

Annotation

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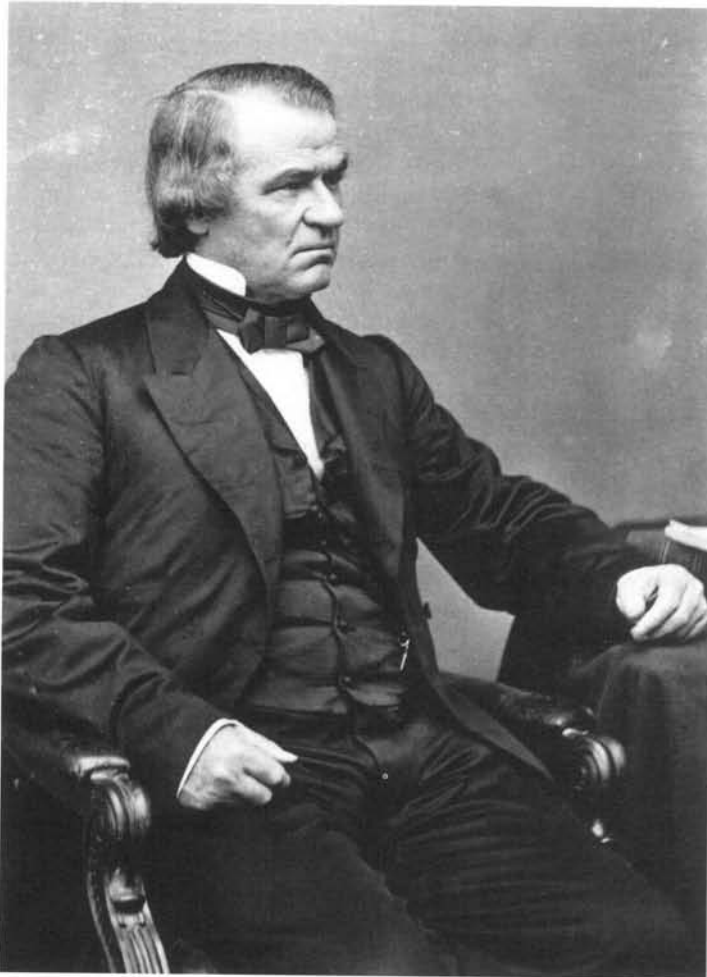
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NEWSLETTER

September 2000

ANDREW JOHNSON IN WAR AND IN PEACE

BY PAUL H. BERGERON



President Andrew Johnson, 1865. Photograph from the Brady Collection, NARA.

There is little question that Andrew Johnson's role and activities during the Civil War led to his greater recognition as Abraham Lincoln's Vice President and shortly thereafter as the nation's seventeenth President.

A longtime Democrat and public office holder, Johnson had made his mark in Tennessee politics as state legislator, governor, U.S. Representative, and also U.S. Senator. Few politicians could rival his record of accomplishments that began in the 1830s and continued without interruption up to the time of the Civil War. Although his years in Congress had given Johnson some national attention, it took the Presidential election of 1860 and the subsequent secession crisis to catapult him to higher levels of recognition and acclaim.

After having been given some consideration for the Presidential nomination at the Charleston Democratic convention, Johnson switched his loyalties to the Southern Democrats once the split in the party occurred. He worried, however, about the sectional tensions that became increasingly apparent and strident during the Presidential campaign. His predictions that there would be a rupture of the Union if Lincoln were elected unfortunately came true.

One month after the election, the departure of South Carolina from the Union launched the secession crisis. Johnson, who was serving in the U.S. Senate at this time, delivered a remarkable speech attacking secession and defending the Union. His oration caught the attention of much of the nation. He subsequently followed that speech with a similar one in February 1861. Johnson, alone of the Southerners serving in the U.S. Senate, refused to vacate his seat or embrace the secession cause.

Upon adjournment, however, he returned to Tennessee to shore up Unionist support in his home state, particularly in the eastern third where he resided. Johnson linked arms with other Unionists to fight against the secession referendum that was pending in Tennessee. These efforts proved unsuccessful, although the eastern section voted against secession. After the results of the June 1861 plebiscite became known, Johnson, fearing for his life, left Tennessee, moved into Kentucky, made speeches in that state and also in Ohio, and then returned to Washington.

By now leaders outside of the South increasingly lauded him as the great defender of the Union. President Lincoln had already taken note of Johnson and had dealt exclusively with him on matters of Federal patronage in Tennessee. *(continued on page 11)*

A bill to reauthorize the National Historical Publications and Records Commission to receive up to ten million dollars per year for competitive grants in Fiscal Years 2002-2005 has passed the House of Representatives. As this issue of *Annotation* goes to press, the bill, HR 4110, has been referred to the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, chaired by Senator Fred Thompson of Tennessee.

Annotation

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Material accepted for publication will be edited to conform to style and space limitations of *Annotation*, but authors will be consulted should substantive questions arise. The editor is final arbiter in matters regarding length and grammar. Published material does not necessarily represent the views of the Commission or of the National Archives and Records Administration; indeed, some material may challenge policies and practices of those institutions.

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FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to the September 2000 issue of *Annotation*, which focuses on some of the projects that the NHPRC has supported relating to the Civil War.

First, however, we note the continuing effort to secure the reauthorization of the NHPRC to receive up to \$10 million dollars per year for competitive grants in Fiscal Years 2002-2005. The reauthorization bill has been referred to committee as this issue goes to press.

We begin this issue of *Annotation* by congratulating editor Paul H. Bergeron and his staff on the completion of their project to publish the papers of Andrew Johnson. The final volume of the Johnson papers will not be out for some months yet, but the project office was in the process of shutting down when your editor called to request an article for this issue. Thank you, Dr. Bergeron, for taking time from your busy schedule (he is returning to a full-time teaching position in the History Department at the University of Tennessee) to write our cover story on Andrew Johnson's role in the Civil War and its aftermath.

Our second article, by Martha Evans Wiley, recounts the efforts of the staff of the Abraham Lincoln Library and Museum at Lincoln Memorial University in Harrogate, Tennessee, to survey, organize, and improve access to important and unique manuscript collections in their archives. The resulting project, *Finding Lincoln*, enhanced the preservation and availability of several manuscript collections, including those of Kentucky abolitionist and political figure Cassius Marcellus Clay, U.S.S. *Monitor* commander John L. Worden, and Union military leader and Freedmen's Bureau chief Oliver Otis Howard (who also founded Lincoln Memorial University).

Zebulon Baird Vance of North Carolina found himself frequently at odds with both the Union and the Confederate governments in the course of the war. A Unionist Whig congressman in the spring of 1861, he became a reluctant advocate of secession after Lincoln called for troops to put down the rebellion of the other Southern states. Vance served as colonel of the 26th North Carolina Infantry before being elected state governor in 1862; thereafter, his vigorous defense of state territory from Union forces and of state prerogatives from the Confederate government made him one of the Confederacy's most memorable political figures. Joe A. Mobley's article describes North Carolina's efforts to publish the Vance papers.

Michael Rose of the Atlanta History Center Archives shares information on the preservation of portions of the Center's visual collection, which includes a daguerreotype of Union warship designer and military leader Charles Ellet, Jr.

Lynda L. Crist of the Jefferson Davis papers project writes on the help that she and other editors have received from the NHPRC's research staff. Modesty forbids a more fulsome summary, but thank you, Lynda, from all of us.

Teresa Mora then tells us about the Brooklyn Historical Society's efforts to preserve and provide access to a collection of the papers of religious leader and abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher and Brooklyn's historic Plymouth Church.

John R. McKivigan, editor of *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, explores the Douglass family's Civil War experiences. These included the work of the great abolitionist to recruit African American military units for the Union army and the service of two of his sons in the most famous of those regiments, the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry.

Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant led the Union army to victory in this fratricidal conflict, and it is only fitting that an article on *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* should constitute the final words in this Civil War issue of *Annotation*. Aaron M. Lisee, an assistant editor with the Grant project, shares with us some of Grant's efforts to lead the country forward out of the shadows of war into a decent and honorable time of peace.



THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S COLUMN

One hundred thirty-five years after it ended, strong interest in the Civil War—on the part of both professional historians and the general public—continues to flourish. Books on the Civil War, also known as the War Between the States and the War of the Rebellion, seem to fly off bookstore shelves; thousands meet regularly to reenact battles; thousands more visit Civil War battlefields every year; and the Confederate flag was only recently in the news. Media events, such as the broadcast of Ken Burns' multipart series on the Public Broadcasting System a decade ago, heighten public awareness of that conflict to amazing levels.

Hollywood, too, has found the Civil War to be fertile ground, although moviemakers often cannot resist the temptation to change or compress history in the interest of a "better" story. The assault on Battery Wagner in Charleston harbor by the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment in July 1863, mentioned in John McKivigan's article in this issue, was the subject of a major motion picture, *Glory*.

This issue of *Annotation* highlights a small portion of the projects that the NHPRC has supported and currently supports that

relate to the American Civil War. We are particularly proud to celebrate the completion of a major long-term project in this area, *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, produced under the aegis of the Tennessee Presidents Center in Knoxville, and published by the University of Tennessee Press.

Also described in this issue are several NHPRC-supported archival projects that have helped to preserve and enhance access to the papers or photographic images of such Civil War figures as abolitionists Henry Ward Beecher and Cassius Marcellus Clay, Union general and Freedmen's Bureau chief Oliver Otis Howard, U.S.S. *Monitor* commander John L. Worden, and warship designer Charles Ellet, Jr. Commission-supported historical documentary editions of the papers of Andrew Johnson, Jefferson Davis, Zebulon B. Vance, Ulysses S. Grant, and Frederick Douglass are described as well.

The NHPRC continues to support a wide range of activities to preserve, publish, and encourage the use of documentary sources relating to the history of the United States, including the heartbreaking and costly conflict that was the Civil War.

Documentary Editing Conferences Celebrate Scholarly Work

To celebrate the completion of the edition of *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781–1784*, a conference entitled "Founding Financier: Robert Morris" was held at the City University of New York Graduate Center on Friday, April 7, 2000. In addition to the conference, a workshop for history teachers and graduate students was held the following day at the Trevor Day School. Distinguished historians presented papers on Morris' roles in the Revolution, Atlantic trade and commerce, and the American financial system, including banking and credit. Workshop subjects included using Internet and other electronic source documents, archival sources, and documentary editions, in both print and electronic format, in the classroom.

In addition to scholarly presentations on Robert Morris' career and influence during the period, the Honorable Mary Ellen Withrow, Treasurer of the United States delivered a keynote address on the treasury in Robert Morris' day and today.

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781–1784, was published in nine volumes by the University of Pittsburgh Press. A CD-ROM supplement and online cumulative index are in production and will be available later this year. Project Director and Editor Elizabeth M. Nuxoll and Coeditor Mary A. Y. Gallagher completed the project that was launched by

Professor E. James Ferguson with financial assistance from the NHPRC and the NEH as well as many private sources.

* * *

The Benjamin Franklin Hall of the American Philosophical Society was the site of a 1-day conference on Thursday, June 15, 2000, on the Founding Fathers Papers—Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Washington, and the Jefferson Papers, Retirement Series. The event was organized by the Founding Fathers Papers, Inc. and sponsored by the Pew Charitable Trusts. The purpose of the conference was to make the scholarly work of the six projects better known to a wider audience. The conference was also broadcast live on the Internet. Approximately 130 individuals from the Philadelphia area and elsewhere attended. Members of 45 organizations accessed the conference through the Internet.

In her opening remarks, Rebecca Rimel, president and chief executive officer of the Pew Charitable Trusts, welcomed the conference participants and expressed the foundation's appreciation for these documentary works. Stanley N. Katz, Princeton University, provided a general introduction and background on the projects. Edmund S. Morgan (Yale University) gave concluding comments.

NHPRC Application Deadlines

THE COMMISSION'S MEETINGS FOLLOW THE FISCAL YEAR OF OCTOBER 1 TO SEPTEMBER 30. CONSEQUENTLY, THE FIRST MEETING OF THE FISCAL YEAR IS IN NOVEMBER AND THE SECOND IS IN MAY.

June 1 (for the November meeting)

Proposals addressing the following top priorities:

- The NHPRC will provide the American public with widespread access to the papers of the founders of our democratic republic and its institutions by ensuring the timely completion of eight projects now in progress to publish the papers of George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and papers that document the Ratification of the Constitution, the First Federal Congress, and the early Supreme Court
- The NHPRC will promote broad public participation in historical documentation by collaborating with State Historical Records Advisory Boards to plan and carry out jointly funded programs to strengthen the nation's archival infrastructure and expand the range of records that are protected and accessible
- The NHPRC will enable the nation's archivists, records managers, and documentary editors to overcome the obstacles and take advantage of the opportunities posed by electronic technologies by continuing to provide leadership in funding research and development on appraising, preserving, disseminating, and providing access to important documentary sources in electronic form

OCTOBER 1 (for the May meeting)

Proposals not addressing the above priorities, but focusing on an activity authorized in the NHPRC statute as follows:

- collecting, describing, preserving, compiling, and publishing (including microfilming and other forms of reproduction) of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States
- conducting institutes, training and educational courses, and fellowships related to the activities of the Commission
- disseminating information about documentary sources through guides, directories, and other technical publications
- or, more specifically, documentary editing and publishing; archival preservation and processing of records for access; developing or updating descriptive systems; creation and development of archival and records management programs; development of standards, tools, and techniques to advance the work of archivists, records managers, and documentary editors; and promotion of the use of records by teachers, students, and the public

APPLICATION GUIDELINES AND FORMS MAY BE REQUESTED FROM NHPRC, NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION, 700 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE NW, ROOM 111, WASHINGTON, DC 20408-0001, 202-501-5610 (VOICE), 202-501-5601 (FAX), nbprc@arch1.nara.gov (E-MAIL), OR BY ACCESSING OUR WEB SITE AT www.nara.gov/nbprc/

Finding Lincoln (and Others) in Tennessee

BY MARTHA EVANS WILEY

Public and scholarly interest in the American Civil War shows no sign of abating. New books come out every day; most recently, personal papers, diaries, and letters are hitting the best-seller list. There seems to be an insatiable appetite within the general public to understand not just the important military details of the war, but the day-to-day happenings on the home front as well.

In response to this demand, and to preserve irreplaceable material, the staff of the Abraham Lincoln Library and Museum in Harrogate, Tennessee, applied to the NHPRC, seeking funds with which to survey, organize, and improve access to the numerous important and unique manuscript collections in their archives. The resulting project, *Finding Lincoln*, officially began in October 1997 as an archives project to ensure that the wealth of material held at the library would be available to researchers and scholars both on-site and online.

The materials had never been completely categorized. Finding aids consisted only of a dated inventory, partial indices from the museum's previous incarnation (the Lincoln Room), and the knowledge of museum staff. Significant manuscripts were haphazardly arranged, and large numbers of Civil War period essays were stored under only the broadest of headings. *Finding Lincoln* involved the hiring of archivist Leanne Garland, who first conducted a survey of these materials, then arranged and described the unpublished archival collections. Original catalog records of the manuscript collections were created to make the collections publicly accessible through the Online Computer Library Center, or OCLC.

The majority of the archival collection was acquired during the first half of the 20th century, when Carl Sandburg's biography of



TOP: Cassius Marcellus Clay; BOTTOM LEFT: Oliver Otis Howard. BOTTOM RIGHT: John Lorimer Worden. Photographs from the *Carte de Visite Collection*, Abraham Lincoln Museum.

Abraham Lincoln sparked renewed national interest in the 16th President. Lincoln Memorial University, a small Appalachian school, built one of the top collections in the nation, certainly the best in the South. Noted Lincoln scholar Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, during his tenure as Director of Lincolniana from 1937 to 1956, greatly expanded the collection by soliciting private donors nationwide.

The university thereby acquired prints, documents, original manuscripts, and contemporary scrapbooks and diaries. The present library and museum building was completed in 1977, and contains a public exhibit area, a ground-floor room for the artifact collection, and a second-floor vault for manuscript docu-

ments, newspapers, scrapbooks, direct correspondence, and photographs. A new wing containing a larger vault is currently under construction. The Reading and Rare Book Room opened in 1994 to serve visiting scholars and researchers.

After receiving funding from the NHPRC, our first undertaking was a collection survey to identify the size and scope of the manuscript, photograph, scrapbook, and university archive components, and to assign priorities to future cataloging. This was no small undertaking. Some difficulty was encountered with the accessioning records; it was discovered that the forms were not in sequence and contained gaps, and that duplicated accessions existed for collections not connected with each other. New accessioning records were created after we located many non-accessioned items and collections during the course of the survey.

One of the major challenges during this initial step was separating the administrative correspondence, especially that relating to the acquisition of materials, from the documentary materials themselves. Another was separating intermingled vertical files. Some

pressing conservation needs were also identified during the survey. Acid-free folders, buffered bond paper, and archival containers were acquired to prevent deterioration of the original documents, and those in need of further conservation treatment were prioritized. The Library of Congress has since verified this need to restore several Lincoln documents, and is currently providing consultation assistance as needed.

The highest priority was placed on processing the four most significant archival collections. Because of the size and significance of the Cassius Marcellus Clay Papers, they were processed first. The Clay Papers date from the period 1842–1901, with the bulk spanning the years 1855–66. Born in Madison County, Kentucky, Clay (1810–1903) was a colorful and influential statesman and diplomat, probably best known as Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia from 1861 to 1869, with a brief respite in 1862 when he served as a Major General in the Union Army. Much of the collection consists of Clay's incoming correspondence. There are letters from such pivotal figures as Abraham Lincoln, William Henry Seward, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Horace Greeley, and Charles Sumner.

Clay was also one of the most prominent American abolitionists, advocating gradual emancipation in his antislavery newspaper the *True American*, later known as the *Examiner*. Included in the collection is his certificate of membership in the American Colonization Society, signed by distant cousin Henry Clay (1845). Clay served three terms in the Kentucky legislature, 1835–40, and helped to found the Republican Party in 1854. Lincoln Memorial University acquired this collection in 1936 from the Stewart Kidd Company of Cincinnati, Ohio. The Clay Papers, containing almost 600 letters, was thus the first collection to be completely processed and made accessible both on the Internet and in printed form.

After the Clay Papers were completed, processing of the Abraham Lincoln Collection began. This collection consists of various papers, documents, photographs, newspaper articles, and ephemera that relate primarily to Lincoln. Among its subdivisions are the Legal Papers, consisting of more than 150 items; and the Presidential Papers, containing more than 70 items, including Presidential pardons, appointments, and petitions. The collection spans the years 1839–1961, with the bulk dating from 1841 to 1865. There are also various papers of Lincoln's cabinet and family, as well as scrapbooks and photographs. These have been organized as the Related Sources finding aid. The Lincoln Collection is now complete and available on the museum's web site, in print format, and in the OCLC database.

Unique to the Abraham Lincoln Library and Museum is the collection of John Lorimer Worden, commander of the U.S.S. *Monitor* during its famous naval battle with the C.S.S. *Virginia* (formerly the U.S.S. *Merrimack*). The Worden Papers span the years 1835–91, with the bulk of the materials dating from 1861–68. They provide an illuminating look at naval life in this period. The collection consists of correspondence and official papers relating to Worden's service in the U.S. Navy, a personal scrapbook, and various handwritten manuscripts authored by Worden, who eventually reached the rank of rear admiral. Several letters by dignitaries such as Gideon Welles and Braxton Bragg are included. These relate to Worden's arrest and imprisonment in Montgomery, Alabama, by the Confederates in 1861. There are also letters of commendation

for his handling of the *Monitor* in battle, and letters of sympathy regarding his substantial injuries. The Worden papers are now accessible in electronic and print-based formats.

The museum also owns a number of papers and artifacts of Major General Oliver Otis Howard, the founder of Lincoln Memorial University. Howard (1830–1909) received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his conduct at the Battle of Fair Oaks (1862). He later served as a wing commander under Gen. William T. Sherman during the 1864 March to the Sea. Howard was also a strong advocate for African Americans: he served as the first Commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau, and founded such illustrious schools as Howard and Fisk Universities for African American students.

Among the museum's Howard items are a family Bible, personal correspondence, Freedman's Bureau documents, and Howard's handwritten lectures recounting his military career. Although the museum's collection by no means contains all of Howard's papers, it is significant, and reveals important insights into the man and his times. The Howard Papers are now well organized and available to researchers.

The processing of other large manuscript collections continued after the four major ones were completed; among them are the papers of Maj. George Cockrell, an important figure in early 19th-century East Tennessee; the letters of Sgt. Maj. Benjamin Trail, an African American soldier who was killed in the Battle of the Crater at Petersburg, Virginia, in 1864; and an extensive collection of sketches by Bernhardt Wall, a noted Lincoln artist. The Carte de Visite Collection, of almost 700 photographic "calling cards," contains images of such mid 19th-century notables as John Wilkes Booth, William Cullen Bryant, James Fenimore Cooper, Samuel E.B. Morse, and Stephen A. Douglas. The items in these collections are described in a 35-page repository guide with index.

As a result of our NHPRC Processing and Description grant, original manuscripts and photographs in the archives are now accessible to a wider audience, and their availability has greatly increased public awareness of the resources housed at the repository. In addition, the preparation of collection-level and item-level online cataloging using Archives, Personal Papers, and Manuscripts (APPM) and the USMARC format provides access through OCLC nationwide.

We experienced immediate positive results from our efforts. Historians and researchers across the nation have already made use of this newly discovered material. The Library web site is linked to the homepage of the museum, www.lmunet.edu/museum/index.html.

This project allowed us to gain intellectual and archival control of major components of our collection. It also helped identify further needs and opportunities. Since the completion of the project in October 1998, positive steps have been taken to continue the process of making the collections accessible to the public, including the hiring of a full-time archivist and the establishment of an internship program in collections management. ❖

MARTHA EVANS WILEY IS EDUCATION COORDINATOR AT LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY'S ABRAHAM LINCOLN LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance:

A LETTERPRESS EDITION WITH CONTINUING APPEAL

BY JOE A. MOBLEY



Zebulon Baird Vance, ca. 1870. Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Mary Barden, New Bern, NC.

Students of 19th-century southern history are familiar with the career of North Carolina politician Zebulon Baird Vance. Arguably the most popular public figure in the history of the Tar Heel State, Vance probably is best known for his service as Civil War governor. In fact, to Civil War scholars, he is perhaps the most controversial and least understood of the Confederate governors.

A Whig lawyer, legislator, and congressman prior to the war, Vance originally opposed secession, but after Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops, he joined the Confederate army. While commanding the 26th Regiment North Carolina Troops during the Peninsula Campaign in Virginia, he was elected overwhelmingly to the office of governor as the Conservative Party candidate. He assumed office in September 1862. The voters reelected him in 1864, and he served as the state's chief executive until the end of the war. On May 13, 1865, Federal authorities arrested Vance and subsequently imprisoned him in the Old Capitol Prison in Washington, DC, until they released him on

July 6. During Reconstruction, Vance returned to the practice of law in Charlotte, North Carolina. He received a Federal pardon in 1867. Although the state legislature elected him to the U.S. Senate in 1870, Congress refused to seat him because of his remaining political disqualifications. In one of the most famous campaigns in North Carolina history, Vance defeated Republican Thomas Settle, Jr., a former state supreme court justice, for the office of governor in 1876. That election brought to a conclusion Republican Reconstruction in the state. Vance's term as governor ended after 2 years, when he was again elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served until his death in Washington in 1894.

The North Carolina Division of Archives and History published the first letterpress volume of *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance*, edited by Frontis W. Johnston, professor of history at Davidson College. Published in 1963 during the centennial of the Civil War, this volume deals with Vance's correspondence from 1843 through 1862. Over the next three decades, the project had several editors, but none ever produced another volume. Then in 1983, Gordon B. McKinney, at that time a professor of history at Western Carolina University, accepted the task of completing the Vance Papers. A grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission funded a microfilm edition, *The Papers of Zebulon Vance*, 39 reels (Frederick, MD.: University Publications of America, 1987), edited by McKinney and Civil War scholar Richard M. McMurry. No further progress was made on a letterpress edition until 1991, when the present editor assumed responsibility for the project. In 1995 the Division of Archives and History published the second letterpress volume, which covers the year 1863. Work is currently under way on the third volume, which will conclude with the end of the Civil War in May 1865 and is scheduled to appear in the winter of 2001. All funding for *The*

Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance currently comes from the Division of Archives and History's annual budget for its Historical Publications Section.

Though historians most often recall Vance for his role as Civil War governor of North Carolina, they do not all agree in their assessments of him and his behavior during the sectional conflict. In general, however, most scholars have portrayed Vance and his counterpart in Georgia, Gov. Joseph E. Brown, as political bedfellows who were united in their defense of state rights and opposition to the government of Jefferson Davis. The first professional historian to depict Vance and Brown as the mavericks of the Confederacy was Frank L. Owsley. In his 1925 book *State Rights in the Confederacy*, Owsley maintained that Vance and Brown helped to destroy the Confederacy by their commitment to state sovereignty and their preoccupation with local defense.¹ Like Brown, Vance deserves a new biography. (A complete letterpress edition of Vance documents should help considerably in making such a biography feasible.) Glenn Tucker's *Zeb Vance: Champion of Personal Freedom* (1965) is a useful but dated laudatory account that views Vance primarily as a defender of individual liberty.² In the biographical narrative at the beginning of volume 1 of *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance* (1963), editor Frontis W. Johnston provided a capable outline of the life of Vance, whom Johnston admired for his "courage, boldness, and vision."³ Richard S. Yates, in his solid 1937 article in the *Journal of Southern History*, 1940s articles in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, and brief book *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance* (1958), offered a broader perspective on Vance but did not delve far into analysis and interpretation of his subject. Yates did, however, contradict Owsley's portrait of Vance by suggesting that the governor was a loyal supporter of the Confederate government and not an obstructionist.⁴



William W. Holden, editor of the *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh) and peace advocate, was overwhelmingly defeated by Vance in the gubernatorial election of 1864. Photograph from the State Archives, NC. Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

In more recent years, historians have examined Vance in the context of the larger realm of Confederate political and social history. To Paul D. Escott, in his thoughtful and influential *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (1978), Vance was primarily an adversary of Confederate President Davis.⁵ A skillful analysis of Vance's activities in the gubernatorial election of 1864, when he ran against the peace candidate William W. Holden, can be found in Marc W. Kruman's *Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836–1865* (1983). Kruman maintains that Vance defeated Holden by giving "the electorate what it desired." That is, "he defended the liberties of the state's citizens while demanding that southerners continue their armed struggle for independence."⁶ Subsequent studies, such as *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (1986), by Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still Jr., continued Kruman's theme of Vance's dual approach to political success. According to Beringer and his co-authors, Vance, as a Unionist originally opposed to secession, gave up on the idea of Confederate nationalism as the war wore on but nevertheless urged North Carolinians to fight on until the bitter end.⁷ George C. Rable has "categorized Vance as a political centrist who mediated between the demands for national unity and the preservation of liberty." Rable maintains that "the governor's often brilliant maneuver-

ing through the treacherous factionalism of North Carolina politics and his triumphant reelection in 1864 seriously weakened the peace movement and ironically strengthened the Confederate government."⁸ In his 1979 article in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, David D. Scarboro found less irony than did Rable in Vance's support of Confederate policies. Scarboro, like Yates, downplays the importance of state rights and emphasizes Vance's willing cooperation with the Davis government in several instances. Scarboro suggests, however, that Vance's cooperation with the Confederate government was a matter of necessity, not choice. He states that "the reason for the willingness of Governor Vance to cooperate with the Confederacy was his realization that defiance of the Richmond government was a useless exercise."⁹ Gordon B. McKinney, in his recent article "Zebulon B. Vance and His Reconstruction of the Civil War in North Carolina" (1998), demonstrates how, after the war, Vance himself claimed that to whatever extent he had supported the Confederate war effort, "he was merely doing his duty." McKinney charges that Vance faithfully supported the Davis government in many of its war policies and subsequently, like other Confederate leaders and the "Nazis at the end of World War II," would "not face the full implications of his actions."¹⁰

Thus historians have interpreted Vance's Civil War career in different ways. Some scholars have seen the governor as an old-line Whig and Unionist who reluctantly accepted secession and was committed to state rights and individual liberty and constantly at odds with the Confederate government. Others insist that Vance frequently cooperated with President Davis and his officials but that he simultaneously kept a watchful eye on the peace movement and the public's concern for state rights and personal freedom and adjusted his political stance accordingly.

One of the missions of *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance* is to help Civil War historians solve the conundrum of the nature of Vance's loyalty and commitment to Davis and to a separate Confederate nation. There is much in the Vance papers to enhance researchers' understanding of the relationship between the individual Southern states and the Confederate government. Largely for that reason—although the large volume of extant Vance materials was also a factor—the present editor decided to concentrate on transcribing and pub-

lishing in the letterpress edition those documents that pertain to the major political, military, and administrative decisions of the Tar Heel State's chief executive. This choice, meant, of course, that a vast number of items of "social history" will not be as well represented as materials that deal with the major political decisions and problems of a governor at war. But, if the researcher is to derive an accurate and complete picture of the tumultuous circumstances amid which Vance led his state, the editor could not entirely exclude letters from ordinary folk—farmers, businessmen, soldiers' wives, and troops in the field. He therefore elected to print a sampling of documents that he considered representative and graphic in describing the deprivations, fears, and war support of ordinary North Carolinians—at home and on the battlefield—who constantly bombarded Vance with their complaints and pleas for help. For further evidence concerning the home front and war conditions and sentiment among the populace, the researcher is referred to the "Calendar of Papers Not Printed in This Volume," which appears at the end of both the Civil War volumes (2 and 3) and will also be included in the final volume (4) on Vance's postwar career. The editor encourages the researcher to consult each calendar for such subjects as destitution, poor relief, distilling, salt, blockade, tax-in-kind, disaffection, conscription, desertion, peace, ha-



In the election for governor in 1876, Vance's defeat of Republican Thomas Settle, Jr. ended Republican Reconstruction in the Tar Heel State. Photograph of Settle from the State Archives, NC. Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

beas corpus, and civil unrest. The appropriate documents can then be located in the microfilm edition or requested from the original repository.

Perhaps the editor's greatest regret in producing the letterpress edition is that the calendar at the back of each book cannot describe the contents of every document in more detail. The subject description for each document unfortunately comprises only a word or two. The usual problems that plague documentary projects—such as, lack of printing funds, space, and staff—were factors in the adoption of this approach. The large volume of Vance materials also made it necessary to keep the entries brief. For example, the documents currently known to exist for 1863 (the scope of volume 2) totaled approximately 3,606. Of that number, 406, or about 11 percent, were transcribed and printed in volume 2, which has 475 pages. The rest are listed in the book's calendar. The publication of thoroughly descriptive calendars alone would have called for several volumes, which went beyond the capacity of the project. But a calendar with very brief descriptions is better than no calendar at all. At least the researcher can determine what documents exist in addition to those printed, what they might concern, and where they are located.

The Vance documents reside in various collections throughout the United States. The largest single repository for those materials is the State Archives, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh. That facility houses three major collections pertaining to Vance: the Governors Papers, the Governors Letter Books, and Vance's private papers. For the letterpress edition, transcriptions come from manuscript sources only, although some of the same documents might be found in other printed sources (such as the *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*). For example, Vance's addresses to the General Assembly, which already appear in *Legislative Documents* published by the State of North Carolina, are not included in *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance* unless they also exist in manuscript form in the original records of the legislature.

Of course, when multiple copies of the same document are extant, the editor uses the copy of earliest origin. The Governors Letter Books are an interesting case. During Vance's years as governor, clerks penned into large book copies of many of the letters that he sent and received. Often these letter

books contain the only known surviving copies of the correspondence. Soon after the Civil War, Federal officers confiscated the letter books and shipped them to the War Department in Washington, DC. North Carolina's subsequent efforts to recover them proved unsuccessful until 1886, when the Federal Government agreed to provide the state with certified handwritten copies of the letter books. Then in 1962, the North Carolina Department (later Division) of Archives and History applied for and received the original books. In *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance*, the transcriptions from the letter books came from the original versions prepared by Vance's clerks, although the Federal copies occasionally are used to aid in deciphering difficult handwriting. The differences between the two sets of books usually are minor but at times are significant, as in instances of misspellings and of words or sentences left out by the Washington scribes.

The Vance Papers are transcribed and printed as exactly is as feasible. But to provide continuity and assist the reader, the editor has found a number of editorial adjustments and devices necessary. Margins, indentation, and placement of addresses and other elements are standardized. Misspellings and punctuation are retained except when the misspelling is so flagrant or the punctuation so erratic or bizarre as to become unintelligible or misleading. In such cases, silent emendations are made. The use of brackets, solidi, inserted explanations, and other interventions is kept to a minimum and is fully discussed in the editorial method. Enclosures are designated as such and appear immediately after the correspondence that they accompany, regardless of the date on which the enclosure was written. All notes follow immediately the document to which they refer.

Sales for *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance* give a valid indication that a demand and market for letterpress documentaries remains. Documentary editors would agree that most documentary editions will never make the best-seller lists. But considering the limited market for such specialized works, the Vance volumes have sold relatively well. As of May 31, 2000, the Historical Publications Section had sold 2,081 copies of volumes 1 and 2. The section sells an average of two of the books each month. And not all of these are purchased by scholars or academic institutions. Vance also has an audience among Civil

War enthusiasts and native Tar Heels.

As historians are often reminded, It is never possible to learn all there is to know about a historical figure, and contemporary thought and circumstances always influence how a society interprets its past. But as long as historians remain interested in the political history of the South, there will be a need to explore in depth the thoughts and actions of the region's leaders. Letterpress editions such as *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance* can help fulfill that need. ❖

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Notes

¹ Frank L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

² Glenn Tucker, *Zeb Vance: Champion of Personal Freedom* (New York: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1965).

³ Frontis W. Johnston and Joe A. Mobley, eds., *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance*, 2 vols. to date (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1963-), 1:lxiii.

⁴ Richard E. Yates, "Zebulon B. Vance as War Governor of North Carolina, 1862-1865," *Journal of Southern History* 3 (February 1937): 43-75; Yates, "Governor Vance and the Peace Movement, Part I," *North Carolina Historical Review* 17 (January 1940): 1-25, "Part II," *North Carolina Historical Review* 17 (April 1940): 89-113; Yates, "Governor Vance and the End of the War in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 18 (October 1941): 315-338; Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance* (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Confederate Publishing Co., 1958).

⁵ Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 89, 200-201.

⁶ Marc W. Kruman, *Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 264-265.

⁷ Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still Jr., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 277-280.

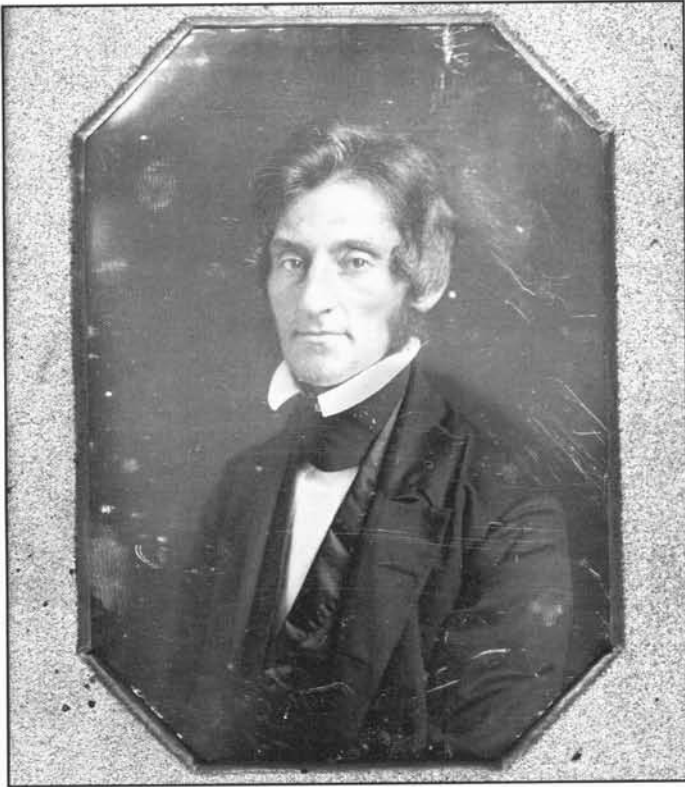
⁸ George C. Rable, "Beyond State Rights: The Shadowy World of Confederate Politics," in *Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand*, ed. James M. McPherson and William J. Cooper Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 150. See also Rable, *The Confederate Republic: A Revolution against Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

⁹ David D. Scarboro, "North Carolina and the Confederacy: The Weakness of States' Rights during the Civil War," *North Carolina Historical Review* 56 (April 1979): 133-149.

¹⁰ Gordon B. McKinney, "Zebulon B. Vance and His Reconstruction of the Civil War in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 75 (January 1998): 69-85.

SOUTHERN IMAGES, YANKEE INGENUITY

BY MICHAEL ROSE



Charles Ellet, Jr. Daguerreotype from the Atlanta History Center Archives.

It's a handsome daguerreotype of a handsome man—included in the Atlanta History Center's Archives. It might presumably portray a member of the South's antebellum planter class, invariably conjuring popular imagery of Rhett Butler, hoop skirts, and Atlanta in flames. Perhaps it might be an 1840s Georgia merchant, conceivably a cotton factor from the Savannah wharves or maybe a railway magnate for the Macon & Western Railroad. In fact, it's neither nor anything of the kind; it's a depiction of Charles Ellet, Jr.—a dreadful Yankee.

Ellet was a highly successful engineer who constructed the first permanent suspension bridges in America, including spans across the Schuylkill, Niagara, and Ohio Rivers. At the outset of the Civil War, he advocated building warships with iron beaks or prows with which to ram enemy vessels, and was commissioned to convert steamboats into ramming vessels. In 1862 Ellet led the victorious Federal fleet against the Confederates at the Battle of Memphis. Yet the question remains how a daguerreotype of a Federal military and naval engineer came to a collection of Southern imagery.

The Archives at the Atlanta History Center was formed in 1926 with the founding of the Atlanta Historical Society. Open to the public, the Archives also incorporates all research components for the Center's study, exhibition, education, and program activities. Focusing on Atlanta urban and Southern regional history, the Archives consists of published works, manuscripts, and visual culture. The visual collection is an invaluable documentation of Atlanta history and a national source for images of regional focus from the ante-

bellum South to the present and topics of broader significance (e.g., the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement). Photographs range in date from the 1840s to the present and represent the range of technology from daguerreotypes to digital imaging.

The visual collection was initiated in 1977 with a grant from the NHPRC, allowing the Archives to catalog more than 7,000 photographs. In 1998 the Archives again received an NHPRC grant for arrangement, description, and data entry for over 10,000 photographs. Three groups were selected: images of African Americans; the Marion Johnson photojournalism collection (photographer for the *Atlanta Constitution*, 1941–1960); and the Archives' holdings of cased images. The goal of the project was to facilitate access to photographs in subject areas of importance to researchers and in areas of limited accessibility. In addition, all three were tied thematically to exhibitions, publications, and programs expected to spark increased interest.

During the project, a number of unidentified collection items were revealed, including an ambrotype of Luther H. Glenn, the city's secessionist antebellum mayor, wearing his Confederate uniform, and another of his young son in his own Confederate-style uniform. Other examples are a cased tintype of the city's second mayor, Dr. Benjamin F. Bomar; a tintype of Thomas and Temperance Connally, two of Atlanta's earliest settlers; and other portraits of pioneer residents or inhabitants of Atlanta during the Civil War.

Among the most interesting works was that daguerreotype of Charles Ellet, Jr. Born in Pennsylvania, his early career included work on both canals and railroads. In 1842 he built the first important suspension bridge in the United States over the Schuylkill River, followed by spans across the Ohio River—at 1,010 feet the world's longest span—and over the Niagara River at the Falls, considered one of his greatest achievements. Recognized as one of the great engineers of mid-19th century America, Ellet wrote extensively on flood control, navigational improvements, naval defenses, and other technical and scientific matters. After 1857 he lived in Washington, DC, and later proposed the use of rams in naval warfare. In 1862 he was commissioned a colonel and rebuilt nine riverboats, arming them with the Ellet Ram. On June 6, in command of the ram fleet, he received the surrender of Memphis. Ellet himself, however, was the lone casualty of the attack, later dying aboard his vessel.

Included with the half-plate portrait of Ellet are exceptional daguerreotypes of Ellet's mother, Mary Israel Ellet; a tintype of his son, Charles Rivers Ellet, who commanded the Ellet ram *Switzerland*; a daguerreotype of his daughter, Mary Virginia Ellet; and an ambrotype of Mary and her husband, William Daniel Cabell, at Niagara Falls. And there lies the key to how a Federal ram builder came to the Atlanta History Center—family connections. The Atlanta donor, Linton Cooke Hopkins, Jr., is the great-great grandson of Charles Ellet, Jr. Regardless, it is appropriate for the Archives to have this daguerreotype; as the holder of the nation's largest private collection of Civil War artifacts, the Atlanta History Center collects diverse cultural material connected to The Late Unpleasantness—a Yankee or a Carpetbagger here and there doesn't hurt too much. ♦

MICHAEL ROSE IS INTERIM DIRECTOR OF THE ATLANTA HISTORY CENTER ARCHIVES.

It was no surprise, therefore, that in early 1862 when the President decided to launch the “military governors” experiment in the South, he asked Johnson to take charge of Tennessee, where Union victories had already occurred. Thus in March, the senator left his post and went back to his home state.

For the next 3 years, until Johnson’s return to Washington as the Vice President-elect, he attempted to guide Tennessee into a proper relationship with the Union. This turned out to be an elusive and very difficult challenge, partly because there was so much Confederate support in the state, and partly because military actions frequently interfered with efforts to restore civilian government at the local level. Moreover, it must be conceded that Johnson’s heavy-handed tactics against Confederate sympathizers were often counter-productive.

One thing is beyond dispute: whenever Johnson and various Tennessee citizens got crosswise of each other, Lincoln always sided with his military governor. The President and Johnson shared a common belief that the majority of Tennesseans were actually Unionist supporters who had simply been duped by certain Rebel leaders. Such a devoutly held conviction led to impatience on the part of both men, who seemed not to grasp the inaccuracy of their beliefs.

In any event, Johnson labored diligently to restore his state to the Union, but the process dragged on almost interminably. He spent a good bit of time in Washington during early 1863 attempting to persuade Lincoln and his administration to embrace a more vigorous military policy in Tennessee. Earlier, he had sent numerous messages to Washington urging that same strategy. Later in 1863, Johnson, with some nudging from Lincoln, moved steadily toward emancipation, and by that summer he had converted completely to Lincoln’s position on the slavery question. The President was quite pleased with this shift, although such a move created additional problems for Johnson in his home state.

At the end of the year, Johnson visited Lincoln in Washington again, this time to discuss the President’s newly-promulgated Amnesty Proclamation. After the governor issued his own January 1864 proclamation and oath requirements for prospective Tennessee voters, Lincoln summoned him once more to Washington. There the two men apparently reached a quick meeting of the minds, as the President assured everyone that there was no conflict between his proposal and Johnson’s.

Much of the remainder of the year was occupied by preparations for the Presidential campaign and election. The most significant development was Lincoln’s decision to dump Hannibal Hamlin, the incumbent Vice President. For a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the expected closeness of the election, Lincoln decided to secure a new running mate. He let it be known that he was interested in Johnson, although debate continues to this day over how involved Lincoln was in the final decision. Be that as it may, the so-called Union Party (the Republican Party under a new label) in 1864 opted for Lincoln and Johnson.

Near the close of the election campaign, Johnson prescribed an even more restrictive oath for Tennessee voters. When certain citizens protested to Lincoln, the President turned a deaf ear and refused to interfere in Johnson’s home state. The Lincoln-Johnson ticket carried the national and also the Tennessee vote in November; ironically Congress subsequently refused to count Tennessee’s votes.

Afterwards, Johnson spent the next 2 or 3 months attempting to establish a civilian government for the state. In January 1865, a convention assembled in Nashville to initiate that process. By the time he left the state to travel to Washington for his inauguration, the basic outlines of a new state government had been established, with the election of legislators and a governor set for March. Furthermore, just prior to Johnson’s departure, the eligible voters approved a state constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.

From that point on, Johnson’s arena became the national stage, as he was sworn in as Vice President and 6 weeks later as President. His inauguration ceremony on March 4 was unfortunately marred by his evident drunken condition, much to the embarrassment of his friends and the Lincoln administration. Yet the President withheld any criticism and reprimanded those who jumped on the anti-Johnson bandwagon. There was very little direct contact, however, between Lincoln and Johnson from then until the tragic assassination on the night of April 14.

Arguably well prepared to assume the mantle of the Presidency, Johnson took the reins of office under extremely distressing circumstances. But in the weeks and months that followed, he established an enviable list of accomplishments as he supervised the formal ending of the Civil War and the attempted restoration of the Confederate states. His own Amnesty Proclamation and the appointment of provisional governors in seven of the ex-Rebel states were two of his most notable achievements in this period. The demobilization of the Federal army and navy, as well as the trial of the Lincoln assassins, were among his other efforts. Before the year of 1865 ended, Southern states were busy holding conventions and elections; the “restoration” process moved steadily forward. But when Congress reconvened, it called into question and attacked Johnson’s record. The tug of war between him and the legislative branch commenced and did not end until Johnson left office in March 1869.

Abundant information about Johnson during the Civil War years—and beyond—is found in the volumes of *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*. With the publication this year of Volume 16, the Johnson Project successfully completes its labors, an endeavor that began in 1956. The NHPRC has supported this documentary project since its inception, and has financially backed this enterprise from 1965 to the present. Indisputably, the NHPRC has been an indispensable partner. For this, the Andrew Johnson Project is immensely grateful.

PAUL H. BERGERON IS EDITOR OF THE PAPERS OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

NHPRC:

Helping Locate the “Literary Remains” of Jefferson Davis

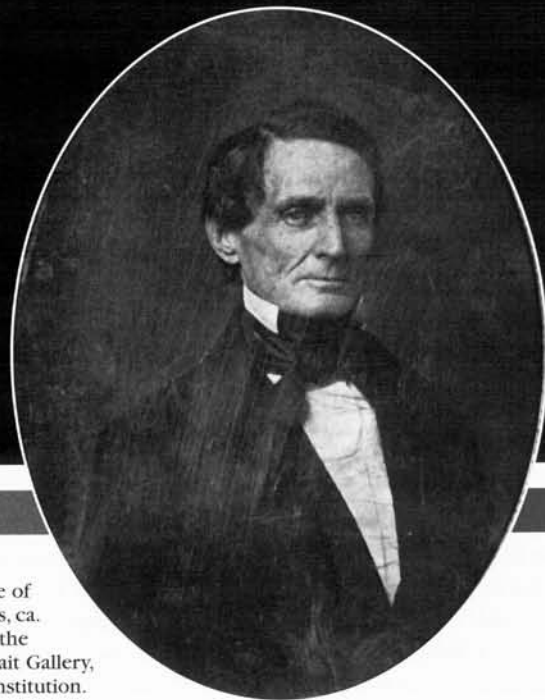
BY LYNDA L. CRIST

Quick. Where do you find a complete regimental list for a Mexican War unit, a compilation that has never existed, much less been published? Answer: contact your “branch office,” the NHPRC team. In the case of the Jefferson Davis project, it was the prodigiously talented duo of Trever and Jackson (Karl L. and Sara Dunlap), assisted by Mildred Hobbs, who answered that and innumerable other queries. Alas, they are now departed, but their enduring legacy to this project and others is the cadre of well-trained archivists and researchers who followed them as the editors’ main contacts: Tim Connelly, Mike Meier, and Dane Hartgrove. All these talented folks, and the National Archives staff members who assist them, Mike Musick most prominently, the interns, and other NHPRC staffers over the years, such as Roger Bruns, Mary Giunta, Dick Sheldon, Nancy Sahli, George Vogt, and Don Singer, have been invaluable to the Davis project. Because of distance and budget constraints, the editors rarely have the pleasure of conducting onsite research. As a result, NHPRC-sponsored research at the National Archives and the Library of Congress is vital to this edition and contributes mightily to its progress.

For the most part, it’s been a name game that has persisted for 36 years. It began with Dr. Trever’s attempt to unearth all Jefferson Davis documents in the National Archives. Thanks to his keen intellect and intuition and many years’ experience in the stacks, 105 reels (60,000 frames) were microfilmed specifically for *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*. Added to the microfilm were thousands of photocopied sheets. All are included on detailed checklists that fill 10 large three-ring binders, the items themselves coming from well over 50 record groups. Simultaneously, Dr. Handy B. Fant was plowing through manuscripts in the Library of Congress, where the Davisiana hails from 111 different collections.

Considering Davis’ military (1824–35, 1846–47) and political (1845–46, 1847–51, 1853–65) careers, the Archives records from the War Department and its bureaus, the House and Senate, and the Confederacy come immediately to mind. In addition, the Davis edition has published documents from the records of the Coast Guard, the Navy’s Bureau of Yards and Docks, every cabinet office, the Public Health Service, the Bureaus of the Public Debt and of Indian Affairs, the General Accounting Office, the

Daguerreotype of
Jefferson Davis, ca.
1858, held by the
National Portrait Gallery,
Smithsonian Institution.



Boundary and Claims Commissions, and the Veterans Administration, to name a few. Project holdings also include copies of thousands of items from about 50 National Archives microfilm series, many of which were scanned frame by frame.

At the National Archives, the tireless search began for “J. F. Davis” on Military Academy and War Department documents of the 1820s and 1830s, switching to the more familiar “Jeffn. Davis” signature of later years, and sorting out the “J. Davis” material in the congressional period, when there was a “Mr. Davis [John] of Mass.” and a “Mr. Davis [Jefferson] of Miss.” What Dr. Trever turned up, especially for Davis’ West Point and army days, is astounding. In the 1923 edition of Davis’ papers, there are only 2 documents dated 1835 and earlier. Volume 1 of the *Davis Papers* published 494, all but a few of which were discovered by Karl Trever. It was he who also found the marvelously bureaucratic exchanges between Secretary of War Davis and Acting Secretary of the Navy Davis (Volume 5).

Even for the Civil War years (Volumes 7–11), the Davis material best indexed and most researched at the Archives still yields new documents and images (such as the carte de visite of Varina Davis discovered by Mike Meier with help from Mike Musick) as well as information about already published items. Research on the Confederate period has naturally been a part of the NHPRC effort since the beginning of the project, but during the last dozen years, in preparing the volumes that cover 1861–65, hundreds of inquiries have gone by telephone, mail, and e-mail from Houston to Washington. The editors seek help identifying people, places, and events, deciphering handwriting, locating missing endorsement pages and enclosures, reorganizing tangled pages in extensive files, copying and re-copying documents illegible on film, verifying names and titles, tracking ancient citations of all sorts (including some that provide no record group number) and composing new ones to benefit future researchers.



Carte de visite of Varina Howell Davis, ca. 1865, enclosed in her letter to Jefferson Davis of December 7, 1865. NARA, Record Group 94, Letters Received, 1401-A-1865.

Two searches led to separate articles in scholarly journals. An inquiry about an enclosed note forwarded to Davis turned up not only the note, but also a previously unknown letter to Davis on the same subject and the full record of a court of inquiry on a prominent Confederate officer that became the basis of a monograph published in *Civil War History* (also discussed in Volume 8). Another question led to tracing the history of about 275 letters pillaged from Davis' belongings in 1863, the story eventually unfolded in *The Journal of Mississippi History* (and is briefly told in Volume 9).

In a long and enriching partnership, our valued colleagues at 700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW have been teachers and mentors in the archival arts, finding countless documents and answers that would have eluded even the most skilled researchers. They have also become friends, welcoming and helpful when the editors and even the project's graduate student assistants manage research trips to Washington. All of us have shared the frustrations and triumphs of fitting together the pieces of the puzzle, informing our readers as we (mostly) reconstitute and explicate Jefferson Davis' "literary remains." ❖

LYNDA L. CRIST IS EDITOR OF THE PAPERS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

SOME OTHER CIVIL-WAR RELATED HISTORICAL DOCUMENTARY EDITIONS SPONSORED BY THE NHPRC

The Black Abolitionist Papers

Thomas Bragg Diary, 1861-1862 (microfilm)

John Stillman Brown Family Papers, 1818-1907
(microfilm)

James Buchanan Papers (microfilm)

The Papers of Salmon P. Chase

Mary Chestnut's Civil War

Lydia Maria Child: Selected Letters, 1817-1880

Thomas Ewing, Jr., Papers, 1856-1908 (microfilm)

Thomas Ewing, Sr., Papers (microfilm)

Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867

The Letters of Jessie Benton Frémont

Benjamin Brown French: Witness to the Young Republic: A Yankee's Journal, 1828-1870

Robert W. Furnas Papers, 1844-1905 (microfilm)

The Journals of Josiah Gorgas: 1857-1878

Papers of Rutherford Birchard Hayes

Emily Howland Papers (microfilm)

Papers of R.M.T. Hunter, 1817-1887 (microfilm)

Thaddeus Hyatt Papers, 1843-1898 (microfilm)

Christopher Gustavus Memminger Papers (microfilm)

The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted

Private Papers of Charles and Sara T.D. Robinson, 1834-1911 (microfilm)

The Papers of Chief John Ross

William Tecumseh Sherman Family Papers, 1808-1891
(microfilm)

Henry Hastings Sibley Papers (microfilm)

Isaac Ingalls Stevens Papers, 1831-1862 (microfilm)

The Selected Papers of Thaddeus Stevens

The Selected Letters of Charles Sumner

Henry Clay Warmoth Papers (microfilm)

Benjamin Cudworth Yancey Papers (microfilm)

Henry Ward Beecher and Brooklyn's Plymouth Church: *Making Their Papers Available to Researchers*

BY TERESA MORA



Carte de visite of Henry Ward Beecher, ca. 1860s. From the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims—Henry Ward Beecher Collection, The Brooklyn Historical Society.

Henry Ward Beecher (1818–1887), preacher, abolitionist, and author, first came to Brooklyn, New York, in 1847. A promising orator, Beecher had come to the prosperous young city (incorporated in 1834) to become the first pastor of the newly established Plymouth Church. The church's prominent location in one of the major cities of the day allowed Beecher an ideal pulpit from which to gain support for himself and for the ideas that he espoused. His energetic style and Plymouth's location in a wealthy

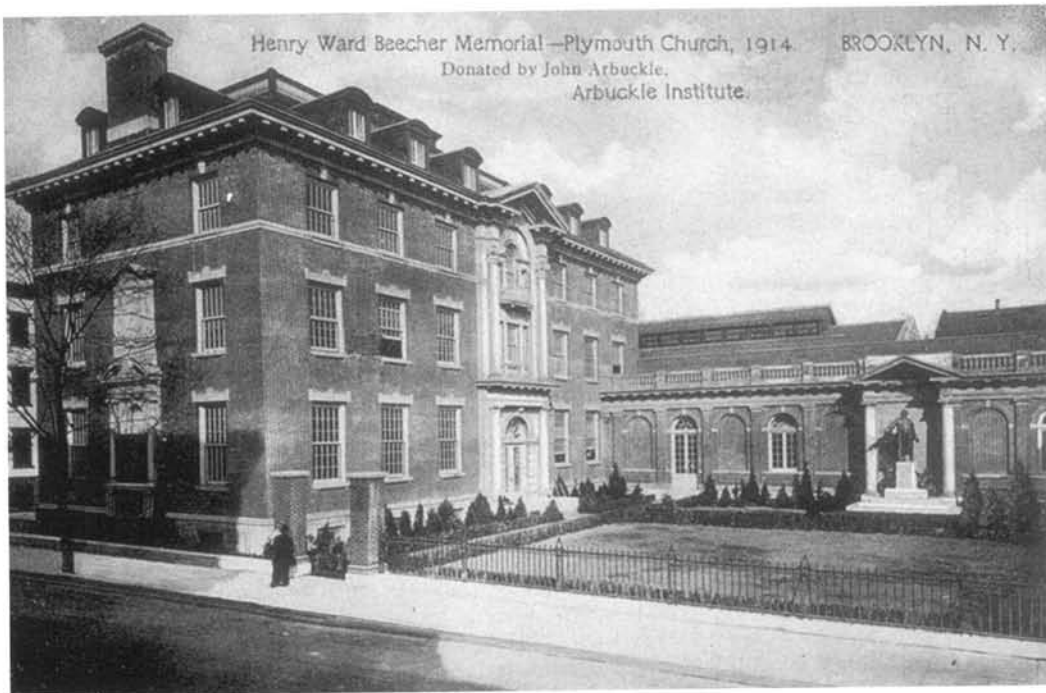
Brooklyn neighborhood enabled him to raise both intellectual and monetary support for his causes.

Beecher exercised his influence on many of the major social issues of the mid- to late-19th century. Eulogized as "the greatest preacher of his time," Beecher spoke out against slavery and for the Northern cause during the Civil War, political candidates, and women's rights. In addition to preaching each Sunday at Plymouth, he was a regular contributor to a number of local and national newspapers, and his many lectures on life, art, literature, and moral philosophy were gathered into volumes. His popularity was such that he lent his name to products, gave lecture tours throughout the United States and Europe, and the trial for which he was eventually acquitted of adultery charges (1872) was one of the most widely reported of the period. Henry Ward Beecher's death in 1887 was reported throughout the world, and the anniversary of his death was remembered for years thereafter.

Plymouth Church continued after the death of its beloved pastor. Beecher's successors blazed new paths for the church, insuring its role as an important institution in the Brooklyn community. Plymouth continued to be identified with Beecher, however, and church members strove to preserve the memory of his many contributions to the history of Brooklyn and of the nation.

After Beecher's death, congregants began to amass a collection of Beecher-related material, known as the Beecheriana Library, kept at Plymouth with the church's own records. Along with copies of his dictated sermons and published works, members donated correspondence from Beecher, mementos from his funeral, and souvenirs from the Harriet Beecher Stowe house. Donations to this "collection" continued on well into the 20th century, expanding to include materials relating to Beecher's successors and, when Plymouth combined with Church of the Pilgrims in 1940, the records of Church of the Pilgrims.

In 1983, recognizing the historical significance of the collection and the need for proper care and access, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims donated the entire collection (including many of the church's records) to The Long Island Historical Society (renamed The Brooklyn Historical Society in 1985). A historical society that centered its collecting around the history of Long Island, and more specifically Brooklyn, and known for its extensive Civil War related materials, The Long Island Historical Society was an ideal home for this notable collection relating to one of Brooklyn's favorite sons. Although an inventory was conducted upon the collection's arrival at The Long Island Historical Society, time and resources did not allow the complete arrangement and descrip-



Plymouth Church, showing the Henry Ward Beecher Memorial. From the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims—Henry Ward Beecher Collection, The Brooklyn Historical Society.

tion of the collection until 1999, when The Brooklyn Historical Society applied for and received a grant from the NHPRC to enhance access to it and four other archival collections.

The project would take place over a period of 15 months and result in the complete arrangement and description of each collection. The Henry Ward Beecher Papers soon promised to be the most challenging collection for the archivists. Consisting of nearly 30 cubic feet of materials dating from 1847 to 1980, and including photographs, published works, and ephemera as unique as leaves that had been retrieved from the bier that draped Beecher's coffin, the physical arrangement of the collection presented the archivists with numerous dilemmas.

In the initial evaluation of the Beecher papers, the collection seemed much more straightforward than it actually was. The existing finding aid meant that some intellectual order had already been established and imposed on the collection. However, as we soon discovered, it was a *partial* finding aid. It seemed that only those materials relating to Beecher had been cataloged. The collection in fact included papers of Plymouth Church, Church of the Pilgrims, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, Henry Ward Beecher, and his successors Lyman Abbott, Newell Dwight Hillis, James Stanley Durkee, and Lawrence Wendell Fifield, all notable intellectuals and theologians in their own right. Suddenly, the archivists found themselves presented not with the Henry Ward Beecher Papers, but with a collection documenting the history of a 150-year-old church.

Instead of arranging and describing this collection along the life of one man, the archivists were now dealing with five major personalities and three separate (yet associated) institutions. Still, it was determined that the bulk of the collection did deal specifically with Henry Ward Beecher, his life, and his association with Plymouth Church. Ultimately, the archivists renamed the collection the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims—Henry Ward Beecher

Collection to convey its scope and retain its close identification with Beecher as one of its primary subjects.

After this initial hurdle, project staff were able to develop a system of organization for the collection based on the fact that the collection does center around two separate yet related entities. Papers were organized into two overarching series, "Henry Ward Beecher" and "Plymouth Church," both of which branched out to include related materials, such as photographs of Harriet Beecher Stowe and records of Church of the Pilgrims. Work began on re-housing this collection: photographs were organized according to subject and housed in mylar sleeves, phase boxes were constructed for small volumes in need of additional support, oversized materials were

removed and cross-referenced, and large scrapbooks and volumes were moved into separate, appropriately sized boxes. Although somewhat laborious, for the most part this aspect of the project was straightforward, as most materials were in rather good condition.

Upon completion of the collection's re-housing and arrangement, work began on a finding aid to adequately describe its diverse contents. Using a template developed in describing the first collection processed during the granting period, the archivists put together an 18-page finding aid (excluding Container Listing). The finding aid contains an expanded scope and content note, chronologies, series descriptions, a note on Brooklyn history, and historical sketches of Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, Beecher, Abbott, Hillis, Durkee, and Fifield.

In the course of the grant period, this finding aid was encoded using SGML-EAD, and an electronic version is now available on The Brooklyn Historical Society's web site, www.brooklyn-history.org, under "library," then "electronic finding aids," as both SGML and PDF documents. It is expected that upon the reopening of The Brooklyn Historical Society to the public (the society's 19th-century building is currently being renovated), the Plymouth-Beecher collection will be one of the most widely used in the society's library. As has been known since its donation, the collection is invaluable to those researching Beecher. However, we now understand the broader scope of the collection and have provided access accordingly, allowing those interested in 19th-century Brooklyn, Congregationalism, reform, and numerous other topics one more avenue through which to pursue their research. ❖

TERESA MORA, WHO SERVED AS PROJECT ARCHIVIST FOR THIS PROJECT, IS NOW ASSISTANT ARCHIVIST OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

A Black Family's Civil War

BY JOHN R. MCKIVIGAN

Frederick Douglass (1818–1895) was the best-known and most politically influential 19th-century African American. This one-time slave rose to become a leading abolitionist, civil rights agitator, public speaker, journalist, and government official. The Frederick Douglass Papers project was founded in 1973 with the support of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and several philanthropic and academic institutions to collect, edit, and publish Douglass' voluminous papers. These speeches, correspondence, autobiographical writings, editorials, and other published essays focus on such topics as slavery, abolition, women's rights, temperance, politics, international relations, and African American culture. To date, a five-volume speech series and the first of the three-volume autobiographical writings series of the Douglass Papers have been published by Yale University Press. Documents illustrating the participation of Douglass and his family in the Civil War make up a valuable portion of this material.

Born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey on Maryland's Eastern Shore, Douglass escaped slavery in 1838 and settled in Massachusetts. He was recruited into the abolitionist movement in 1841 and quickly developed into one of its most effective orators. In 1847 Douglass founded his own weekly newspaper, the *North Star* (later *Frederick Douglass' Paper*), in Rochester, New York. He soon broke with his original abolitionist mentors, who rejected voting as a proslavery gesture, and supported political action against slavery. Douglass endorsed first the Free Soil Party and then its Republican Party successor, both of which opposed the extension of slavery into western territories.¹

During the 1850s, Douglass also supported more militant means of battling slavery. He was active in the Underground

Railroad, helping fugitive slaves to reach safety without recapture. He also endorsed the Free State campaign in Kansas, which used violent means to resist southern efforts to make the territory a slave state. Douglass was a personal friend of militant abolitionist John Brown and was intimately aware of the planning for the latter's 1859 attack on the Federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry. Afterward, he found it necessary to flee to Great Britain temporarily to avoid arrest.

Douglas hailed the coming of the Civil War, certain that it would lead to slavery's downfall. He joined other abolitionists in pressuring President Abraham Lincoln to adopt abolition as a war goal. After resisting for more than a year, Lincoln relented and issued his Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. Soon after, George Luther Stearns, a Massachusetts industrialist who also had supported John Brown, went to Rochester and persuaded Douglass to join him in raising two regiments of black troops for the state of Massachusetts to serve in the Union Army. "MEN OF COLOR, TO ARMS!" read Douglass' newspaper's urgent and repeated appeals for black enlistment.² Douglass traveled across the northern states aggressively recruiting free blacks for the Union military. Douglas told potential recruits: "Once let the black man get upon his person the breast letters U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder, and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States."³ By May, Douglass had enrolled a company of more than 100 men. Abolitionist Gerrit Smith contributed \$700 to pay the expenses for recruiting these men, and Douglass bragged to him that "no other company has been raised for less than twice that sum."⁴ By the next month, Douglass and Stearns' other recruiters had raised more than the



Sgt. Maj. Lewis Henry Douglass, 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment. From the Prints and Photographs Department, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University.

required one thousand men for the new 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment.

Among Douglass's first recruits were two of his own sons, Charles Remond Douglass (1844–1920) and Lewis Henry Douglass (1840–1908). The two young men reported for training at a Union army camp outside Readville, Massachusetts. Like other black enlistees they had to endure discrimination in pay and promotion. White privates received \$13 dollars a month as pay plus a \$3.50 clothing allowance, compared to just \$10 dollars for their black counterparts, who also had \$3 additional dollars deducted for their uniforms. Despite the efforts of Massachusetts Gov. John A. Andrew to appoint at least some black officers for the 54th, the War Department insisted on an all-white officer corps for the unit. In letters to their father, Douglass' sons also reported encountering racially motivated hostility from white soldiers, especially Irish Americans.⁵ Lewis was selected to serve as sergeant major for the 54th and left camp for the South with the unit on May 28, 1863. During training, Charles fell ill and could not be shipped out with the regiment.⁶

The new black unit joined the Union Army's Department of the South, at Hilton Head, South Carolina. The 54th soon saw its first action in skirmishes with Confederates

at James Island and in a raid against the Georgia mainland. The highlight of the Douglass family's military experiences was Lewis' participation in the famous assault of the 54th on the Confederate's Fort Wagner, on the northern tip of Morris Island. The Union commanders were attempting to force the Confederates to evacuate the port of Charleston by capturing outlying fortifications, such as Fort Wagner, that guarded approaches to the harbor.

Soon after that engagement, Lewis wrote the following letter back to his father:

MORRIS ISLAND, S.C., July 20th.

My Dear Father and Mother: — Wednesday July 8th, our regiment left St. Helens Island for Folly Island, arriving there the next day, and were then ordered to land on James Island, which we did. On the upper end of James Island, is a large rebel battery, with 18 guns. After landing we threw out pickets to within two miles of the rebel fortifications. We were permitted to do this in peace until last Thursday, 16th inst., when at 4 o'clock in the morning the rebels made an attack on our pickets, who were about 200 strong. We were attack by a force of about 900. Our men fought like tigers; one sergeant killed five men by shooting and bayoneting. The rebels were held in check by our few men long enough to allow the 16th Conn. to escape being surrounded and captured, for which we received the highest praise from all parties who knew of it. This performance on our part, earned for us the reputation of a fighting regiment.

Our loss in killed wounded and missing was forty-five. That night we took, according to our officers, one of the hardest marches on record, through woods and marsh. The rebels we defeated and drove back in the morning. They however were reinforced by 14,000 men, we having only a half a dozen regiments. So it was necessary for us to escape.

I cannot write in full, expecting every moment to be called into another fight. Suffice it to say we are now on Morris Island. Saturday night we made the most desperate charge of the war on Fort Wagner, loosing in killed, wounded and missing in the assault, three hundred of our men. The splendid 54th is cut to pieces. All our officers, with the exception of eight, were either killed or wounded. Major Hollowell is wounded in three places. Adj. James in two places. Serg't is

killed. Nat. Hurley [from Rochester] is missing, and a host of others.

I had my sword sheath blown away while on the parapet of the Fort. The grape and canister, shell and minnies swept us down like chaff, still our men went on and on, and if we had been properly supported we would have held the Fort, but the white troops could not be made to come up. The consequence was we had to fall back, dodging shells and other missiles.

If I have another opportunity, I will write more fully. Good bye to all. If I die tonight I will not die a coward. Good-bye.

LEWIS⁷

The 54th Massachusetts sustained 247 casualties on the night of July 18–19, 1863, while spearheading the unsuccessful assault on Fort Wagner. The unit's valiant performance in battle helped to erase widespread doubts among whites about the wisdom of black enlistment. The senior Douglass publicly praised the heroism of the black soldier in combat as refutation of racist stereotypes of slave passivity: It is settled by his behavior at Fort Wagner, Port Hudson, and Vicksburg, that he will fight.⁸

Douglass continued recruiting on behalf of the Union army until August 1863, when he resigned to protest the Government's unequal treatment of black soldiers. Douglass subsequently had several White House interviews with Lincoln, who appeared to hold his advice in high regard. Douglass expected these meetings to result in an officer's commission, but that never materialized.⁹ Lewis Douglass was discharged from the army in early 1865 after further service in the Union siege of Charleston. Charles recovered from his training camp illness in the winter of 1863–64 and eventually served first as a private in the 55th Massachusetts Infantry, then as a sergeant in the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry Regiment in Maryland and Virginia. He was discharged from the army in September 1864.¹⁰

After the war, the elder Douglass emerged as a staunch supporter of the Republican Party. He applauded the party for its sponsorship of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which ended slavery and granted black men citizenship and suffrage. As a powerful orator with a large following among both African Americans and white abolitionists, Douglass stumped for the Republicans in both Presidential and state election campaigns, denouncing their Democratic opponents for attempts to curtail the blacks' newly won rights. He reminded northern audiences after the war that: "The

Republican party will have living issues with the Democratic party until the last rebel is dead and buried— until the last nail of the last coffin of the last rebel is driven."¹¹ A loyal Republican party worker, Douglass re-ceived a series of political appointments in the post-bellum years, including the offices of U.S. marshal (1877–1881) and recorder of deeds (1881–1886) for the District of Columbia and minister resident to the Republic of Haiti (1889–1891).¹²

Thanks in large measure to the prevailing racial prejudices of the late 19th century, Douglass' sons never achieved the status of their father despite their distinguished military records. After the war, Lewis encountered discrimination when he tried to practice his trade as a printer, first in Denver, Colorado, and then in Washington, DC. After briefly publishing a newspaper in Washington, DC, with his father's assistance, he settled into a career as a realtor. Only with the senior Douglass' help did Lewis finally find work as a clerk in several Federal Government agencies in Washington, DC.¹³ Despite their considerable contributions to winning the Civil War and preserving the Union, equal rights would elude the grasp of Douglass' family members and other African Americans for many more years. ❖

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¹ The best modern biography of Douglass is William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1991). Also very useful for this period of Douglass' career is David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* (Baton Rouge, 1989).

² *Rochester Douglass' Monthly*, 5: 801 (March 1863).

³ John W. Blassingame et al., eds., *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, Series 1: *Speeches, Debates, and Interviews* (New Haven, 1979–92), 3: 596.

⁴ Frederick Douglass to Gerrit Smith, March 6, 1863, Gerrit Smith Papers, NSyU; Dudley T. Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York, 1956), 107–10; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 223–24, 227; Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War*, 158.

⁵ Charles R. Douglass to Frederick Douglass, July 6, 1863, General Correspondence File, reel 1, frames 824–25, Frederick Douglass Papers, DLC; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (New York, 1953), 9–10, 208–10; Cornish, *Sable Arm*, 184–95.

⁶ McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 224–25; James M. Gregory, *Frederick Douglass, the Orator* (1893; New York, 1971), 102–03, 203–06.

⁷ This letter has been reproduced verbatim. Lewis H. Douglass to Frederick Douglass, July 20, 1863, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frames 52–53, Frederick Douglass Papers, DLC; Blassingame, *Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 3: 586–87.

⁸ Blassingame, *Douglass Papers*, ser.1, 4: 56. See also: Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York, 1990), 135–41; Cornish, *Sable Arm*, 142–46.

⁹ Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War*, 168–71.

¹⁰ McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 234–35, 239.

¹¹ Blassingame, *Frederick Douglass Papers*, 4: 280. See also: Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War*, 219–39.

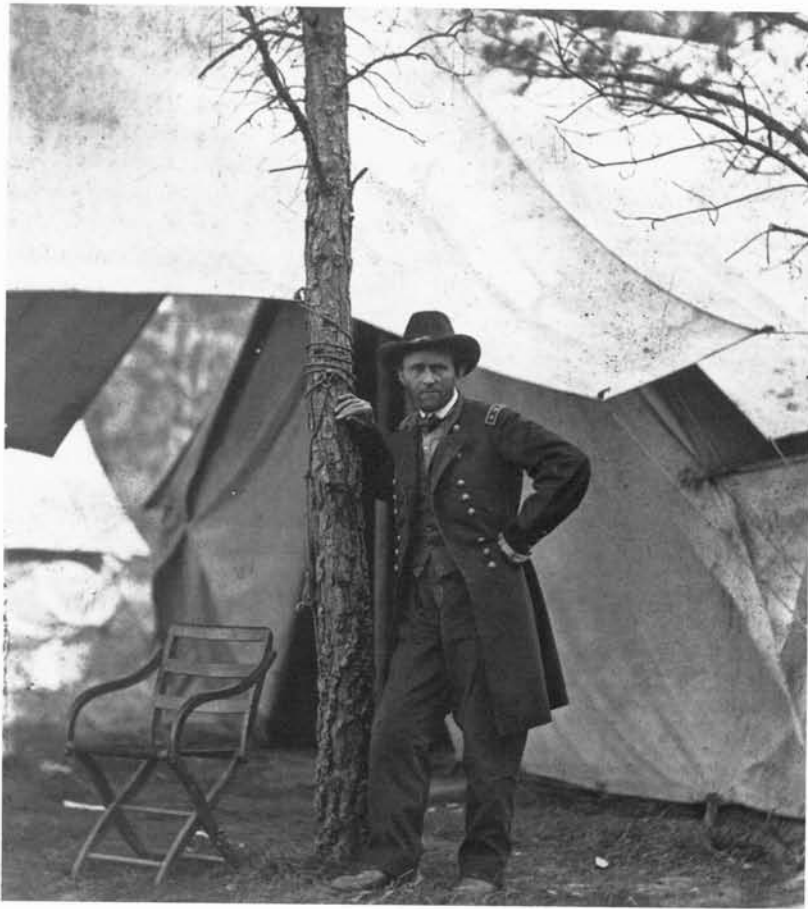
¹² Blight, *Frederick Douglass Civil War*, 209.

¹³ Gregory, *Frederick Douglass*, 279–80, McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 239, 248–49, 257–58, 306; Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War*, 204–05.

Recaptured Voices:

THE PAPERS OF ULYSSES S. GRANT

BY AARON M. LISEC



Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant standing by a tree in front of a tent near Cold Harbor, Virginia, June 1864. NARA, Photograph 111-B-36.

For 33 years, since Volume 1 appeared in 1967, *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (John Y. Simon, ed., Southern Illinois University Press) have proven a valuable resource for scholars of Ulysses S. Grant, the Civil War, and the mid-19th century. This might have surprised observers a century or even 50 years ago. Famous in his day as a man of few words (spoken or written), Grant long kept that reputation among historians. Conventional wisdom held that fielding an edition of Grant's writings would be a relatively simple chore, but nobody attempted it, possibly because of the historical bias against Grant as a failed president on the wrong side of Reconstruction (the side that opposed the Ku Klux Klan).

The Civil War centennial sparked renewed interest in the war and its heroes. Founded in 1962, the Ulysses S. Grant Association painstakingly tracked down Grant's correspondence in archives and attics across the country. It soon became

clear that the chore would be anything but simple. Nearly four decades, 24 volumes, and more than 200,000 documents later, the *Papers* continue to break new ground in Civil War and Reconstruction scholarship. Volumes 23 and 24, published in March 2000, take Grant into his second Presidential term.

Grant's papers reflect technological changes in his lifetime, such as the advent of the telegraph. Recently, the editors encountered typescripts from the earliest generation of typewriter, first commercially produced in 1874. This early model typed only capital letters, which raised questions of transcription policy. Similar challenges lie ahead as the project chronicles an era on the verge of rapid change. Thanks to advances in our own age, namely the speed and efficiency of computer-aided transcription and annotation, the project is well on its way to completing Grant's Presidential years.

In his memoirs, written in 1884 and 1885 while suffering from terminal throat cancer, Grant chose the Civil War, and not his Presidency, as the defining period of his life. The *Papers* devote 13 volumes to those 4 years. Much of Grant's military correspondence, both incoming and outgoing, first appeared in the 128 massive volumes of *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. The *Papers* serve the researcher by fitting pieces of the Grant puzzle together in a coherent and convenient whole. The wartime volumes also add considerable depth. The *Papers* contain some wartime correspondence not included in the *Official Records*. Letters to

his wife, father, and other relatives and friends illuminate Grant's private thoughts in the midst of cataclysmic events.

Outside Grant's personal orbit, but within the sphere of his responsibilities, obscure individuals emerge from the war's shadows to make a vivid impression. A good example is Charles de Arnaud, an enigmatic European who apparently undertook a spy mission for Grant in September 1861. Grant wrote to de Arnaud in November to corroborate his story. "I can state that I took possession of Paducah, Ky. solely on information given by yourself, and to the effect that the rebels were marching upon that city with a large force." The letter is authentic and the mission may have been real, but the rebel force probably never existed, and evidence suggests that de Arnaud may have spent the next quarter century in a German mental asylum. The editors chronicle de Arnaud's 40-year effort to win compensation for his services, weigh available

evidence, and conclude that “neither his honesty nor his sanity can be trusted” (Vol. 3, 243–45).

Other wartime correspondents evoked less mystery. Many simply found themselves caught up in events far beyond their control, as the war rolled over their lives and property. Directed to protect pro-Union southerners, a difficult determination to make, Grant occasionally interceded for such individuals personally. After Vicksburg fell, for instance, a local planter who had provided information during the siege lay dying. Grant wrote to the commanding officer in nearby Clinton. “See Miss Alice Shirley staying at the house of Mrs Shirley Clinton and say her father desires her to come to Vicksburg. You may give Miss Shirley any facility of reaching here.” On a more mundane note, Grant wrote to Brig. Gen. John McArthur, stating that “Mr Stout living south of Vicksburg represents that your Division borrowed a waggon and pair of mules which were never returned . . .” (Vol. 9, 75–78). Grant’s correspondence, like Abraham Lincoln’s, straddles two worlds: one where commanders moved great armies by telegraph, and another where the same men weighed the claims of semi-literate farmers whose livelihoods might depend on recovering a few head of cattle or rebuilding a burned-out barn.

Documents from ordinary people leading everyday lives make the *Papers* a rich resource for modern historians. As the project moves through Grant’s two terms as President, the editors give special attention to people whose voices have rarely been heard before, uncovering long-forgotten letters that often depict the cruel side of history. For many desperate people, Grant was the only person they knew to write. Many veterans and war widows, unable to penetrate the pension bureaucracy, turned to the President. While Grant may not have read many of these letters, their referral from the White House may have helped some whose pensions came through months later. Outcomes cannot always be determined, as in the case of Rachel Watters of Maryland, whose son Isaac died while serving in the U.S. Colored Troops. “I was set out of doors by the man who I Bought the land from as my son was owing him a little Bill and he turned me out and took my house and lot from me and I have Been treated very Bad indeed...” (Vol. 23, 371). Some correspondents, suffering financial distress, simply asked Grant for money. Mary F. Tully of Adelphi, Iowa, wrote: “times is hard here in Iowa and money scarce and hard to get,” and concluded: “we dont no who our friends is till we try them now do please make up a thousan dollar check and send it to me” (Vol. 23, 426).

Blacks throughout the south, often barely able to write, struggled to convey urgent circumstances. In 1871 Lindsey Hudson wrote from Savannah, “I want to let you no about the ku kulxs. has come in my house trying to kill me and I shot and killd one man. . . . do please do something for me you is the last man that I can get to help me . . .” (Vol. 22, 183). As Reconstruction lost momentum and the so-called Redeemer forces moved to recapture power, blacks watched short-lived gains slip away, and their letters take on an extra note of desperation. In a series of petitions from 1874 and 1875, blacks in the Red River region of northwest Louisiana concluded that relocation was the only solution. “Mr President as We have asked you part of us, to give us

a Territory to our selves or send us to Africa, for the Mount of Money that we have been cheated out of for the last past 9 years will pay for any Territory that you will mind designate for us. Mr President we see that we can not live here and enjoy our citizenship and if we continues here among these white People who held us slaves once We will have to live in War, or just give up and be slaves” (Nov. 9, 1874, not yet published).

Perhaps the most eloquent documents published in the *Papers* represent a constituency almost universally illiterate. Letters and petitions from Native Americans, typically dictated to agents, missionaries, or interpreters, resonate with dignity, clarity, and an inexorable sense of injustice. A typical case was that of the Flatheads of Montana Territory, who complained of encroachment. “We are, in violation of Treaty obligations, as we conceive, encompassed on all sides by white settlers, even to the extent of villages in the midst of our settlement, and the results of the contact and association are, the drunkenness of our young men, to whom the whites will sell whiskey, as well as the demoralization of our women, which it seems impossible, with the greatest watchfulness on our part, to prevent” (Vol. 22, 226). Even in Indian Territory, set aside solely for them, tribes faced greedy speculators. The Osages, beset by railroad companies seeking valuable rights of way through their territory, sent Grant a “most Solemn Protest, against the recognition or consummation of this monstrous fraud that is being attempted upon us. And in the name of Justice, and by our hopes of Seeing our children grow into civilized and educated citizens, We appeal to you, our great Father, to protect us from the machinations of able and unscrupulous men who are Seeking to devour us . . .” (Vol. 23, 27–28).

Besides giving a voice to the dispossessed, the *Papers* serve as a valuable tool for scholars of foreign policy, finance, immigration, science, the arts, and many other fields. Yet the chief focus remains always on Grant. The taciturn man with the cigar reveals himself in his letters as a tender husband, a doting father, a wit who loved to tease his closest friends, and above all, a man with everyday concerns. Sitting in the White House, he wrote letters to his farmhand in St. Louis that are more detailed than many of his state papers. “You spoke of mixing lime with manure before putting it upon the ground! That will not do. Lime and manure should not be used at the same time. The lime would releace the Amonia, the most valuable ingredient, from the manure” (Vol. 22, 40). When an old friend died, Grant wrote a fellow St. Louisan: “Our old friend Ford is gone! . . . I started to write something very different—of a business nature—connected with Fords last visit to me—but when I come to write his name could not do so” (Vol. 24, 231–32). Learning that his aged father, a postmaster in Kentucky, had abused his authority, Grant apologized to the injured employee. “I regret that my father should in any way interfere with the management of the office and will ask him to desist and send in his resignation. He can never be fit to take charge of the office again” (Vol. 23, 245).

Ulysses S. Grant died before film and the phonograph could capture his voice and manner. Through his letters, the *Papers* open a small window into his world, helping historians to better understand a man who stood at the center of his times. ❖

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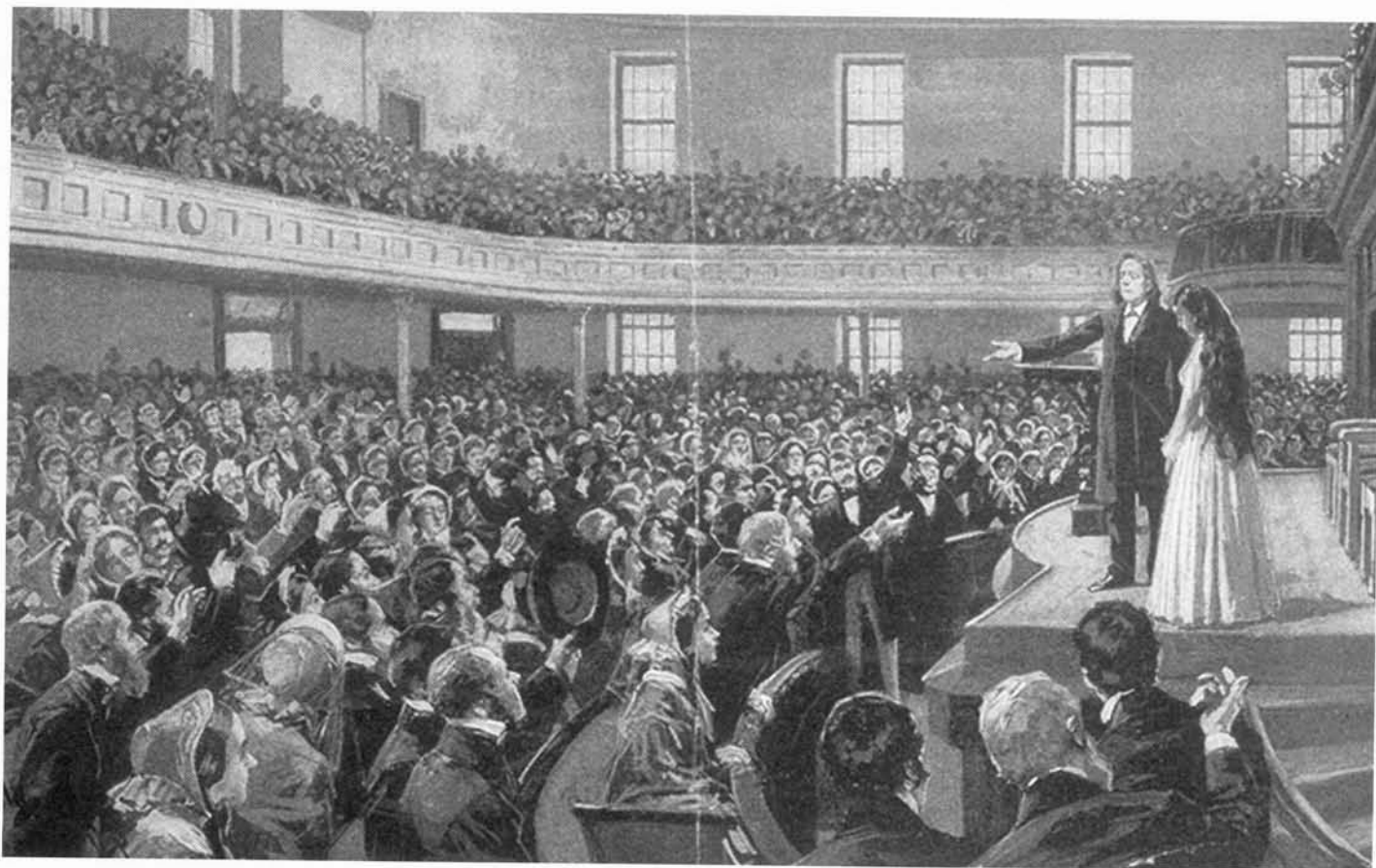
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This sketch of a mock slave auction held in Plymouth Church illustrates one of Henry Ward Beecher's methods of raising public awareness of slavery's inhumanity while at the same time raising money with which to buy a real slave's freedom. From the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims—Henry Ward Beecher Collection, The Brooklyn Historical Society. A related story begins on page 14.