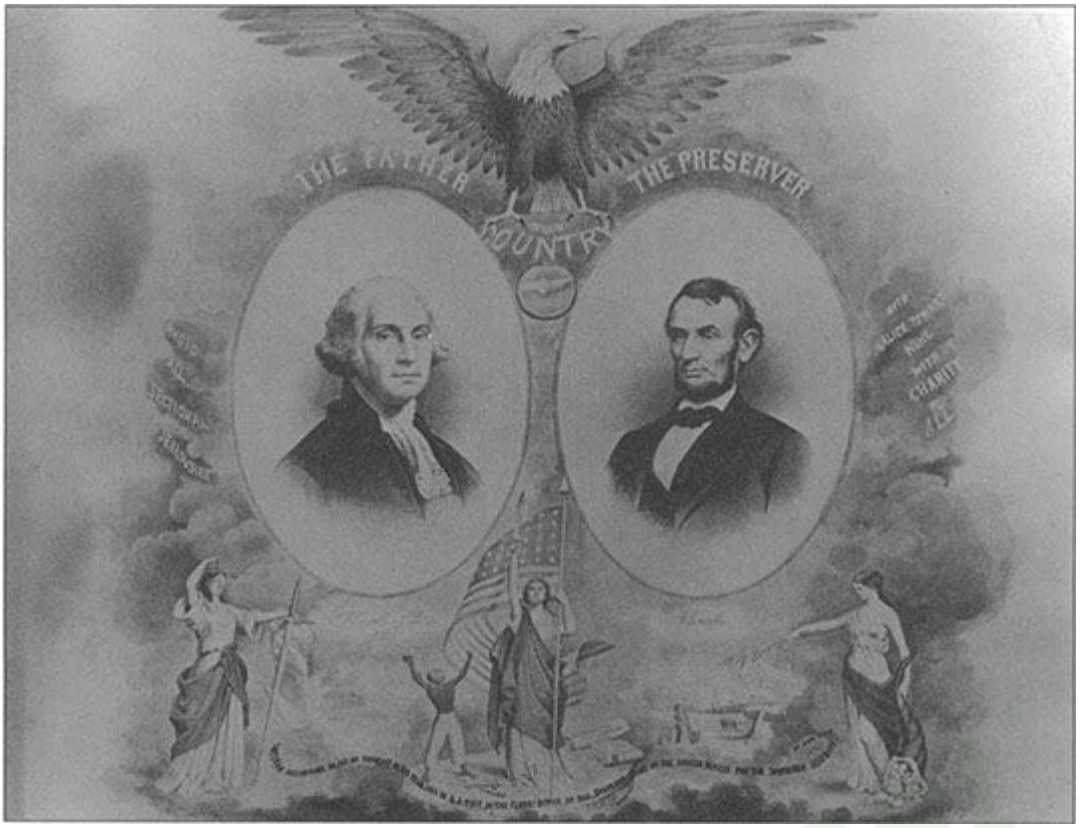

FIG. 24
E. J. Post, The *Father [and] the Preserver of our Country*. Lithograph, New York, 1865. (Courtesy of the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, IN, Ref. #3451)

Philadelphia printmaker John L. Magee's *Emancipation* (Fig. 26) went significantly further. Quoting the words of the proclamation—"And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free"—the print showed Lincoln grandly displaying his document before *two* groups of kneeling beneficiaries. What sets the print apart is that only half of the group is comprised of liberated slaves. Joining them in gratitude are poor Southern whites, seen on their knees as well. The whites, the picture suggests, are just as likely to benefit from emancipation through "education to all classes," the words on a banner seen flying over a public school in the background.

The lively small engraving *Proclamation of Emancipation* (Fig. 27) by Richardson of New York similarly portrays a group of kneeling black people falling into a posture of supplication not merely at the sight of the late president emerging from a niche at left, but a vision of the hand of God hovering above, holding the Bible. The message here is that emancipation was heaven-sent, with Lincoln acting as emancipator but also virtually as God's blessed agent.

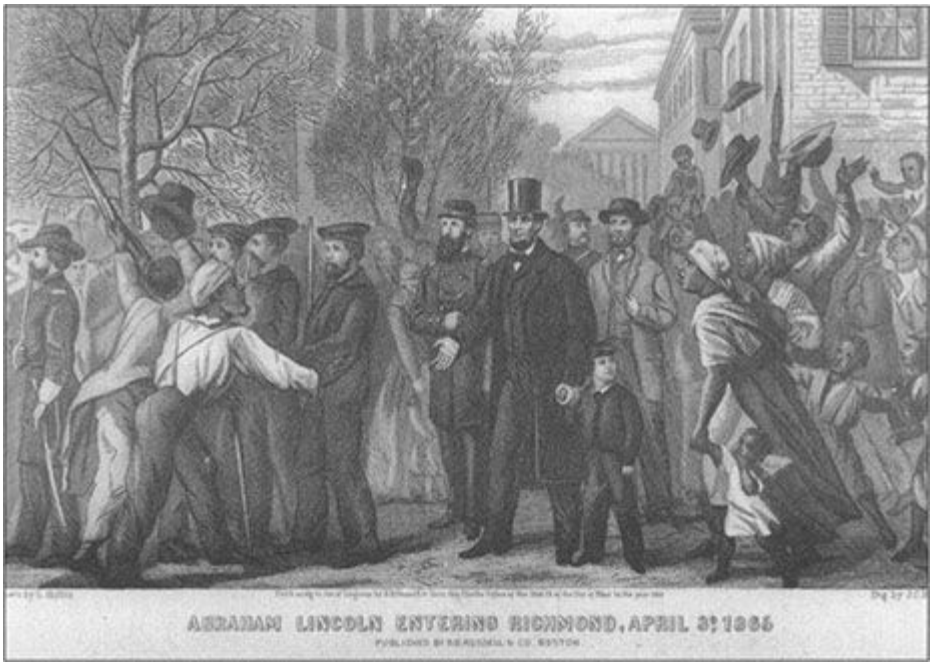

FIG. 25

J[ohn]. C[hester]. Buttre, after a drawing by L. Hollis. *Abraham Lincoln Entering Richmond, April 3d, 1865*. Engraving, published by B. B. Russell and Co., Boston, 1866. (Collection of Harold Holzer)

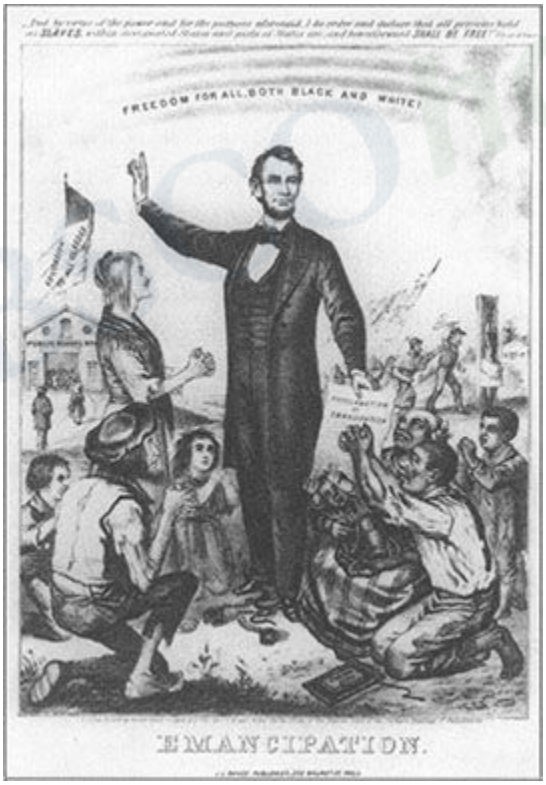

FIG. 26

J[ohn]. L. Magee, *Emancipation*. Lithograph, Philadelphia, 1865. (Stern Collection, Library of Congress)

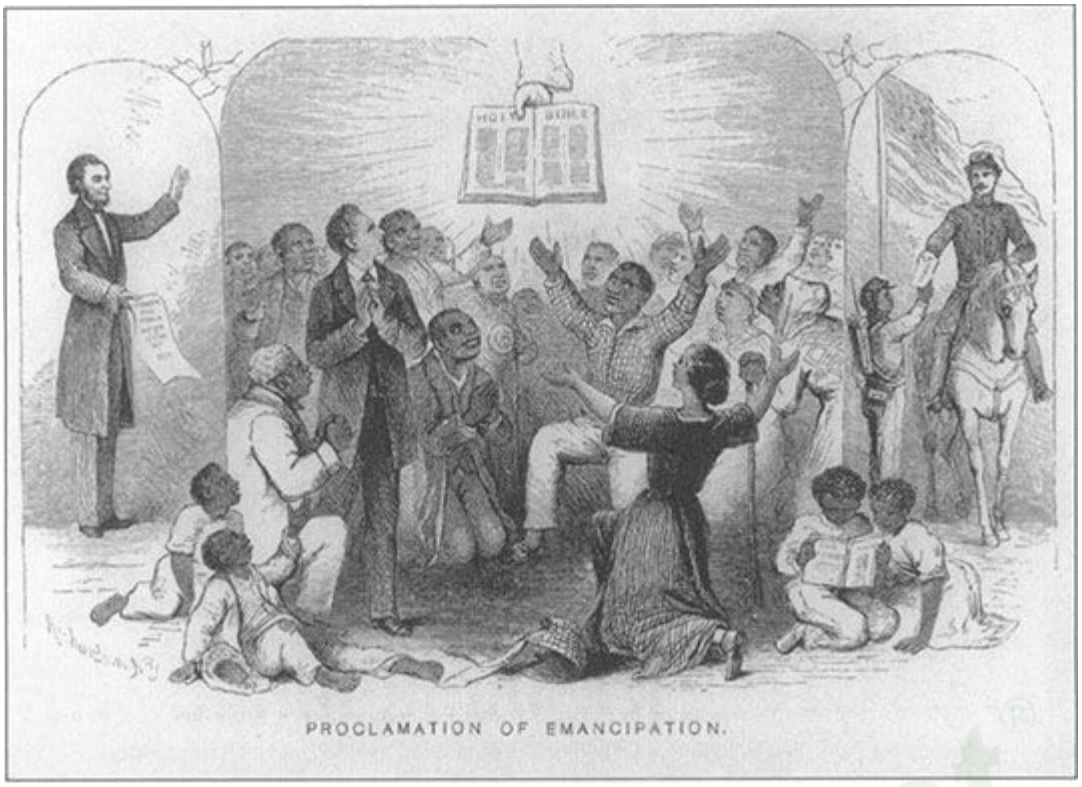

FIG. 27
Richardson, *Proclamation of Emancipation*. Lithograph, New York, ca. 1865. (Collection of Harold Holzer)

In a similarly reverential tone, A. B. Daniel's 1896 print *Emancipation Proclamation* (Fig. 28) reprinted the words of the document above scenes contrasting the previous and present lives of African Americans: slaves picking cotton at left, and a black senator speaking in the halls of Congress at right. Surmounting all was a standing portrait of Lincoln receiving his inspiration from a female angel whom the artist has portrayed, most unusually, as a woman of color. The verse printed below this image leaves little doubt about the meaning or marketing appeal of the picture. It was designed specifically for African-American print buyers, the heirs to Frederick Douglass's 1870 recommendation that people of color decorate their homes with pictures. As the caption proclaimed:

> This angel was sent from the Lord above,
> With her flapping wings, just as a dove.
> She came in the morning, with the dew,
> Bearing greatest blessings our race ever knew.
> Looking down on us, our toils she views,
> Singing and shouting the joyful news:
> Freedom! oh, Freedom! oh, sweet welcome!
> This joyful news was spoken by Lincoln.

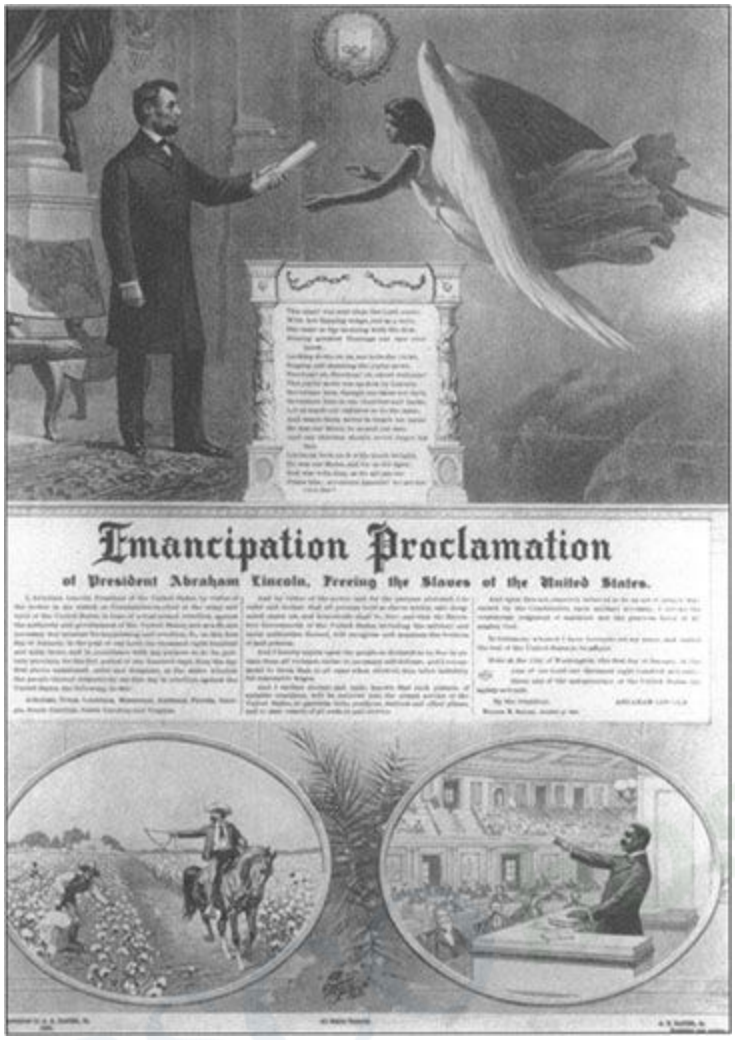

FIG. 28

A. B. Daniel, *Emancipation Proclamation of President Abraham Lincoln, Freeing the Slaves of the United States*. Lithograph, 1896. (Collection of Harold Holzer)

Reverence him, though our skins are dark,
Reverence him in our churches and parks;
Let us teach our children to do the same,
And teach them never to forget his name.
He was our Moses, to us and our race,
And our children should never forget his face.
Let them look on it with much delight,
He was our Moses and for us did right:
God was with him, as we all can see.
Praise him; reverence Lincoln! we are forever free![78]

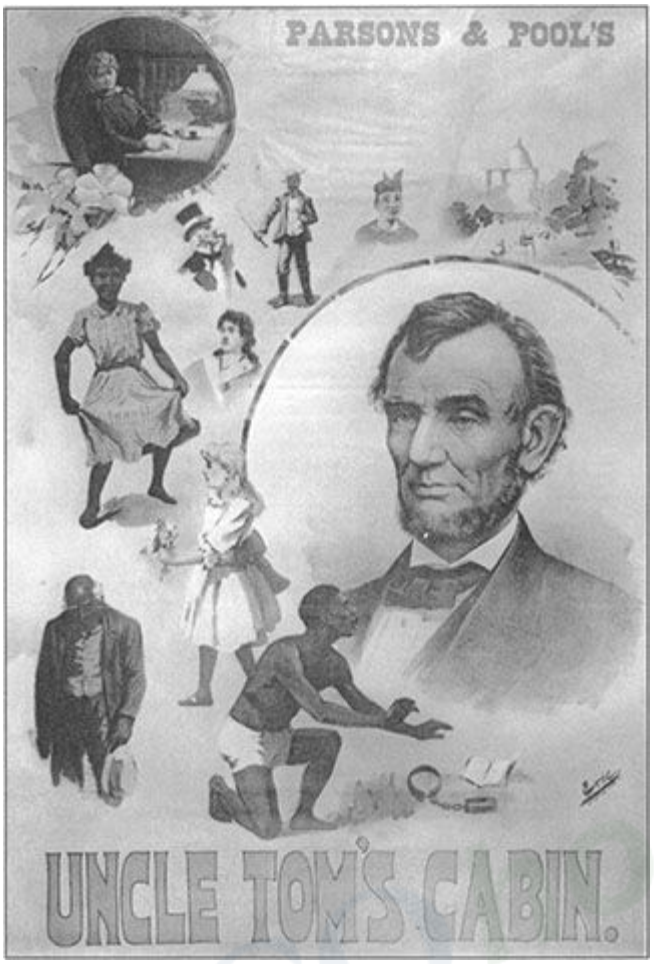

FIG. 29

Erie Litho. Co., poster for Parson & Pool's Uncle *Tom's Cabin*. Lithograph, Erie, Pennsylvania, date unknown. (Courtesy of the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, IN, Ref. #3833)

Just as the poem urged, children—white as well as black—did not forget Lincoln's face. They might be reminded of his liberating work by a retrograde poster for a stage adaptation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (featuring Lincoln's portrait together with that of a kneeling slave; see Fig. 29) or by the enlightened post-World War I illustration Welcome *Home* (depicting a black veteran returning to a family parlor decorated with a flag-festooned portrait of Lincoln; see Fig. 30). As both types of images suggest, Americans uncritically embraced the image of the Great Emancipator in the graphic arts well into the twentieth century. Only since the 1970s, in fact, have some historians urged modern readers to reexamine the proclamation and its celebrated author.[79] In the meantime—although the definitive scholarly study has yet to be undertaken—late-twentieth-century American painters, black as well as white, continued to address, and occasionally challenge, Lincoln's emancipator image in artistically inventive and historically provocative ways.[80]

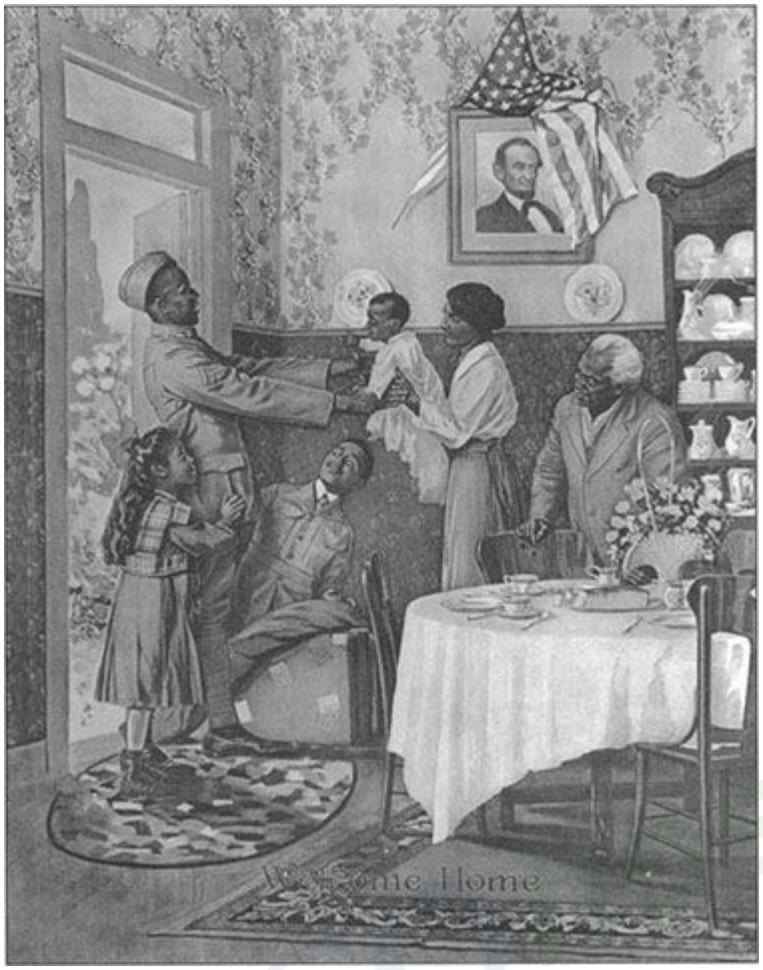

FIG. 30

Printmaker unknown, *Welcome Home*. Poster, ca. 1916. (Courtesy of the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, IN, Ref. #3843)

As recently as 1937, however, a WPA-sponsored effort to collect slave narratives revealed that a substantial 43 percent of those surveyed—ancient, living survivors of American slavery—volunteered, a full seventy-four years after emancipation, that Lincoln remained in their hearts their savior and liberator. Such numbers would undoubtedly be far smaller today, but no amount of revisionism can possibly dispute the ubiquity and influence of Lincoln's emancipator image over an extraordinary length of time. In the words of a World War I-era cartoon showing a young white boy peering at a framed portrait of the sixteenth president, "No American Home is Complete without a Picture of Abraham Lincoln." Such was the case virtually as long as the fashion endured for political portraits in private parlors. For decades, America's independent printmaking industry provided such tributes, due to which Lincoln's face was indeed looked on by blacks and whites alike—in the words of A. B. Daniel's print—"with much delight."[81]

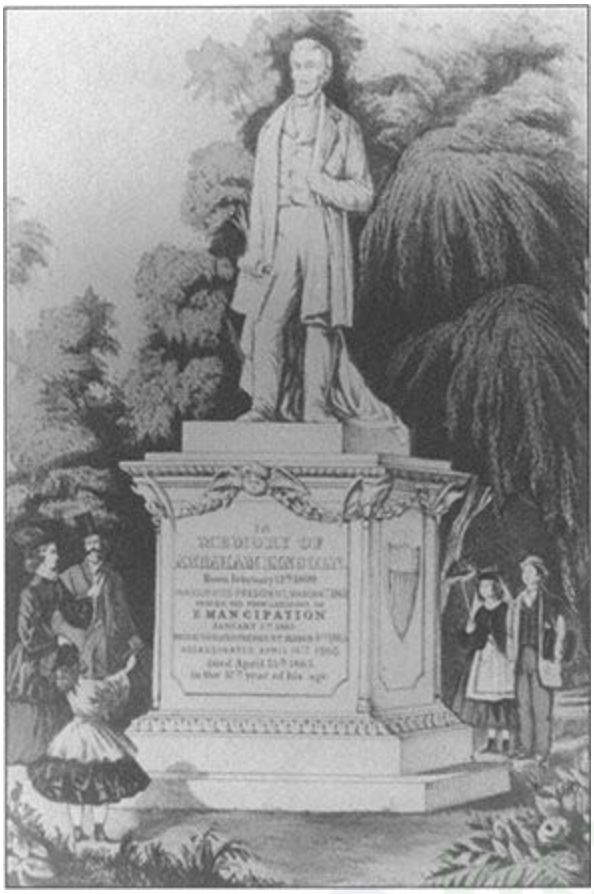

FIG. 31
Printmaker unknown, *Monument to Abraham Lincoln*. Hand-colored lithograph, ca. 1865. (Courtesy of the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, IN, Ref. #2293)

In 1865, an anonymous printmaker issued a quaint, hand-colored lithograph entitled *Monument to Abraham Lincoln* (Fig. 31). The print imagined a huge statue of Lincoln set high on a lavishly carved pedestal in a grove of trees. Admirers young and old (all of them white, in this case) gather to take inspiration from the imposing marble figure. A young girl offering a flower contemplates the words carved on the pedestal, "In Memory of Abraham Lincoln," followed by a succession of important dates and achievements in his life. Standing out in boldest relief is a single word: "Emancipation."

The print predated by at least four years the dedication of the first important emancipation-themed public sculpture, Henry Kirke Browne's *Abraham Lincoln Declaring Emancipation* (Prospect Park, Brooklyn, 1869), and by more than a decade the most famous and enduringly controversial, Thomas Ball's *Emancipation Group* (Lincoln Park, Washington, 1876). It is instructive to note that even a printmaker—whose stock in trade, after all, consisted of portraits for indoor, not outdoor, settings—was willing to acknowledge that perhaps the most powerful of all possible visual tributes to a national hero came in the form of public statuary.

Prints might testify to an individual owner's private admiration in the sacred setting of the family home. But statues reflected—and influenced—mass national memory in public spheres in which neighbors and visitors shared recollection and aspiration. Often citizens joined together, through small contributions, to commission the works of art themselves. And the array of emancipation statues that appeared throughout the North in the late nineteenth century signaled, and profoundly advanced, Lincoln's full emergence as a mythical liberator.

Henry Kirke Brown (1814–86) was hired by Brooklyn's War Fund Committee, which raised $13,000 for its statue project through individual donations of no more than a dollar. While the principal speaker at its dedication stressed Lincoln's commitment to "regulated liberty," the large bronze itself clearly identified Lincoln as an emancipator. Brown showed him holding a scroll in one hand, and with the

other pointing to the inscribed words from the proclamation: “shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free.” For most sculptors, depictions of Lincoln as divinely inspired author best suited their patrons and their public. Brown’s model for yet another emancipation tribute to Lincoln, for example—a plaster showing a grateful slave kneeling at Lincoln’s feet—probably struck potential customers as too much of a cliché to earn a commission. A Randolph Rogers plaster showing Lincoln personally lifting a slave woman from her knees met with similar indifference. The fashion for the Waeschle-Currier and Ives “emancipation moment” Moses image eventually passed.[82]

Heroic sculptural tributes to Lincoln the Emancipator soon graced other large cities as well. Randolph Rogers’s heroic bronze was unveiled in Philadelphia in 1871. Larkin Mead’s bronze Emancipator was erected over the Lincoln tomb in Springfield in 1874. The first of Alonzo Pelzer’s emancipation statues was unveiled in Lincoln, New Jersey, in 1898, and an imposing emancipation statue by George E. Bissell was erected in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1893, and a replica in Clermont, Iowa, ten years later. Interestingly, Bissell’s original concept featured, like the others, the figure of Lincoln clutching an emancipation scroll, as well as a black man standing at the bottom of the granite pedestal, clutching the furled American flag with one hand and raising his hand to Lincoln in salute with the other. When the statue was duplicated for Iowa, Bissell omitted the liberated slave.[83]

Like the others, Bissell’s work was specifically designed—in the words of a Lincolnian inscription chiseled on the base of the Edinburgh original—to honor Lincoln’s resolve “to preserve the jewel of liberty in the framework of freedom.” It was an unabashed tribute to emancipation. A writer named Wallace Bruce contributed a poem for the dedication exercises that reiterated this theme. “Our Lincoln,” he recited, remained “the noblest flower / Of freedom in its widening course… “[84]

In Philadelphia, 50,000 onlookers crowded Fairmount Park on September 22, 1871—the ninth anniversary of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation—for the ceremonies dedicating the nearly ten-foot-high statue by Randolph Rogers (1825–92). Declared one of the principal speakers that day, “May the whole nation ever recall with gratitude the services of Abraham Lincoln, and still renew his noble resolve ‘that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.’” By all accounts, it was a deeply emotional occasion, with few in the large audience disappointed when the canvas shroud was dramatically lifted from the statue.[85]

Such public portraits—and such public ceremonies—were capable of stirring profound response on a wide scale. Day after day in their prominent settings, heroic statues like the works of Rogers, Brown, and Bissell testified convincingly to heartfelt community spirit, as manifested by generous financial subscription and eager involvement in dedication ceremonies. “The moment was thrilling,” went one typical recollection of a ceremony unveiling an “Emancipator” statue. “Vast numbers of people manifested their emotion.”[86]

FIG. 32

Photographer unknown, view of Thomas Ball's statue, *Emancipation Group*, Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C. Stereoptican photograph, Washington, ca. 1890s. (Collection of Harold Holzer)

It is fair to say that no Lincoln-as-emancipator sculpture ever generated the emotional excitement—or aroused as much comment or controversy since—as Thomas Ball's *Emancipation Group*, or *Freedmen's Memorial to Abraham Lincoln* (Fig. 32), unveiled in Washington on the eleventh anniversary of Lincoln's assassination, April 14, 1876. It was, and remains, the quintessential image of noble liberator and eternally grateful slave, and it has evoked passionate response almost from the moment it was unveiled.

The Massachusetts-born Ball (1819–1911) actually created the design for the figures before he ever received a commission to make a public statue. He was not invited to create the group; he imagined it. Ironically, although some modern art historians maintain that Ball's muscular slave helped transform the image of the African American through physical idealization, the white artist modeled the figure for his original plaster model after his own body, stripping and setting up mirrors in his studio to aid him as he sculpted.[87]

Earlier, just after Lincoln's assassination, a Virginia-born former slave named Charlotte Scott— "one of those made free by President Lincoln's proclamation," noted a contemporary—spontaneously offered five dollars of her own hard-earned money in Ohio "to make a monument" for Lincoln. Inspired by her generosity, the Western Sanitary Commission sought further contributions from freed-men throughout the nation. More than $16,000 quickly poured in, but fundraising stalled amid the painfully slow progress of Reconstruction.

Eventually, perhaps embarrassed by its failure to protect civil and voting rights for blacks in the former Confederacy, Congress took up the crusade, appropriating $3,000 to build a pedestal for the Ball statue in 1874. When the Freedman's Memorial Society organized a committee to select a design for a Lincoln statue in the nation's capital, one of its members, Rev. William G. Elliott of St. Louis, who had

seen Ball's original model years earlier in his Florence studio, asked the sculptor to submit photographs of the piece. Delighted with what they saw, Elliott and the committee offered Ball $17,000 to cast it in bronze. The sculptor made one significant change in his original design. He replaced the self-portrait of the kneeling slave with a finely muscled figure, modeled after a photograph of Rev. Elliot's servant, a former Missouri slave named Archer Alexander. Now the slave was depicted as participating in his own liberation by straining heroically against the chains that bound him.[88]

The pedestal built for the statue bore a bronze plaque featuring the closing words of the otherwise desultory final proclamation: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of almighty God." More evocatively, the front of the pedestal featured a plaque boldly inscribed with what amounted to a full genesis of the statue's creation.

FREEDOM'S MEMORIAL
IN GRATEFUL MEMORY OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED
BY THE WESTERN SANITARY COMMISSION
OF SAINT LOUIS, MO.
WITH FUNDS CONTRIBUTED BY
EMANCIPATED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES
DECLARED FREE BY HIS PROCLAMATION
JANUARY 1, A.D. 1863.
THE FIRST CONTRIBUTION WAS MADE
BY CHARLOTTE SCOTT, A FREED WOMAN OF VIRGINIA
AND CONSECRATED
BY HER SUGGESTION AND REQUEST
ON THE DAY SHE HEARD OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S
DEATH
TO BUILD A MONUMENT TO HIS MEMORY.

Dedication day, April 14, 1876, was declared a holiday by Congress, and thousands of people, many African American, gathered in Washington to attend the unveiling ceremonies. The principal orator for the occasion was Frederick Douglass, who had known Lincoln personally and had worked with him in the darkest days of his 1864 reelection campaign to make certain that as many slaves as possible were freed before what loomed as the president's inevitable defeat. "It is the first time," Douglass noted in his address, "that, in this form and manner, we have sought to do honor to an American great man." He called on the assembled dignitaries to take note that "we, the colored people, newly emancipated and rejoicing in our blood-brought freedom, near the close of the first century in the life of this Republic, have now and here unveiled, set apart, and dedicated a monument of enduring granite and bronze, in every line, feature, and figure of which the men of this generation may read, and those of aftercoming generations may read, something of the exalted character of and great works of Abraham Lincoln, the first martyr President of the United States."[89]

Yet Douglass also sounded a critical note. Although he acknowledged Lincoln's "wise and beneficent rule," he also pointed out that "the Union was more to him than our freedom under our future," adding that Lincoln "was preeminently the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of white men." Although the Ball statue had been financed almost entirely by African Americans, it was to white America that Douglass declared: "To you it especially belongs to sound his praises, to preserve and perpetuate his memory, to multiply his statues, to hang his pictures high upon your walls, and commend his example, for to you he was a great and glorious friend and benefactor. Instead of supplanting you at his altar, we would exhort you to build high his monuments; let them be of

the 'most costly material, of the most cunning workmanship; let their forms be symmetrical, beautiful, and perfect; let their bases be upon solid rocks, and their summits lean against the unchanging blue, overhanging sky, and let them endure forever."[90]

It is entirely possible that Douglass's frequently quoted assessment may have reflected more distaste for Ball's composition than a revised opinion of his old friend Lincoln, about whom he later said: "I was impressed with his entire freedom from popular prejudice against the colored race." Art historian Freeman H. M. Murray probably offered a valuable clue to Douglass's complicated message on that 1876 dedication day when he noted thirty years later that the Ball emancipation group insensitively "showed the Negro on his knees when a more manly attitude would have been indicative of freedom."[91]

Yet when President Ulysses S. Grant rose to tug at the cord that unveiled the statue, "a silence of breathless expectation fell on that dense mass when the supreme moment came." Then, as the statue appeared unveiled, the crowd erupted "with shouts and music and cannon." Even Douglass conceded that "no such demonstration" from African Americans "would have been tolerated here twenty years ago." As he noted, "Few facts could better illustrate the vast and wonderful change which has taken place in our condition as a people than the fact of our assembling here for the purpose we have today."[92]

At the climax of his long, powerful address—which Senator George S. Boutwell immediately called "the best… since the days of Mr. Webster"—Douglass concluded his fascinating, complex struggle with his own response to the Ball monument by offering "congratulations." Back in 1862, Lincoln had urged emancipation on a skeptical white nation by insisting: "In *giving* freedom to the slave we *assure* freedom to the *free."* Now, no doubt in conscious reference to this sentiment, Douglass echoed those words, ultimately pronouncing the statue worthy.

> In doing honor to the memory of our friend and liberator, we have been doing highest honor to ourselves and those who came after us; we have been fastening ourselves to a name and fame imperishable and immortal; we have also been defending ourselves from a blighting scandal. When now it shall be said that the colored man is soulless, that he has no appreciation of benefits or benefactors; when the foul reproach of ingratitude is hurled at us, and it is attempted to scourge us beyond the range of human brotherhood, we may calmly point to the monument we have this day erected to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.[93]

Why was Thomas Ball able to sell his "kneeling slave" group to his African-American patrons around the same time that Henry Kirke Brown and Randolph Rogers failed to attract patrons for their similarly conceived sculptures? One reason was Ball's audacity. His original kneeling figure wore a symbolic liberty cap, emphasizing the myth-worthy significance of Lincoln's act. Second, his work was simply superior: better crafted, better balanced, and better conceived. And, third, Ball marketed his concept brilliantly, using other visual media to introduce his idea to the general public long before the Western Sanitary Commission named him to enlarge it for public display in Washington.

As early as 1867, for example, Ball authorized A. A. Childs of Boston to publish a stereo photograph of his original model (Fig.33). Later, his final heroic bronze was reproduced in a number of photographs copied for wall display and preservation in family photo albums. Currier and Ives issued a lithograph *The Lincoln Statue. In Lincoln Square, Washington D.C., Unveiled April 14th, 1876,"* with the publishers noting in their caption: "The first contribution of $5. To the Statue Fund, was made the morning after the assassination of President Lincoln, by Charlotte Scott, a colored woman, of Marietta, Ohio, and the cost of the monument $17000. Was paid by subscriptions of the colored people." Ball, ironically, was not mentioned.[94]

Later the statue inspired posters, medallions, and postcards (Fig. 34), resonating in these forms as one of the signature images of the 1909 centennial celebration of Abraham Lincoln's birth. Through these successively smaller reproductions, Ball's work uniquely evolved in civic consciousness from a majestic figure designed to evoke historical memory on a massive scale in a public setting, into an intimate keepsake created specifically for individual collectors to cherish in their private homes. The combination was powerful.

No admirer of Ball's work, art historian Kirk Savage recently labeled the *Freedmen's Memorial to Lincoln* a discordant "hybrid of allegory and realism," representing "a failure to imagine emancipation at its most fundamental level, in the language of the human body and its interaction with other bodies." Although Savage views the work from a late-twentieth-century, white perspective, he may well be right. But even Savage concedes that Ball's was also that "rare public sculpture creating a potent image that enters the culture at large." Indeed, it is probably fair to say that the final statue was photographed more often than any other Lincoln sculpture of the nineteenth century (See Fig. 35). For better or for worse, and despite all its deficiencies, insensitivity, and patronizing treatment of the slave, Thomas Ball's frequently reproduced sculpture helped to permanently forge the image of Lincoln as benevolent liberator of a race.[95]

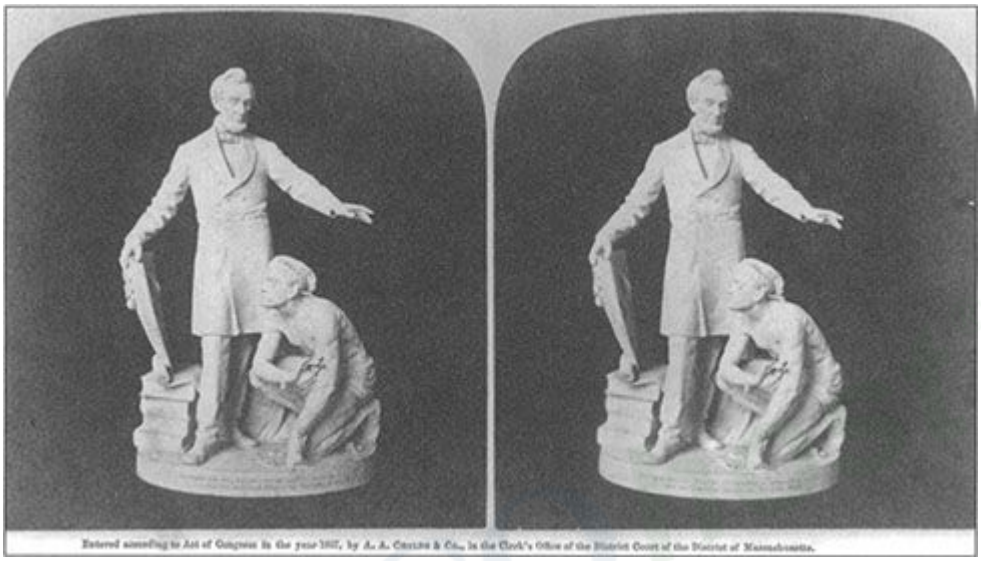

FIG. 33

A. A. Childs and Co., *[Thomas Ball's Emancipation Group]*. Stereoptican photograph, Boston, 1867. (Collection of Harold Holzer)

Frederick Douglass came extraordinarily close to the basic truth about the statue—and Lincoln's overall Great Emancipator image—when he told his audience on its dedication day that Ball's work offered a strong rebuttal to the "foul reproach of ingratitude" that had been leveled against former slaves. In a sense, though perhaps innocently, Ball's work emphasized the gratitude of African Americans. Whether Ball's slave is kneeling or rising—this particular debate has never been settled—he nonetheless crouches or slowly ascends due to Lincoln's benevolence.

Did the work, as some critics now suggest, possess the power to inhibit the development of full African-American participation in American society? Did it increase a sense of indebtedness among blacks and philanthropic paternalism among whites? If any of these responses was indeed provoked by the statue, it is entirely understandable that the work has fallen out of favor. But modern analysts tend to forget that Ball's statue was originally inspired and, in part, financed by the African-American community. In its own day, it evoked considerable praise and reproduction in other media. In the end, it was but one of countless variations on a single, enduring theme: Lincoln as emancipator, unvarnished by nuance and untarnished by politically correct revisionism.

In works in many media—whether designed to ameliorate the genuinely revolutionary impact of the emancipation for predominately white audiences, to illustrate Lincoln's emergence as a martyr to liberty for his most enlightened admirers, to support or oppose his campaign for reelection, or to memorialize freedom for African Americans—the sixteenth president's most famous proclamation lived an

extraordinarily long and varied life in art and iconography. No dose of revisionist analysis can erase the photographs, engravings, lithographs, postcards, and sculpture that celebrated Abraham Lincoln as a liberator.

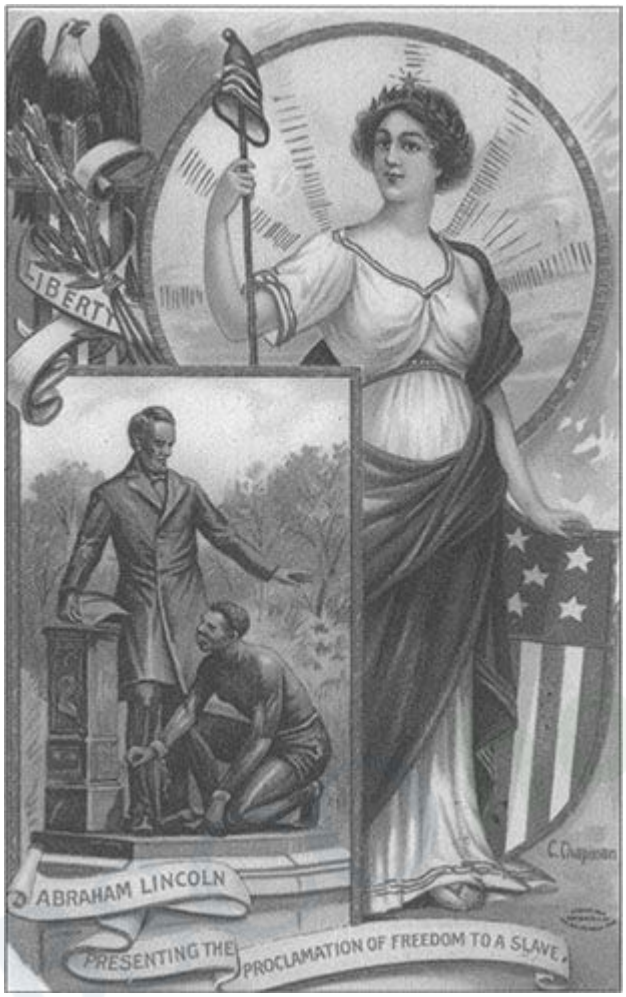

FIG. 34

C. Chapman, *Abraham Lincoln Presenting the Proclamation of Freedom to a Slave [including Thomas Ball's Emancipation Group]*. Postcard, printed by the Fine Art Publishing Co., 1908. (Collection of Harold Holzer)

To impose modern sensibilities on art created to respond to demonstrable political and emotional needs would be as foolhardy as dismissing any of history's inventions that were subsequently improved or refined. To use another, purely technological example, was black-and-white television less revolutionary a medium for American society because it has been supplanted by HDTV and DVDs? In any discussion of historical memory, true memory can never be replaced by the post-facto imposition of modern attitudes. And in the realm of genuine public memory, Abraham Lincoln's Great Emancipator image, whether or not it makes twenty-first-century Americans uncomfortable, thrived with white and black audiences alike.

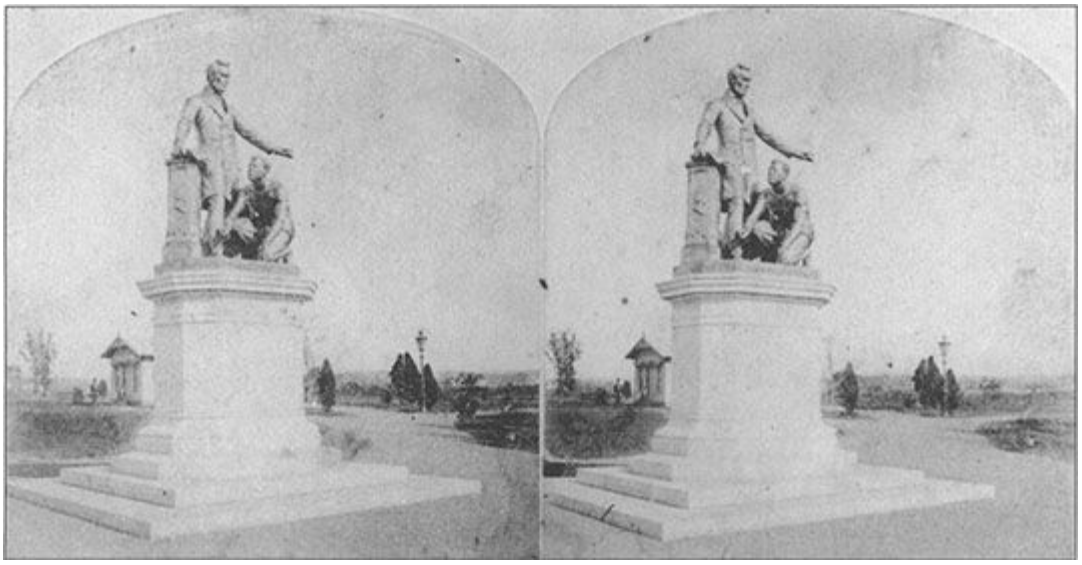

FIG. 35

J. F. Jarvis, [View *of Thomas Ball's Emancipation Statue]*. Stereoptican View, Washington, D.C., ca. 1876. (Collection of Harold Holzer)

Three years after Thomas Ball's statue took its place in Lincoln Park in Washington, a bronze duplicate was unveiled in Boston. At ceremonies at Faneuil Hall, a young black man named Andrew Chamberlain stood to recite a poem written especially for the occasion by John Greenleaf Whittier. Its opening verse neatly summarized the perpetual appeal of Lincoln to both black and white admirers who continued to celebrate the "second Declaration of Independence" in art and memory. Urged the poem:

> Amidst thy sacred effigies
> Of old renown give place,
> O city Freedom-loved! to his
> Whose hand unchained a race.

Boston, like so many other Northern cities, eagerly gave pride of place to the "sacred effigy" of Lincoln. The day Ball's statue was unveiled, the city's mayor maintained that, "No monument of granite or bronze is needed to perpetuate his memory, and hold his place in the affections of his countrymen." He went on to predict of Abraham Lincoln: "His fame will suffer nothing from the corrosion of time, but increase with the advancing years."[96] That prognostication proved true for generations. Even now, as historians black and white debate anew the meanings and limitations of the Emancipation Proclamation, no observer can doubt that art and artists in all media played a pivotal role in successfully securing and, for the most part preserving, Lincoln's reputation "from the corrosion of time."

APPENDIX

The First and Second Confiscation Acts

THE FIRST CONFISCATION ACT, AUGUST 6, 1861

U.S. Statutes at Large, XII, 319

Be *it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That if, during the present or any future insurrection against the Government of the United States, after the President of the United States shall have declared by proclamation, that the laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the power vested in marshals by law, any person or persons, his, her or their agent, attorney or employee, shall purchase or acquire, sell or give, any property of whatsoever kind or description, with intent to use or employ the same, or suffer the same to be used or employed, in aiding, abetting or promoting such insurrection or resistance to the laws, or any person or persons engaged therein; or if any person or persons, being the owner or owners of any such property, shall knowingly use or employ, or consent to the use or employment of the same as aforesaid, all such property is hereby declared to be lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found; and it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to cause the same to be seized, confiscated and condemned.

SEC. *2. And be it further enacted*, That such prizes and capture shall be condemned in the District or Circuit Court of the United States having jurisdiction of the amount, or in admiralty in any district in which the same may be seized, or into which they may be taken and proceedings first instituted.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the Attorney General, or any District Attorney of the United States in which said property may be at the time be, may institute the proceedings of condemnation, and in such case they shall be wholly for the benefit of the United States; or any person may file an information with such attorney, in which case the proceedings shall be for the use of such informer and the United States in equal parts.

SEC. 4. And *be it further enacted*, That whenever any person claiming to be entitled to the service or labor of any other person, under the laws of any State, shall employ such person in aiding or promoting any insurrection, or in resisting the laws of the United States, or shall permit him to be so employed, he shall forfeit all right to such service or labor, and the person whose labor or service is thus claimed shall be thenceforth discharged therefrom, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

THE SECOND CONFISCATION ACT, JULY 17, 1862

U.S. Statutes at Large, XII, 589–592

An Act *to suppress Insurrection, to punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and confiscate the Properly of Rebels, and for other Purposes*.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That every person who shall hereafter commit the crime of treason against the United States, and shall be adjudged guilty thereof, shall suffer death, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free; or, at the discretion of the court, he shall be imprisoned for not less than five years and fined not less than ten thousand dollars, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free; said fine shall be levied and collected on any or all of the property, real and personal, excluding slaves, of which the said person so convicted was the owner at the time of committing the said crime, any sale or conveyance to the contrary notwithstanding.

2. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person shall hereafter incite, set on foot, assist, or engage in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States, or the laws thereof, or shall give aid or comfort thereto, or shall engage in, or give aid and comfort to, any such existing rebellion or

insurrection, and be convicted thereof, such person shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten years, or by a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, and by the liberation of all his slaves, if any he have; or by both of said punishments, at the discretion of the court.

3. *And be it further enacted*, That every person guilty of either of the offences described in this act shall be forever incapable and disqualified to hold any office under the United States.

4. *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall not be construed in any way to affect or alter the prosecution, conviction, or punishment of any person or persons guilty of treason against the United States before the passage of this act, unless such person is convicted under this act.

5. *And be it further enacted*, That, to insure the speedy termination of the present rebellion, it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to cause the seizure of all the estate and property, money, stocks, credits, and effects of the persons hereinafter named in this section, and to apply and use the same and the proceeds thereof for the support of the army of the United States, that is to say:

First. Of any person hereafter acting as an officer of the army or navy of the rebels in arms against the government of the Untied States.

Secondly. Of any person hereafter acting as President, Vice-President, member of Congress, judge of any court, cabinet officer, foreign minister, commissioner or consul of the so-called confederate states of America.

Thirdly. Of any person acting as governor of a state, member of a convention or legislature, or judge of any court of any of the so-called confederate states of America.

Fourthly. Of any person who, having held an office of honor, trust, or profit in the United States, shall hereafter hold an office in the so-called confederate states of America.

Fifthly. Of any person hereafter holding any office or agency under the government of the so-called confederate states of America, or under any of the several states of the said confederacy, or the laws thereof, whether such office or agency be national, state, or municipal in its name or character: *Provided*, That the persons, thirdly, fourthly, and fifthly above described shall have accepted their appointment or election since the date of the pretended ordinance of secession of the state, or shall have taken an oath of allegiance to, or to support the constitution of the so-called confederate states.

Sixthly. Of any person who, owning property in any loyal State or Territory of the United States, or in the District of Columbia, shall hereafter assist and give aid and comfort to such rebellion; and all sales, transfers, or conveyances of any such property shall be null and void; and it shall be a sufficient bar to any suit brought by such person for the possession or the use of such property, or any of it, to allege and prove that he is one of the persons described in this section.

6. And *be it further enacted*, That if any person within any State or Territory of the United States, other than those named as aforesaid, after the passage of this act, being engaged in armed rebellion against the government of the United States, or aiding or abetting such rebellion, shall not, within sixty days after public warning and proclamation duly given and made by the President of the United States, cease to aid, countenance, and abet such rebellion, and return to his allegiance to the United States, all the estate and property, moneys, stocks, and credits of such person shall be liable to seizure as aforesaid, and it shall be the duty of the President to seize and use them as aforesaid or the proceeds thereof. And all sales, transfers, or conveyances, of any such property after the expiration of the said sixty days from the date of such warning and proclamation shall be null and void; and it shall be a sufficient bar to any suit brought by such person for the possession or the use of such property, or any of it, to allege and prove that he is one of the persons described in this section.

7. *And be it further enacted*, That to secure the condemnation and sale of any of such property, after the same shall have been seized, so that it may be made available for the purpose aforesaid, proceedings in rem shall be instituted in the name of the United States in any district court thereof, or in any territorial court, or in the United States district court for the District of Columbia, within which the property above described, or any part thereof, may be found, or into which the same, if movable, may first be brought, which proceedings shall conform as nearly as may be to proceedings in admiralty or revenue cases, and if said property, whether real or personal, shall be found to have belonged to a person engaged in rebellion, or who has given aid or comfort thereto, the same shall be condemned as enemies'

property and become the property of the United States, and may be disposed of as the court shall decree and the proceeds thereof paid into the treasury of the United States for the purpose aforesaid.

8. *And be it further enacted*, That the several courts aforesaid shall have power to make such orders, establish such forms of decree and sale, and direct such deeds and conveyances to be executed and delivered by the marshals thereof where real estate shall be the subject of sale, as shall fitly and efficiently effect the purposes of this act, and vest in the purchasers of such property good and valid titles thereto. And the said courts shall have power to allow such fees and charges of their officers as shall be reasonable and proper in the premises.

9. *And be it further enacted*, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States; and all slaves of such person found on [or] being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

10. *And be it further enacted*, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

11. And *be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States is authorized to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion, and for this purpose he may organize and use them in such manner as he may judge best for the public welfare.

12. And *be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to make provision for the transportation, colonization, and settlement, in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of the African race, made free by the provisions of this act, as may be willing to emigrate, having first obtained the consent of the government of said country to their protection and settlement within the same, with all the rights and privileges of freemen.

13. *And be it further enacted*, That the President is hereby authorized, at any time hereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such time and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare.

14. And *be it further enacted*, That the courts of the United States shall have full power to institute proceedings, make orders and decrees, issue process, and do all other things necessary to carry this act into effect.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

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2. *Richmond Enquirer*, quoted in *Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait*, ed. Herbert Mitgang (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), 314–315.

3. Francis B. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House: The Story of a Picture* (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1866), 12, 25; see John Hope Franklin, The *Emancipation Proclamation* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962). An earlier book by historian Charles Eberstadt focused only on the recorded reprints of the proclamation itself; see Eberstadt, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation* (New York: privately printed, 1950).

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5. Allen C. Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 248–249; Michael Lind, What *Lincoln Believed: The Values and Convictions of America's Greatest President* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 15, 38, 191–222.

IMAGINED PROMISES, BITTER REALITIES (EDNA GREENE MEDFORD)

1. B. P. Butler to His Excellency Thomas H. Hicks, April 23, 1861, The *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), ser. 2, 1:750. Hereafter this cite is referred to as O. R.

2. Benj. F. Butler to Lieut. Gen. Winfield Scott, May 24, 1861, *O. R.*, ser. 2, 1:752. The names of the three men are mentioned in *The Negro in Virginia*, compiled by workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia (1940; reprint, Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1994), 210.

3. James McPherson, one of the chief proponents of the "Great Emancipator" view, argues that "careful leadership and timing" enabled Lincoln to win the war and secure the freedom of the slaves. See *Drawn with the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil* War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). In a recent variation on this view, see Allen Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery* in *America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004). Guelzo suggests that the president moved consistently towards emancipation from the very beginning of his tenure. Prudence required him to seek a legal remedy that would stand up in federal court. The self-emancipation thesis is proposed by Barbara Jeanne Fields in "Who Freed the Slaves?" in Geoffrey C. Ward, with Ric Burns and Ken Burns, eds., The *Civil War: An Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 178–181; and Vincent Harding, There *is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 231–237. Ira Berlin's essay, "Who Freed the Slaves? Emancipation and Its Meaning," in *Union and Emancipation: Essays on Politics and Race in the Civil War Era*, ed. David W. Blight and Brooks D. Simpson (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1997), 105–121, argues that no single person or group can take credit for emancipation; both Lincoln and the enslaved played vital roles, as did others. In a recent book that directly challenges Lincoln's motivations for issuing the proclamation, Lerone Bennett sees the president as a white supremacist whose proclamation was a "ploy… to keep as many slaves as possible in slavery until Lincoln could mobilize support for his conservative plan to free Blacks gradually and to ship them out of the country." See *Forced into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 2000), 10.

4. It is a point Lincoln would make when in August 1862 he spoke to a delegation of black men whom he had invited to the White House with the object of encouraging colonization. Lincoln suggested that "on this broad continent, not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours." See "Address on Colonization to a Delegation of Negroes," in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 vols., ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 5:370–375. Hereafter this cite is referred to as *Collected Works*.

5. Although the Northwest Ordinance abolished slavery in the Northwest Territory (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) in 1787, loopholes in the law permitted the continuing enslavement of blacks in some areas, including Lincoln's own Illinois.

6. Frederick Douglass, "The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro," speech at Rochester, New York, July 5, 1852, in *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 4 vols., ed. Philip Foner (New York: International Publishers, 1950–55), 2:192.

7. Taney had argued that at the time of the Declaration of Independence, enslaved Africans were designated property and hence could not have been included in the definition of "the people." The prevailing view at that time was that African

Americans were "so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." See Derrick A. Bell Jr., *Race, Racism and American Law* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973), 6.

8. Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: Da Capo, 1991), 21–25.

9. See Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 47–50.

10. *Herndon's Life of Lincoln: The History and Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln as Originally* Written *by* William H. *Herndon* and Jesse W. Weik (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1942), 64.

11. "Protest in Illinois Legislature on Slavery" (March 3, 1837), Collected *Works*, 1:74–75. Lincoln and Stone also condemned the abolitionists as extremists whose "doctrines tend rather to increase than to abate slavery."

12. See David L. Lewis, *District of Columbia: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1976), 50–57. See also Stanley C. Harrold Jr., "The Pearl Affair: The Washington Riot of 1848," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (1980), 50:140–160; and Daniel Drayton, *Personal Memoirs of Daniel Drayton* (Boston: Bela Marsh, 1955).

13. "Speech in Reply to Douglas at Springfield, Illinois, July 17, 1858," in *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler (New York: Da Capo, 1990), 423.

14. "Address at Cooper Institute, New York, February 27, 1860" in Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, 222. For an analysis of the Cooper Union speech, see Harold Holzer, *Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech That Made Abraham Lincoln President* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004).

15. For a discussion of Lincoln's rise to national prominence in the Republican Party, see David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 235–256.

16. "First Inaugural Address," March 4, 1861, Collected *Works*, 4:250. In this address, Lincoln reminded the American people of the Republican platform under which he ran for office: "Resolved: That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend." For a discussion of the operation of the Fugitive Slave Act, see Stanley W. Campbell, *The Slave Catchers: The Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850–1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

17. Lieutenant A. J. Slemmer to Lt. Col. L. Thomas, Assistant Adjutant-General, March 18, 1861, O. R., ser. 2, 1:750.

18. Report of Edward Conroy, Commanding U.S. Bark Restless, March 30, 1862, United States, Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the* Rebellion (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1894), ser. 1, 12:682. (Hereafter this cite is referred to as *Navy O. R.*) The opportunity to be had for escape when Union boats came near shore is revealed in the operations of the U.S. Steam Sloop *Seminole*. When the sloop anchored off the coast of Beaufort, South Carolina, its crew detected a lone fugitive, but shortly thereafter approximately 300 came out to greet the men. This occurred after the crowd had been visited and dispersed by a group of men earlier that day who had shot two contrabands. See John P. Gillis, Commanding U.S.S. *Seminole*, November 19, 1861, *Navy O. R.*, ser. 1, 12:353.

19. Enclosure, Statement of John T. Washington, May 7, 1861, *O. R.* ser. 1, 2:820.

20. Ibid.

21. John Pool to the Honorable Zebulon B. Vance, September 18, 1862, *O. R*, ser. 1, 18:745. See also Inclosure *[sic]*, R. W. Mallard et al. to Brigadier-General Mercer, August 5, 1862, O. R., ser. 4, 2:36.

22. Inclosure *[sic]*, R. W. Mallard et al to Brigadier-General Mercer, August 5, 1862, O. R., ser. 4, 2:38.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Colonel Harvey Brown to Lieutenant Colonel E. D. Townsend, June 22, 1861, *O. R.*, ser. 2, 1:755.

26. Geo. B. McClellan to the Union Men of Western Virginia, May 26, 1861, *O. R.*, ser. 2, 1:753.

27. Lieutenant Colonel Schuyler Hamilton to Brigadier General Irwin McDowell, Washington, July 16, 1861, *O. R.*, ser. 2, 1:760.

28. Ibid.; Assistant Adjutant-General E. D. Townsend to General Mansfield, and General Orders, No. 33, July 17, 1861, *O. R.*, ser. 2, 1:760.

29. See Edna Greene Medford, "Abraham Lincoln and Black Wartime Washington," in *Papers from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Annual Lincoln Colloquia* (Springfield, Ill.: Lincoln Home National Historic Site, 2000), 120–125.

30. Reported in *New York* Tribune, May 20, 1862, 7.

31. Donald Yacovone, ed., A Voice *of Thunder: The Civil War Letters of George E. Stephens* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 146. Yacovone indicates that the Posey family was implicated in numerous instances of treachery during the war. In this instance, the culprit may have been Timothy Posey rather than Richard B. Posey, as Stephens suggests.

32. Ibid., 163. Stephens reported that Cox was "an ex-state representative, a returned rebel, the Captain of a Cavalry

company organized for the rebel army, but disbanded by the Federal troops, and a Contraband trader."

33. Ibid. See also Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Steven F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War* (New York: New Press, 1992), 11–12. There is some disagreement over the timing of the Scroggins incident. George Stephens's report to the *Weekly Anglo-African* is dated January 10, 1862, but he does not indicate when the incident actually occurred. Affidavits taken by Freedmen's Bureau agents after the war concerning the treatment of prisoners of war and Union citizens indicate that Cox confessed to one Henry Seward in December 1861 that he had murdered Scroggins in August of that year. In *Blood on the Moon: The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001), Edward Steers Jr. indicates that Cox was visited by Union troops twice, once in June 1861 and again in January 1862, when the Scroggins murder occurred.

34. Yacovone, A *Voice of Thunder*, 164.

35. Steers, Blood on the *Moon*, 150–160.

36. Quoted in James M. McPherson, The *Struggle for* Equality: *Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 58.

37. Ibid., 61–63.

38. "Make Way for Liberty," *Weekly Anglo-African*, May 11, 1861, 1.

39. "The Fall of Sumter," *Douglass' Monthly*, May 1861.

40. "The Slaveholders' Rebellion (A Speech delivered on the 4th day of July, at Himrods Corners, Yates Co., N.Y)," *Douglass' Monthly*, August 1862, 692.

41. McPherson, The *Struggle for* Equality, esp. chap. 3.

42. Ibid. See also George Winston Smith and Charles Judah, *Life in the North during the Civil War: A Source History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966).

43. For a discussion of attitudes on the goals of the war in the first few months of the conflict, and Lincoln's effort to build consensus, see Donald, *Lincoln;* and James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

44. See James and Lois Horton, In Hope *of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest Among Northern Free* Blacks, *1700–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Leonard Curry, The *Free Black in Urban America, 1800–1850: The Shadow of the Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). See also Leon Liwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States*, 1790–1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

45. For a discussion of Frederick Douglass's encounters with segregation and discrimination in the North, see Douglass, *Autobiographies: The Life and Times of Fredrick Douglass* (New York: Library of America, 1994), 887–899.

46. In The *Confederate Negro: Virginia's Craftsmen and Military Laborers, 1861–1865* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1969), James Brewer discusses the role of African Americans as laborers within the Confederacy. See also Ervin Jordon, Black *Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995).

47. See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, for the range of black participation.

48. See McPherson, Battle Cry *of Freedom*, 356. For a discussion of Lincoln's concern over the act's effect on relations between the Union and the border states, see John Hope Franklin, The *Emancipation Proclamation* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1963), 18; and Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (1962; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1990), 69–70.

49. "To the Senate and House of Representatives," July 17, 1862, *Collected* Works, 5:328–331.

50. Ibid., 5:331.

51. Ira Berlin et al., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, ser. 1, vol.1, The *Destruction of Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 415.

52. "To John C. Frémont," September 2, 1861, Collected Works, 4:506.

53. "Proclamation Revoking General Hunter's Order of Military Emancipation of May 9, 1862," May 19, 1862, *Collected Works*, 5:222.

54. Donald, *Lincoln*, 316–317.

55. "To Orville H. Browning," September 22, 1861, Collected *Works*, 4:531.

56. Ibid., 4:532.

57. "The Policy of the Administration," *Douglass' Monthly*, August 1862, 692–693.

58. "Gen. Hunter Overruled," *New York Tribune*, May 20, 1862.

59. "Proclamation Revoking General Hunter's Order…" Collected *Works*, 5:223.

60. See Bennett, *Forced into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream*, 20–21.

61. "Annual Message to Congress," December 1, 1862, *Collected Works*, 5:531.

62.” Speech at Peoria…,” October 16, 1854, Basler, Abraham *Lincoln: His* Speeches and *Writings*, 291–292.

63. Ibid.

64. “Drafts of a Bill for Compensated Emancipation in Delaware,” November 26, 1861, *Collected Works*, 5:29.

65. Ibid., 5:30.

66. “Message to Congress,” March 6, 1862, Collected *Works*, 5:144–145.

67. For a discussion of emancipation in the District of Columbia, see Constance M. Green, The *Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation’s Capital* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 57–59; and Margaret Leech, Reveille in *Washington: 1860–1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1941), 241–242.

68. “Message to Congress,” April 16, 1862, Collected *Works*, 5:192.

69. “Appeal to Border State Representatives to Favor Compensated Emancipation,” July 12, 1862, *Collected Works*, 5:318.

70. Ibid.

71. “Remarks to a Delegation of Progressive Friends,” June 20, 1862, Collected *Works*, 5:278.

72. “What the People Expect of Mr. Lincoln,” *Douglass’ Monthly*, August 1862, 701.

73. “The Slaveholders Rebellion,” in *Douglass’Monthly*, August 1862, 691.

74. Horace Greeley, “The Prayer of Twenty Millions,” New *York* Tribune, August 20, 1862, 4.

75. “To Horace Greeley,” August 22, 1862, Collected *Works*, 5:388–89.

76. “Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation,” September 22, 1862, Collected *Works*, 5:433.

77. Ibid., 5:433–436.

78. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 560.

79. Ibid., 561–562. McPherson has indicated, however, that Democratic gains were not so overwhelming as to suggest that northerners were in solid opposition to the Emancipation Proclamation.

80. Donald, *Lincoln*, 379.

81. For an overview of the response to the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, see Guelzo, *Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation*, 177–181; and Franklin, The *Emancipation Proclamation*, 58–93. See also McPherson, The *Struggle for Equality*, 117–122.

82. “Emancipation Proclaimed,” in *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and* Writings, ed. Philip S. Foner, abridged by Yuval Taylor (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1975), 517.

83. “A Call to Action,” Rev. H. M. Turner, *Christian Recorder*, October 4, 1862.

84. Foner, The *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 3:440.

85. “January 1st, 1863,” *Douglass’ Monthly*, January 1, 1863, 770.

86. “Annual Message to Congress,” December 1, 1862, Collected *Works*, 5:531.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. “Address on Colonization to a Deputation of Negroes,” August 14, 1862, *Collected Works*, 5:371–72.

90. Ibid., 372.

91. Ibid., 371.

92. Quoted in James M. McPherson, *The Negro’s Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted During the War for the Union* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), 95.

93. “Annual Message to Congress,” December 1, 1862, Collected *Works*, 5:537.

94. Ibid., 536.

95. “Final Emancipation Proclamation,” January 1, 1863, Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, 691.

96. Plans for voluntary relocation had not gone well. The ill-conceived Chiriqui Project in Central America and I’lle a Vache in Haiti doubtless helped to convince Lincoln that colonization would not work.

97. For a discussion of the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation on foreign affairs, see Howard Jones,’Abraham *Lincoln and a New Birth of Freedom: The Union and Slavery in the Diplomacy of the Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999). Allen Guelzo argues rather convincingly that Lincoln may have been more concerned that the proclamation would have a negative influence on the British and that England, fearful of a slave insurrection, would intervene because of it. See Guelzo, *Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation*, 254.

98. “The Great Event,” *Weekly Anglo-African*, January 3, 1863, 2.

99. Ibid.

100. In his February 1863 address at Cooper Institute, New York City, Frederick Douglass had contended: “When

Virginia is a free state, Maryland cannot be a slave state… Slavery must stand or fall together. Strike it at either extreme—either on the head or at the heel, and it dies." See Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 3:333

101. H. G. Wright, Major-General Commanding Headquarters Department of the Ohio to Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief, Washington, D.C., December 30, 1862, *O. R*, ser. 1, 20:282.

102. Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, 212–213.

103. See Donald, *Lincoln*, 417–418.

104. For detailed reporting of these celebrations, see the *Weekly Anglo-African*.

105. "Rejoicings Over the Emancipation Proclamation," *Weekly Anglo-African*, January 17, 1863, 1.

106. See Edna Greene Medford, "Beckoning Them to the Dreamed of Promise of Freedom: African Americans and Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation," in *Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg and the Civil War*, ed. John Y. Simon, Harold Holzer, and William D. Pederson (Mason City, IA: Savas Publishing Co., 1999), 50.

107. Quoted in McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War*, 50–51.

108. "The Great Emancipation Demonstration," *Weekly Anglo-African*, January 10, 1863, 2.

109. *Douglass' Monthly*, February 1863.

110. "The Great Emancipation Demonstration," Weekly *Anglo-African*, January 10, 1863, 2.

111. "Final Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission to the Secretary of War," May 15, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 3, 4:436.

112. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (New York: Collier Books, 1969), 59–61.

113. "To Charles D. Robinson," August 17, 1864, Collected *Works*, 7:500.

114. "The Great Event," *Anglo-African*, January 3, 1863, 2.

115. Charles Wilder, Testimony Before the American Freedman's Inquiry Commission, 9 May 1863. In Berlin et al., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, ser. 1, 1:89.

116. "Report of James Madison Frailey, Commander, U.S.S. Quaker City, February 2, 1864, *Navy O. R.*, ser. 1, 9:436.

117. Enclosure from John J. Almy, Commander, U.S.S. South *Carolina*, May 25, 1863, *Navy O. R.*, ser. 1, 14:217. Doubtless, some naval commanders were willing to rescue fugitives because they could provide information about Confederate activity.

118. Douglass, *Autobiographies*, 796.

119. Foner, The *Life and Writings of Fredrick Douglass*, 3:405.

120. "Address of Congress to the People of the Confederate States," *O. R.*, ser. 4, 3:132–133.

121. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, Including the Diplomatic Correspondence, 1861–1865*, 2 vols. (Nashville: United States Publishing Co., 1906), 1: 290.

122. Ibid., 1:291–292.

123. "An Ordinance to provide for the removal of negroes and other property from portions of the state which may be invaded by the enemy," October 20, 1862, *O. R.*, ser. 4, 2:133–137.

124. Governor John J. Pettus to Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, November 3, 1863, *O. R.*, ser. 4, 2:922.

125. William T. Sherman, Major-General to General Lorenzo Thomas, April 12, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 3, 4:225.

126. Charles Clark to Fellow Citizens, November 16, 1863, *O. R.*, ser. 4, 2:961.

127. P. R. Cleburne, Major-General et al. to Commanding General, January 2, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 1, 52:587, 588.

128. Ibid., 52:590.

129. Ibid., 52:591.

130. Judah P. Benjamin to Fred A. Porcher, December 21, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 4, 3:959.

131. John J. Pettus to Gentlemen of the Senate, November 3, 1863, *O. R.*, ser. 4, 2:922.

132. Major-General J. Bankhead Magruder to Brigadier-General W. R. Boggs, October 26, 1863, *O. R.*, ser. 1, 26:355.

133. For a discussion of the experiences of free blacks in the South, see Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: New Press, 1971), and Leonard Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800–1850: The* Shadow *of the Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

134. William Smith to Gentlemen of the Senate, December 7, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 4, 3:914.

135. N. A. M. Dudley, Acting Brigadier-General to Lieutenant Colonel Richard B. Irwin, August 12, 1863, *O. R.*, ser. 1, 26:668.

136. Major-General Lovell H. Rousseau to Brigadier-General W. D. Whipple, January 30, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 1, 32:267.

137. For discussion of the destruction of slavery in the border states as a consequence of black enlistment, see Berlin et

al., *Free at Last*, 333–424.

138. A. A. Rice, Provost-Marshal to Colonel J. P. Sanderson, March 31, 1864, 799; A. Kempinsky, Provost-Marshal to Colonel Marsh, February 7, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 1, 34:268.

139. J. Holt, Judge Advocate-General to Secretary of War, November 22, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 2, 7:1151.

140. Ibid. The second petition was signed by Major General Steele. Holt indicated that although Secretary of War Stanton and the president had upheld the sentence, Brown remained in Little Rock rather than being remanded to the Alton military prison.

141. Berlin et al., *Freedom*, 1:504–507.

142. Report of Charles S. Boggs, Captain, U.S.S. Sacramento, March 24, 1863, Navy *O. R.*, ser. 1, 8:625.

143. H. Walke, Captain U.S.S. Gunboat *Lafayette* to Commodore James S. Palmer, June 19, 1863, 239, Navy *O. R.*, ser. 1, 20:239.

144. Ira Berlin et al., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867, ser. 1 vol. 2, The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Upper South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and ser. 1, vol. 3, The *Wartime Genesis of Slavery: The Lower South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

145. R. Saxton, Brigadier-General of Volunteers to the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, December 30, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 3, 4:1029.

146. Quoted in James Mellon, ed., *Bullwhip Days: The Slaves Remember—An Oral History* (New York: Avon Books, 1988), 344.

147. An example is the case of Brig. Gen. William Dwight Jr., commander First Brigade in West Louisiana. Dwight's charge that "Negro women were ravished in the presence of white women and children" during the army's march to New Iberia, Louisiana, suggests that the crime was perpetrated more against the witnesses than the women who were defiled. See Reports of Brigadier-General William Dwight, Jr., April 27, 1863, *O. R.*, ser. 1, 15:374.

148. Quoted in McPherson, The *Negro's Civil War*, 302.

149. "Minutes of an interview between the colored ministers and church officers at Savannah with the Secretary of War and Major-General Sherman," January 12, 1865, *O. R.*, ser.1, 47:39.

150. Saxton to Stanton, December 30, 1864, OR, ser. 3, 4:1022.

151. F. B. Carpenter, Six Months *at the White House With Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867), 22.

152. Letter to James C. Conkling, August 26, 1863, Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, 723.

153. "Formation of Colored Regiments," *Weekly Anglo-African*, September 28, 1861, 1.

154. "What are we Colored People Doing? Or Likely to Do?" *Anglo-African*, October 19, 1861.

155. "Michigan State Convention," *Anglo-African*, March 7, 1863, 1.

156. Ibid.

157. "Address for the Promotion of Colored Enlistments," delivered at a mass meeting in Philadelphia, July 6, 1863, Foner, *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, 536.

158. William J. Mays, Company B, Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry, Mount City, April 18, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 1, 32:525.

159. Quoted in *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States: From Colonial Times Through the Civil War*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Citadel Press, 1965), 483.

160. Ibid.

161. Frederick Douglass, *Autobiographies*, 786–787.

162. For a discussion of the unique problems black soldiers faced, see Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (1953; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1989), 200–213. See also Ira Berlin et al., *Freedom: A Documentary History*—The *Black Military Experience* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

163. Quarles, The *Negro in the Civil War*, 208.

164. Aptheker, A *Documentary History of the Negro People*, 486–87. The Militia Act provided for payment for black troops, whatever the rank, in the amount of ten dollars per month, with three dollars deducted for clothing. White privates received thirteen dollars per month with an additional $3.50 for a clothing allowance.

165. "Another Law Against Common Sense," *Douglass' Monthly*, March 1863, 802.

166. McPherson, The *Negro's Civil War*, 71.

167. Ibid., 75–76.

168. Ibid., 256–265.

169. Report of Acting Master J. S. Eldridge, U.S.S. *Delaware*, May 7, 1864, *Navy O. R.*, ser. 1, 10:25; Enclosure from John Collins Jr., Acting Master, U.S.S. Schooner *George Mangham*, December 30, 1863, *Navy O. R.*, ser. 1, 15:158.

170. Quoted in Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long; The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 187.

171. The *Negro in Virignia*, 224.

172. Speech of Thomas Morris Chester, *Anglo-African*, February 7, 1863.

173. Foner, *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, 427.

174. General Saxton to Stanton, December 30, 1864, *O. R.*, ser. 3, 4:1030.

175. Quoted in McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War*, 302.

176. For a discussion of Lincoln's role in passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, see Michael Vorenberg, *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 113–115. Lincoln's leadership and strategy in facilitating the amendment's passage and adoption is addressed in Frank J. Williams, *Judging Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002), 128–145.

177. "Annual Message to Congress," December 6, 1864, *Speeches and Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, 785.

178. Quoted in The *Negro in* Virginia, 232.

179. Thomas Morris Chester, Black Civil *War Correspondent: His Dispatches from the Virginia Front*, ed. R. J. M. Blackett (Baton Route: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 297. Chester is believed to be the only black correspondent to cover the war's progress for a major daily paper. He was present at Richmond when the Union army, led by black soldiers, entered the city (see Chester, 4).

180. Aptheker, A *Documentary History of the Negro People*, 490.

181. See Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro*, 239–249.

182. Ibid., 3–4.

183. Quoted in Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 277.

184. "Our Work is Not Done," December 1863, Foner, *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, 547–548.

185. Ibid., 550.

186. Ibid., 547–553.

187. Aptheker, A *Documentary History of the Negro People*, 514.

188. Ibid., 516.

189. Ibid., 520.

190. "Freemen of North Carolina Striking for their Rights," *Anglo-African*, May 14, 1864, 1.

191. "To Michael Hahn," March 13, 1864, Collected Works, 7:243.

192. McPherson, The *Negro's Civil War*, 282–283.

193. "Last Public Address," April 11, 1865, Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, 796–801.

194. *Celebration by the Colored People's Educational Monument Association in Memory of Abraham Lincoln, on the Fourth of July*, 1865, *in the Presidential Grounds, Washington, D.C.* Printed by Order of the Board of Directors, L. A. Bell, Recording Secretary (Washington, 1865).

195. Ibid. Letter from Frederick Douglass to Messrs. William Syphax and John Cook, July 1, 1865.

196. *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the National Equal Rights League, Held in* Cleveland, *Ohio, October 19, 20, and 21, 1865* (Philadelphia, 1865).

197. Interview with President Andrew Johnson, Washington, D.C, February 8, 1866, reprinted in *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions, 1865–1900*, ed. Philip Foner and George E. Walker (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 215.

198. For a discussion of the role of the black voter and office-holder during Reconstruction, see Thomas Holt, Black *Over White: Negro* Political *Leadership in South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979).

199. Allen Guelzo suggests that political rights were of primary concern to the freed people. See Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, 274. One can conclude, however, that the privilege of casting a ballot did not outweigh the economic security that came with the former slave's ownership of the soil on which he labored.

200. "Letter to John A. McClernand," January 8, 1863, *Collected Works*, 6:48–49.

201. Letter to General N. P. Banks, August 5, 1863, Basler, Abraham Lincoln: His *Speeches and Writings*, 715.

202. "Nathaniel P. Banks," November 5, 1863, Collected Works, 7:1–2.

203. "Annual Message to Congress," December 8, 1863, *Collected Works*, 7:51.

204. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 399–408.

205. Some African Americans in the South Carolina Sea Islands and in those areas designated by General Sherman's Special Field Order #15 received "possessory tide" to certain lands but eventually lost them to the original owners when

the latter were pardoned by President Andrew Johnson.

206. "The Colored People's National Monument to the Memory of Abraham Lincoln," *Christian Recorder* 2 (fall 1865).

207. Ibid.

208. "Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln, delivered at the unveiling of the Freedmen's Monument in Memory of Abraham Lincoln, in Lincoln Park, Washington, DC," April 14, 1876, in Foner, *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, 618–619.

209. Ibid., "Speech on the Occasion of the Twenty-Sixth Anniversary of Emancipation in the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C," April 16, 1888, 715.

210. Ibid.

211. Given the changes wrought by the new industrial economy, Washington's advocacy of industrial arts (or vocational) education and the eschewing of labor unions was ill-conceived. To his credit, however, he encouraged the establishment of black-owned businesses and the acquisition of farm lands.

212. Booker T. Washington, "An Address on Abraham Lincoln Delivered Before the Republican Club of New York City," 12 February 1909, in *Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington*, ed. E. David Washington (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1932), 195.

213. For a discussion of the downward spiral of African-American fortune in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Rayford W. Logan, The *Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (1965; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1997).

214. "A Lincoln Emancipation Conference," *Alexander's Magazine*, March-April 1909, 230.

215. Carter G. Woodson, *Negro Orators and their Orations* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1969), 567.

216. Ibid., 572.

217. For a discussion of the growing disaffection of African Americans with the Republican Party, see Nancy J. Weiss, Farewell *to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 28.

218. Merrill Peterson, *Lincoln in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). See, esp., 348–358.

219. See Franklin, *The Emancipation Proclamation*, 153–154.

220. Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations Black and White: Separate, Hostile, Unequal* (New York: Ballantine, 1995).

221. For a comprehensive discussion of American memory and its connection to race and post-Civil War efforts at national healing, see David Blight, Race and *Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2001).

"DOING LESS" AND "DOING MORE" (FRANK J. WILLIAMS)

1. Gabor S. Boritt, *Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 285–286.

2. Roy P. Basler, ed., The Collected Works *of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953–55), 4:240. (Hereafter this cite is referred to as *Collected* Works.) The president-elect was not being hyperbolic when he invited assassination, as he had heard earlier that there was a plot to do just that when his train changed tracks in Baltimore on the way to Washington.

3. Harry V. Jaffa, A *New Birth of Freedom: Abraham Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War* (Linham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 109–110.

4. *Collected Works*, 2:245.

5. Ibid., 2:255.

6. Harold Holzer, ed., The *Lincoln-Douglas Debates: The First Complete Unexpurgated Text* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993). 63.

7. Ibid., 73.

8. Ibid., 359.

9. Ibid., 356–357.

10. *Collected* Works, 2:132, 3:233.

11. Ibid., 2:132.

12. Ibid., 5:534–535.

13. Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1939). 203.

14. Collected *Works*, 5:537.

15. *Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1857).

16. *Collected Works*, 2:401, 405.

17. Ibid., 7:301–302.

18. Ibid., 7:281–282.

19. Ibid., 4:332, 338–339, 421–441; also see Frank J. Williams, "Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties: Then & Now—The Southern Rebellion and September 11," New *York University Annual Survey of American Law* (2004): 463–489.

20. Kermit L. Hall et al., eds., The *Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States* (1992), 428–429.

21. Collected *Works*, 4:430.

22. Silvana R. Siddali, *From Property to Person: Slavery and the Confiscation Acts, 1861–1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 91–92, 242–243.

23. Ibid., 113.

24. *Collected* Works, 5:330.

25. *Wallach v. Van Risweick*, 92 U.S. 202 (1876), 213.

26. Collected Works, 5:336–337.

27. "Reply to Emancipation Memorial Presented by Chicago Christians of All Denominations," September 1, 1862, in *Chicago Tribune*, September 23, 1862, *Collected Works*, 5:419–425.

28. This law, also known as the Militia Act of 1795 *(Statutes at Large*, February 28, 1795, c. 36, 1 Stat. 414), was intended for the collection of duties on imports. It provided that "whenever the Laws of the United States shall be opposed… the President may call the militia of such state." President Lincoln signed an amendment to the bill, the Militia Act of 1862, on July 17, 1862, which would authorize him "to receive into the service of the United States, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service, or any other labor, or any military or naval service for which there may be found competent persons of African descent."

29. Collected Works, 5:338.

30. Ibid., 5:388–389.

31. For a discussion of Attorney General Edward Bates and the Confiscation Act, see Frank J. Williams," 'Institutions Are Not Made, They Grow': Attorney General Bates and Attorney President Lincoln," *Lincoln Lore* (Spring 2004): 10–11.

32. Siddali, *From Property to Person*, 230.

33. William Whiting, *War Powers Under the Constitution of the United States* (Glonieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, 1971), 58.

34. Harold M. Hyman, A More *Perfect Union: The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on the Constitution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 178, 150.

35. Miller v. *United States*, 78 U.S. 268 (1870).

36. Prize *cases*, 67 U.S. 635 (1862), 306–307; Miller v. *United States*, 306–307.

37. Collected *Works*, 5:318–319.

38. Ibid., 5:388–389.

39. Don E. Fehrenbacher, "Only His Stepchildren," in *Lincoln in Text and Context: Collected Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 109.

40. Benjamin P. Thomas, Abraham *Lincoln* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), 342.

41. E. B. Long with Barbara Long, The Civil *War: Day by Day: An Almanac 1861–1865* (New York: Da Capo, 1971), 268.

42. Collected *Works*, 5:433–436.

43. Henry Wheaton, *Elements of International Law*, 6th ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1855), 416–421.

44. Collected *Works*, 6:29.

45. James G. Randall, "Vindictives and Vindication," in Mr. *Lincoln*, ed. Richard N. Current (New York: Dodd, Meade, 1957). 317–340.

46. Hamlin to Lincoln, September 25, 1862, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

47. *Collected* Works, 5:444.

48. William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), 249.

49. Collected *Works*, 6:436–437.

50. Mark E. Neely Jr., The *Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 52.

51. James A. Bayard to S. L. M. Barlow, September 30, 1862, Barlow MSS, Huntington Library, San Marino,

California.

52. George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* (New York: Charles L. Webster and Co., 1889), 487–489.

53. Collected Works, 5:474.

54. Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War*, 218–219.

55. Allen Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004), 167.

56. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 3d Session (1862), 15, 92.

57. *Collected Works*, 5:537.

58. For a recent full account of this battle, see Francis AugustÍn O'Reilly, The *Fredericksburg Campaign: Winter War on the Rappahannock* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003).

59. Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall, eds., The *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, 2 vols. (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1925–1933), 1:600–601.

60. Allan Nevins, The *War for the Union: War Becomes Revolution, 1862–1862* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), 362.

61. *Collected Works*, 6:23–24.

62. Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, 201–202.

63. *Collected* Works, 6:28–32.

64. Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), 222.

65. As Allen Guelzo indicates in *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation* (352, n. 13), it is very difficult to determine the exact number of slaves freed by the proclamation. Herbert Aptheker, in 1958, estimated 500,000 slaved had escaped. According to Guelzo, Seward cited no source for his estimate of 200,000.

66. Randy Kennedy, "'I Shall Never Forget the Weeping,'" in "Word for Word / Slave Journals," New York *Times*, June 20, 2004, Ideas and Trends section, 14.

67. James M. McPherson, For *Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought In The Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 118.

68. Jaffa, A New Birth *of Freedom*, 79.

69. Ibid.

70. James M. McPherson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 34–37.

71. Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 120.

72. Ulysses S. Grant quoted by John Russell Young during Grant's trip around the world, New *York Herald*, May 27, 1878.

73. *Collected Works*, 7:500.

74. Ibid., 6:149–150.

75. *Collected Works*, 6:409.

76. On June 15, 1864, Congress finally enacted legislation granting equal pay to black soldiers. The law was made retroactive to January 1, 1864, for all colored soldiers and retroactive to the time of enlistment for those African Americans who had been free on April 19, 1861. Many black soldiers and their families suffered severe hardships because of the wage discrimination. Nevertheless, when the black troops finally received their full back pay, there was rejoicing and celebration. For a full account of the issue of equal pay, see James M. McPherson's, The *Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 212–220.

77. *Collected Works*, 6:357.

78. Ibid., 7:281–282.

79. Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, 214–215.

80. John Hope Franklin, The *Emancipation Proclamation* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), vi.

81. Ibid., 153.

82. Moncure Conway, *Autobiography: Memories and Experiences* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904), 1:378–81.

83. Dudley T. Cornish, The Sable *Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861–65* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 99. The exact number of blacks serving in the Union army is difficult to determine. Allen C. Guelzo places the number at 180,000, of whom 110,000 were former slaves *(Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, 352, n. 13).

84. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 313–315, 318.

85. *Collected Works*, 6:408.

86. Ibid., 409.

87. For a full treatment of the Thirteenth Amendment, see Michael Vorenberg, Final *Freedom: The Civil War*, The Abolition *of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

88. See Frank J. Williams, "The End of Slavery: Lincoln and the Thirteenth Amendment—What Did He Know and When Did He Know it?" in Williams, *Judging Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002).

89. Michael Vorenberg," 'The Deformed Child': Slavery and the Election of 1864," *Civil War History* 47 (September 2001): 240–247.

90. David E. Long, *The Jewel of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln's Re-Election and The End of Slavery* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole, 1994), Appendix B, 280.

91. Hollingsworth v. *Virginia*, 3 Dall. (3 U.S.) 378 (1798).

92. Bernard Schwartz, *Statutory History of the United States—Civil Rights* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1970), 25–96.

93. Second Inaugural Address, *Collected Works*, 8:332.

94. Collected *Works*, 6:428–429.

95. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality*, 100.

96. For a full modern treatment of the proclamation, see Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*.

97. David Reinhand, "The Eloquence of a Wartime President," Sunday O*regonian*, February 6, 2005.

98. Collected *Works*, 6:409.

99. Ibid., 7:19.

PICTURING FREEDOM (HAROLD HOLZER)

1. Roy P. Basler, ed., The Collected *Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953–55), 8:333, 356. Hereafter this cite is referred to as Collected *Works*.

2. John D. Caldwell to Lincoln, March 16, 1865, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress; Lincoln to Thurlow Weed, March 15, 1865, *Collected Works*, 8:356. By the time Caldwell wrote, Lincoln had probably given his manuscript copy of the inaugural to his assistant secretary, John M. Hay.

3. Lincoln's comments the day he signed the Emancipation Proclamation are in Francis B. Carpenter, Six *Months at the White House with President Lincoln: The Story of a Picture* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1866), 269.

4. It was a busy March 6 for Lincoln; Smith's visit that day was not his only experience with artists determined to capture the Lincoln image for posterity (and sales); he also posed on the balcony of the White House for Massachusetts photographer Henry Warren. See Charles Hamilton and Lloyd Ostendorf, *Lincoln in Photographs: An Album of Every Known Pose*, rev. ed. (Dayton, OH: Morningside Books, 1985), 214–215.

5. The advertising poster is in the Stern Collection, Rare Books Department, Library of Congress.

6. A cameraman from Brady's gallery later tried taking photographs of Lincoln at the table at which he signed the proclamation, but the resulting pictures, made in 1864, did not come out well; the lighting inside Lincoln's office proved too poor. Two years earlier, during a visit to the Army of the Potomac near Antietam, Lincoln did pose with Gen. George B. McClellan in what might be called the earliest "photo opportunity" in presidential history. See Hamilton and Ostendorf, *Lincoln in Photographs*, 107–113, 190–194.

7. Collected *Works*, 4:89.

8. "Perilous Voyage" appeared in *Frank Leslie's Budget of Fun*, October 15, 1860. See Gary L. Bunker, *From Rail-Splitter to Icon: Lincoln's Image in Illustrated Periodicals, 1860–1865* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001), 52.

9. See, esp., Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely Jr., The *Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), and *Changing the Lincoln Image* (Fort Wayne, IN: Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum, 1985). Perhaps nothing more convincingly attests to the commercial impetus for political prints than that the reigning firm, Currier and Ives of New York, was capable of producing flattering portraits of Lincoln as well as virulent caricature, each designed for a different segment of its large audience for pictures.

10. Herbert Mitgang, ed., *Lincoln as They Saw Him* (New York: Rinehart, 1956), 304; Charles Eberstadt, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation* (New York: Duschnes Crawford, 1950), 23.

11. Eberstadt, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, 24–34.

12. Collected *Works*, 5:444. This section on the surprising dearth of emancipation imagery in 1862 and 1863 appeared in "Prized in Every Liberty-Loving Household: The Image of the Great Emancipator in the Graphic Arts," in Harold Holzer, *Lincoln Seen and Heard* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 9–12.

13. David W. Blight, "'For Something beyond the Battlefield': Frederick Douglass and the Struggle for the Memory of the Civil War," *Journal of American History* 75 (March 1989): 116, 117.

14. Carpenter, Six Months *at the White House*, 22.

15. Originals are in the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana, and the print collection of the New York Public Library, respectively.

16. These factors were explored in Mark E. Neely Jr., Harold Holzer, and Gabor S. Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), esp. 3–10.

17. See Harold Holzer, "Lincoln in Confederate Cartoons: A 'Lean-Sided Yankee,' Seldom Seen," in Holzer, *Lincoln Seen and Heard*, 136–137.

18. Originals are in the Library of Congress, and the Frank and Virginia Williams Collection of Lincolniana, respectively,.

19. Andrew L. Thomas, "Portraiture, Politics, and Patronage: Edward Dalton Marchant's *Abraham Lincoln* (1863) and the Union League of Philadelphia," unpublished ms. The author is grateful to Mr. Thomas for sharing the text of his excellent paper.

20. Ibid.

21. John W. Forney to Abraham Lincoln, December 30, 1862, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

22. Collected Works, 4:240.

23. "Lincoln's Growth as Portraits Tell It," *New York Times Magazine*, February 7, 1932; Vineyard *Gazette*, August 26, 1887.

24. Andrew L. Thomas, "Portraiture, Politics, and Patronage."

25. Thomas B. Bryan to Lincoln, January 7, 1864, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

26. Lincoln to Bryan, January 18, 1864, *Collected* Works, 7:135. The Mendel print is discussed in Eberstadt, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, 39–40.

27. A. Kidder to Lincoln, January 6, 1864, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress. The engraved broadside *Emancipation* was one of several issued by Kidder and such co-publishers as Charles Shober of Chicago. See Eberstadt, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, 35–37. Eberstadt Nos. 24–26 document the inclusion of the Lincoln facsimile autograph.

28. Lewis Dodge to Lincoln, August 1, 1864, with endorsement by Henry Tanner, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

29. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House*, 12–13.

30. Francis B. Carpenter to Owen Lovejoy, January 5, 1864, typed transcript in the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

31. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House*, 18–20.

32. The results of these sittings can be seen in Hamilton and Ostendorf, *Lincoln in Photographs*, 172–183, 186–195.

33. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House*, 157–158.

34. These unfinished but expert portraits are now in the collection of the Union League Club of New York. Carpenter donated them in lieu of admission fees when he became a member.

35. Carpenter, Six *Months at the White House*, 25, 27–28.

36. Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1939), 197. *272*.

37. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House*, 353; Carpenter, "Anecdotes and Reminiscences," in Henry J. Raymond, *Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Derby and Miller, 1865), 763–764.

38. Testimonials published as end papers to Carpenter, Six *Months at the White House*.

39. Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely Jr., "Francis Bicknell Carpenter (1830–1900): Painter of Abraham Lincoln and His Circle," *American Art Journal*, 16 (spring 1984): 77.

40. End papers to Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House*.

41. Ibid.

42. "Lincoln's Legacy to Mankind/A Great National Painting!" undated advertising broadside in the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana. International Portrait Co. also offered artist's proofs at $25, india proofs for $15, and plain prints for $5 once the first thousand copies were sold at the bargain one-dollar price.

43. Ibid. *New York Independent*, February 2, 1871.

44. Quoted in Mark E. Neely Jr., The *Emancipation Proclamation* (Fort Wayne, IN: Lincoln National Life, n.d., n.p.).

45. William Lloyd Garrison to Lincoln, January 21, 1865, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

46. Lincoln to Garrison, February 7, 1865, Collected *Works*, 8:265–66. Mary Lincoln evidently liked the painting a great deal; it seems likely that she took it with her when she left the White House after the assassination. It was returned in the 1970s. See William Kloss, Art in the *White House: A Nation's Pride* (Washington, DC: White House Historical Association, 1992), 152.

47. Dorothy Miller, The *Life and Work of David G. Blythe* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1950), 1, 2, 5, 9, 14.

48. For the latter, see *American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 2 vols. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1969) 1:39.

49. Ibid., 57–58, 88–89.

50. A rare copy is in the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

51. The previously advanced notion that Blythe produced his pro-emancipation painting as a response to Volck is hardly possible; Volck's art could not easily have reached Blythe's Pittsburgh hometown during 1862. See Miller, The *Life and Work of David G. Blythe*, 87–88.

52. Harold Holzer, Mark E. Neely Jr., and Gabor S. Boritt, "Baltimore Artist Adalbert Volck Fought for the Southern Cause with His Pen," *America's Civil War* (May 1989): 29. Mark E. Neely pointed out the Scotch cap symbol, long overlooked by scholars, in The *Last Best Hope of Earth: Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), opp. 118.

53. The cartoon is in the collection of the Library of Congress, as is the advertising broadside Bromley *& Co.'s Publications*, New York, 1864. The publishers were aligned with the Democratic newspaper, the *New York World*.

54. David E. Long, The *Jewel of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln's Re-Election and the End of Slavery* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994), 170.

55. Thomas Webster to Abraham Lincoln, October 27, 1864, October 30, 1864, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress; transcriptions provided by the National Constitution Center, Philadelphia.

56. "Emancipation in Maryland," undated clipping from *Forney's Press*, National Constitution Center collection.

57. Thomas Webster to Abraham Lincoln, October 27, 1864, October 30, 1864.

58. Frank *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 19, 1864; Blingwalt and Brown print courtesy the National Constitution Center.

59. See David Brion Davis, The *Emancipation Moment* (22nd annual Fortenbaugh Lecture, Gettysburg College, 1983), esp. 10–12. For an account of Lincoln's welcome by African Americans in Richmond, see David Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 576.

60. For example, Carpenter's emancipation print spawned several piracies, one of which, by Edward Herline of New York, jumbled the careful arrangement of liberals and conservatives surrounding Lincoln, and another, by Thomas Kelly, also of New York, added General Grant to the scene and identified it as a routine cabinet meeting. Kelly issued yet another edition of the print, transforming it into a portrait of Jefferson Davis and the Confederate cabinet! These originals are in the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana. For a reproduction of the Kelly prints, see Holzer, Boritt, and Neely, *Changing the Lincoln Image*, 18.

61. The Waeschle portrait was modeled after a Wenderoth and Taylor photograph made sometime in 1864, the Currier and Ives on the Brady Studio's so-called "five-dollar-bill" photograph of February 9, 1864. See Hamilton and Ostendorf, *Lincoln in Photographs*, 395–396.

62. Davis, The *Emancipation Moment*, 12.

63. I have paraphrased Carpenter, who called the first reading of the proclamation "a scene second only in historical importance to that of the Declaration of Independence." See Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House*, 25.

64. Peter C. Marzio, The *Democratic Art: Chromolithography, 1840–1900—Pictures for a 19th-century America* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979), 104.

65. Ibid. For Prang's Revels chromo, see 308.

66. George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, The *New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 310–311.

67. Pamphlet quoted in R. Gerald McMurtry, "Indiana's Reaction to Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation," Lincoln *Lore*, no. 1494 (August 1962): 3. The original pamphlet is in the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

68. L. Stebbins, "New National Engraving," in Robert H. Kellogg, *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons…* (Hartford: L. Stebbins, 1864). I am indebted to historian Michael Parrish for bringing this book to my attention.

69. Sarah M. Barnes to D. S. Bull, April 4, 1867. Transcript in Catalogue of Books, Maps, Manuscripts, Broadsides and Trade Catalogues, No. 292 (2003), Denning House Antiquarian Books, Salisbury Mills, New York. Once again, the generous Michael Parrish uncovered and shared this wonderful reminiscence. In quoting the owner of the Lincoln picture,

Barnes made an unfortunate attempt to mimic black dialect, which I have restored to standard English.

70. Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), ii–iii.

71. H. Barbara Weinberg, "Thomas Eakins and The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum of Art* Bulletin 52 (winter 1994–95): 5, 22–23. The original watercolor entered the Met collection in 1925.

72. Alan C. Braddock, "Eakins, Race, and Ethnographic Ambivalence," *Winterthur Portfolio* 33 (1998): 135–136, 146–147.

73. The original is in the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

74. Mary Lincoln to Derby and Miller, June 3, 1866, in Justin G. and Linda Levitt Turner, Mary Todd *Lincoln: Her Life and Letters* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 368, 279.

75. Original in the author's collection.

76. Such prints had the added impact of elevating Lincoln's reputation further by depicting Lincoln together with the revered Washington. For more on this subject, see Harold Holzer, *Lincoln and Washington Portrayed* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publications, 1993), esp. 222–236.

77. Harold Holzer, When *Lincoln and Son Came to Richmond* (Richmond: U.S. Historical Society, 2003), 2.

78. The original is in the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

79. Notable among them is Lerone Bennett Jr., *Forced into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing, 2000). This highly selective interpretation of Lincoln's attitudes on race and freedom claimed the "Emancipator" was "forced to an immortality he resisted with every fiber of his being" (23). The World War I-era images were illustrated and well analyzed in Gerald J. Prokopowicz, "Gone with the Wind: Myths and Memories of the Old South," *Lincoln Lore*, no. 1869 (summer 2002).

80. See, e.g., William H. Johnson's *Let Me Free*, Palmer Hayden's The *Janitor Who Paints*, and Thomas Hart Benton's mural for Lincoln University, all illustrated in Harold Holzer and Gabor Boritt, "Lincoln in 'Modern' Art," in Gabor Boritt, ed., *The Lincoln Enigma* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), following p. 152. Jean-Michel Basquiat's The *Obnoxious Liberals* (1982), featuring a top-hatted Lincoln whose suit is emblazoned with the words "Not for Sale," appeared in the 2005 Brooklyn Museum of Art Basquiat retrospective.

81. The survey was reported in Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 83. In his insightful study, Schwartz maintains that Lincoln's reputation among African Americans has declined precipitously and can never be resurrected. The original cartoon, which Schwartz reproduces on p. 250, is in the collection of the Abraham Lincoln Museum at Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee.

82. Donald Charles Durman, He *Belongs to the Ages: The Statues of Abraham Lincoln* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1951), 33; Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 73–76.

83. Ibid., 38–43, 65–67, 77–84.

84. F. Lauriston Bullard, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1952), 98.

85. Ibid., 48–49.

86. Ibid., 49.

87. Ibid., 66; Michael Hatt, "Making a Man of Him: Masculinity and the Black Body in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture," *Oxford Art Journal* 15 (1992): 21–35; Durman, He *Belongs to the Ages*, 45.

88. Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and *Bronze*, 68–69; Durman, He *Belongs to the Ages*, 45.

89. Philip Foner, ed., *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and* Writings (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1999), 618.

90. Ibid., 618–620.

91. Douglass quoted in Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (New York: North American Publishing, 1886), 193; Freeman H. M. Murray, *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture* (Washington, privately printed, 1916), 199.

92. Billiard, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze*, 69; Foner, *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and* Writings, 616.

93. Boutwell's April 15, 1876, letter to Douglass in the Frederick Douglass Papers, Frederick Douglass Memorial Home, Washington. *Collected Works*, 5:537; Foner, *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, 624.

94. Original in the Jack Smith Collection, now in the Indiana Historical Society.

95. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 115, 120.

96. Durman, *He Belongs to the Ages*, 46, 50.