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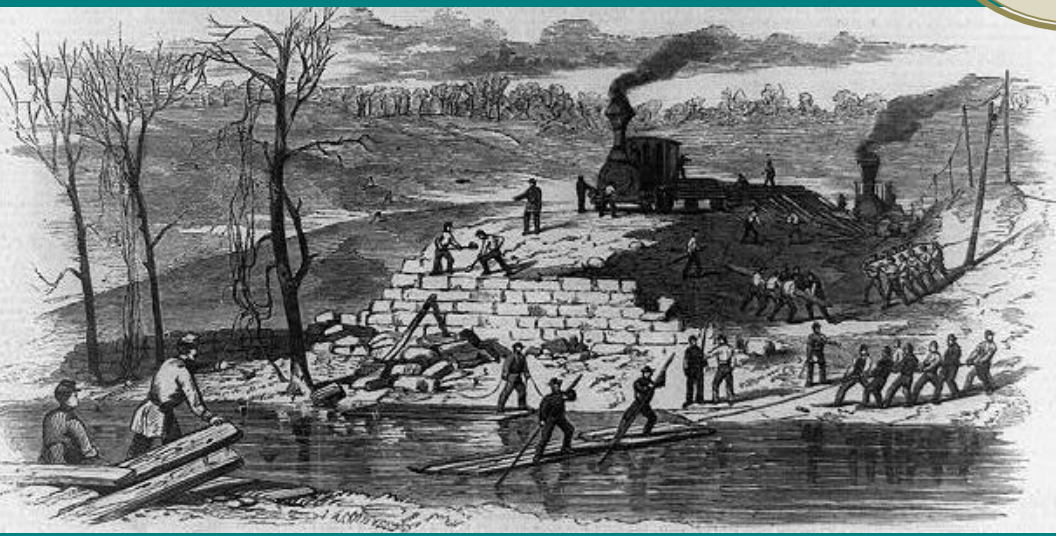

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Cover Image: *The War in Virginia—Rebuilding Railway Bridge Over Goose Creek, Near Manassas Gap*. Sketch by Edwin Forbes, 1862. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

For Penny

Interested in getting published in the *Gettysburg College Journal of the Civil War Era*?

If you or anyone you know has written an undergraduate paper in the past five years about the Civil War Era or its lasting memory and meets the following categories and requirements, then please consider visiting our website at http://cupola.gettysburg.edu/gcjwe/ to enter your work for consideration for next year's publication.

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2. Book Reviews: Any non-fiction Civil War related book published in the last two years. Authors should have knowledge of the relevant literature to review. **700 words or less.**

3. Historical Non-fiction Essays: This category is for non-fiction works regarding the Civil War that are not necessarily of an academic nature. Examples of this include essays in public history of the war, study of the re-enactment culture, current issues in the Civil War field such as the sesquicentennial, etc. Creativity is

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Any student with an interest in the Civil War may submit a piece, including graduate students as long as the work submitted is undergraduate work written within the past five years. If your submission is selected, your work will be published online and in a print journal, which you will receive a copy of for your own enjoyment.

A Letter from the Editors

It is our pleasure to present the seventh volume of the *Gettysburg College Journal of the Civil War Era* following an extended period of deliberation. This year's editorial process offered the editors and associate editors tremendous opportunities to explore the field of Civil War history through the many submissions we received. It was extremely difficult to narrow thirteen submissions down to four, but each piece offered our team a unique experience to dive deep into a specific area of the Civil War. We were very impressed with each author's enthusiasm in studying the Civil War and their commitment to their work in going the extra mile to submit to the seventh volume of our journal.

It is necessary to acknowledge and thank our dedicated associate editors whose hard work and diligence were vital to the ultimate publication of this journal: Gregory Dachille ('17), Luke Frigon ('18), Cameron Kinard ('18), Juliette Sebock ('18), Nicholas Tarchis ('18), Samuel Weathers ('18), Ryan Bilger ('19), Savannah Labbe ('19), Olivia Ortman ('19), and Jonathan Tracey ('19). We would also like to thank Dr. Ian Isherwood ('00), our faculty advisor, for his constant guidance and support for student work.

This volume contains four academic essays ranging from post-war murder on the Civil War's first major battlefield to the little-known conference of Union state governors that convened in Altoona, Pennsylvania in the fall of 1862. The journal begins with Kaylyn Sawyer's

"'With Nothing Left but Reputation': Reconstructing the Virginia Military Institute." This well-researched essay explores how the military school recovered following its destruction during Hunter's Raid in 1864. Next, Emily Hawk takes a look at New Jersey's off relationship with Unionism during the war in "An Anomalous Case of Southern Sympathy: New Jersey's Civil War Stance." This is followed by "Murder in Manassas: Mental Illness and Psychological Trauma after the Civil War" by Savannah Rose in which she uses a post-war incident in Manassas as a case study in trauma that many experienced during the war. Finally, Kees Thompson explores the 1862 governors' conference in Altoona, Pennsylvania in "'Altoona Was His, and Fairly Won': President Lincoln and the Altoona Governors' Conference, September 1862."

We hope that this journal will offer our readers a unique view into several important issues and events in the Civil War Era. We are incredibly proud of our editorial team as well as this year's authors, who offered their brilliance on the pages of this volume. We look forward to their future contributions to the Civil War field. Please enjoy this volume of the *Gettysburg College Journal of the Civil War Era*.

Sincerely,

Annika N. Jensen, Gettysburg College Class of 2018
Jeffrey L. Lauck, Gettysburg College Class of 2018

Contents

Contributors

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"WITH NOTHING LEFT BUT REPUTATION": RECONTSTRUCTING THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

Kaylyn Sawyer

In 1816, Virginia established two arsenals in order to store weapons and prepare for defense against insurrection. One of these was built in Lexington, a small agricultural town located in the southern portion of the Shenandoah Valley. In the 1830s, local lawyer John T. L. Preston promoted an idea suggesting that the militiamen guarding the arsenal would benefit from an education. Thus, on November 11, 1839, twenty-five men arrived at the Virginia Military Institute and became the first cadets.[1] The Institute flourished throughout the mid-nineteenth century and, by fate of circumstance, played an instrumental role in supporting the Confederate cause during the Civil War. VMI provided the Confederate Army with top-ranking generals and deployed its corps of cadets during the Battle of New Market, exposing itself as a target of Northern aggression as the Confederate defenses fell and Union troops marched through the valley. Following the war, with "the school left in ruins, and nothing left but reputation," the superintendent, faculty, and cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, alongside the citizens of Lexington, were faced with the daunting task of rebuilding

[1] Keith E. Gibson, *Virginia Military Institute* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 7.

the Institute while a fractured nation struggled to rebuild itself through the contentious period of Reconstruction.[2]

Union General David O. Hunter was given command of the Valley District following General Franz Sigel's defeat at the Battle of New Market on May 15, 1864.[3] The Confederate victory at New Market proved fleeting, as Federal forces continued their pursuit up the Shenandoah Valley.[4] In June of 1864, Hunter's 12,000 men arrived in Lexington.[5] Standing in defense of Lexington were two divisions of cavalry under Colonel William Jackson and Brigadier General John McCausland.[6] Upon entering the town, General Hunter reported he "found the enemy's sharpshooters posted among the rocks and thickets of the opposite cliffs and in some store-houses at the bridge, and also occupying the buildings of the Virginia Military Institute."[7] On June 11, General Hunter began his attack. After a few hours of back-and-forth engagement between the Union and Confederate soldiers, General McCausland warned the Superintendent of VMI, General Francis H. Smith, that he could not hold his position much

[2] *Report of the Superintendent*, January 12, 1878, as cited in Colonel William Couper, *One Hundred Year at V.M.I*, Volume III (Richmond: Garrett and Massie Incorporated, 1939), 105.
[3] Robert J. Driver, Jr., *Lexington and Rockbridge County in the Civil War*, 2nd edition (Lynchburg: H.E. Howard Inc., 1989), 56-57.
[4] Due to the geographical nature of the Valley, going up the Valley means going south.
[5] Driver, *Lexington and Rockbridge County in the Civil War*, 57.
[6] Driver, *Lexington and Rockbridge County in the Civil War*, 58.
[7] "Hunter's Raid on VMI, June 1864, Union Operations Report, June 6-July 14, 1864," Virginia Military Institute Archives Online Exhibit, Accessed March 31, 2015.

longer. Near one in the afternoon, General Smith ordered the commandant of cadets, Scott Shipp, to take the cadets and leave town.[8] Cadet John S. Wise, a veteran of the Battle of New Market, wrote that the cadets retreated from Lexington "with heavy hearts…through the town, bidding adieu to such of its residents as we had known in happier days…it galled and mortified us that we had been compelled to abandon it without firing a shot."[9]

With the cadets abandoning their position, the Virginia Military Institute was left to the mercy of General Hunter and his guns. In his report to the Headquarters Department of West Virginia on August 8, 1864, General Hunter plainly stated, "On the 12th I also burned the Virginia Military Institute and all the buildings connected with it."[10] In the Superintendent's Report from July 15, 1864, General Smith reports on the extensive damage done to the Institute:

> "Among the most serious losses are to be named our valuable library—the accumulated care of twenty-five years—and the philosophical apparatus, so long used by our late distinguished professor of natural and experimental philosophy,

[8] Driver, *Lexington and Rockbridge County in the Civil War*, 64.
[9] John S. Wise, *End of an Era: the Last Days of Traditional Southern Culture as Seen Through the Eyes of a Young Confederate Soldier,* ed. Paul Dennis Sporer (New York: Anza Publishing: 2005), 219.
[10] "Hunter's Raid on VMI, June 1864, Union Operations Report, June 6-July 14, 1864," Virginia Military Institute Archives Online Exhibit.

> Lieut. General Thomas J. Jackson. The apparatus and many of the valuable books had been removed to Washington College under the presumption that this venerable institution might afford a shelter and protection to them. But the work of destruction went on. The college building was sacked; the libraries of both institutions were destroyed, and every particle of philosophical apparatus broken to pieces…Our hospital was first rifled of all of its most valuable medical stores, and was then burnt…The beautiful bronze copy of Houdon's Washington, by the gifted and lamented Hubard, after being mutilated in the effort to take it from its pedestal, was removed."[11]

The quarters and offices of the superintendent were the only buildings to remain unaffected because the superintendent's wife and two children could not be moved without risking their lives.[12] John S. Wise, having evacuated Lexington along with his fellow cadets, went on to write, "At a high point, probably five miles south of Lexington, we came in full sight of our old home…We saw

[11] *Superintendent's Report, Virginia Mil. Institute*, July 15, 1864, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 21-22.
[12] Ibid., 21. Smith's wife had given birth 48 hours earlier, and the other child was an infant. They were eventually moved to rooms that provided more protection from the enemy's shelling.

the towers and turrets of the barracks, mess-hall, and professors' houses in full blaze, sending up great masses of flame and smoke."[13] The shelling of Lexington was described by sixteen year-old Fannie Wilson in a letter to her father: "I seem to have spent a lifetime in one day. I never before had an idea of the terror caused by the shelling of a town, never seemed to realize what it meant."[14] With the burning of VMI complete, the last Union regiments marched out of Lexington on the morning of June 14.[15]

Although General Hunter succeeded in setting fire to the Institute, his subordinates did not wholly support his actions. Surgeon Booth blatantly stated, "General Hunter had the Military Institute and Ex. Gov. Letcher's house burned after they had been completely pillaged. He also allowed the Washington College to be gutted…Its all wrong."[16] In addition, Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes told his wife, "Hunter burns the Virginia Military Institute. This does not suit many of us…Hunter will be as odious as Butler or Pope to the Rebels and not gain our good opinion either."[17] This debate on the rationale and justification of the Institute's destruction continued into the second decade of the twentieth century as Senator Henry A. du Pont of Delaware introduced a "bill for the relief of the Virginia Military Institute of Lexington, VA." Senator du Pont had

[13] Wise, *End of an Era*, 218.
[14] "Hunter's Raid of VMI, June 1864, Fanny Wilson Account," Virginia Military Institute Archives Online Exhibit, Accessed April 16, 2015.
[15] Driver, *Lexington and Rockbridge County in the Civil War*, 75.
[16] Ibid., 72.
[17] Driver, *Lexington and Rockbridge County in the Civil War*, 72.

been the Chief of Artillery under General Hunter during the raid on Lexington and had witnessed the destruction first-hand. Du Pont testified that he, along with other subordinates of General Hunter, was "very much opposed to the destruction of the Institute buildings" and "thought it was a wholly unnecessary destruction of private property and not justified by the rules of war."[18]

The Senator went on to declare, "My opinion was that the barracks should be destroyed under the laws of war for the reason that the cadets who occupied those barracks were in the field and had met us at the Battle of New Market and that they were the quarters of a hostile force…but I saw no reason why the buildings of the Institute devoted to educational purposes should be burned down."[19] Du Pont was persuasive in his arguments, and the Senate voted to reimburse VMI funds amounting to $100,000 for its expenses in reconstruction.[20] Those funds, however, were not available in the summer of 1864 when the actual work of rebuilding began.

"Rise, we hope it will, with new splendor from its ashes, a memorial of the impotent rage of a malignant enemy, and

[18] Coincidentally, General Smith and du Pont's father both graduated from West Point in 1833. "Statement of Senator H. A. du Pont of Delaware," *Hearing Before the Committee on Claims, U.S. Senate, Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session, on S.44*, February 7, 1914, as printed in Jennings C. Wise, *The Military History of the Virginia Military Institute from 1839 to 1865, With Appendix, Maps, and Illustrations* (Lynchburg: J.P. Bell Company, Inc., 1915), 465.
[19] Ibid., 467.
[20] Jeff Mellott, "VMI Honors Civil War Destroyer, Rebuilder," *Daily Press*, April 26, 2009.

an exhaustless nursery of whatsoever is manly, just, and of good report."[21]

The initial phases of rebuilding VMI began before the Civil War ended. The first question facing the Board of Visitors was whether the Institute should be rebuilt in the same location or moved to a different one. The main factor forcing the Board to consider a different location was the "limited grounds belonging to the school."[22] VMI needed a large amount of land "for barracks, mess hall, hospital, lecture rooms, museum, library, and professors' quarters, as well as drill grounds for infantry and artillery."[23] However, despite the concern for sufficient land, the positives for rebuilding VMI in Lexington outweighed the negatives. Those who advocated for keeping the Institute in Lexington stressed that the foundations of barracks, academic buildings, and the library were intact and sturdy, so it made sense economically to rebuild in the same location. Other considerations favoring the decision to keep VMI in Lexington included the abundant countryside, strategic location, and association.[24] Once the location was decided upon, the Board turned their attention to the practical aspects of operations, such as providing subsistence, shoes,

[21] *Report of the Board of Visitors of the Virginia Military Institute*, July 28, 1864, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 4.
[22] *Superintendent's Report, Virginia Mil. Institute*, July 15, 1864, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 26-27
[23] Ibid., 26-27.
[24] Ibid., 25-26.

books, fuel, and lights that the Institute would need to support incoming cadets.[25]

With the physical institute not sufficiently rebuilt to support education, the corps was maintained in Richmond, Virginia, the capital city of the Confederacy. On December 10, 1864, VMI Headquarters issued Special Orders No. 126, which indicated, "The Corps of Cadets, having been relieved by the Secretary of War from their duty in the field and turned over to the authorities of the State, will be moved into the Alms House, Richmond, early Monday Morning."[26] In addition, General Orders No. 23 stated, "As soon as the cadets are moved into the Alms House, all the regulations of police and discipline of the Virginia Military Institute will be reinforced."[27] The Acting Assistant Quartermaster appropriated sections of the house to accommodate the various needs of the temporary institute, such as the mess-room and kitchen, offices and classrooms, the hospital, and barracks.[28] Following the end of the war, Cadet John S. Wise recalled, "I was dead…My beloved State of Virginia was dismembered, and a new State had been erected out of a part of her, against her will. Every

[25] *Superintendent's Report, Virginia Mil. Institute*, July 15, 1864, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 35-36.
[26] "Special Orders—No. 126," December 10, 1864, as cited in Jennings C. Wise, *The Military History of the Virginia Military Institute from 1839-1865, With Appendix, Maps, and Illustrations* (Lynchburg: J.P. Bell Company, Inc., 1915), 393.
[27] "General Orders—No. 23.," December 10, 1864, as cited in Jennings C. Wise, *The Military History of the Virginia Military Institute from 1839-1865, With Appendix, Maps, and Illustrations*, 394.
[28] Ibid., 394.

hope that I had ever indulged was dead. Even the manhood I had attained was dead…In hopelessness I scanned the wreck, and then—I went back to school."[29] The cadets had to adjust to a changing state, pause and think about what their next step would be, and then move forward.

Despite these early planning efforts, the fate of the Virginia Military Institute hung in the balance following the end of the Civil War in April of 1865. With the defeat of the Confederacy, VMI faced a greater problem than before: whether they would be allowed to rebuild at all. The Board of Visitors and General Smith were forced to change their focus and would need to justify the Institute's existence by emphasizing the positive impact VMI could have on a reconstructing nation. In order to do this, members of the VMI community appealed to the "restored" state government in Virginia, headed by Governor Francis H. Pierpont.[30] The *Board of Visitors Minutes* from September 22, 1865 indicated "the Board called upon the Gov.: and had an interesting conversation with him."[31] At this meeting, the Board argued in favor of rebuilding VMI and asked Governor Pierpont to "recommend to the Legislature to make immediate provision for the restoration of these [the library, chemical and philosophical apparatus] annuities."[32] The Board highlighted the nature of VMI

[29] Wise, *End of an Era*, 323-324.
[30] Richard M. McMurry, *Virginia Military Institute Alumni in the Civil War*, 1st ed. (Lynchburg: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1999), 70.
[31] *Board of Visitors Minutes*, September 22, 1865, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 36
[32] *Special Report of the Board of Visitors of the VA. Military Institute*, September 22, 1865, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 3.

from its founding through the pre-war years, stating it was "a great school of *Applied Science*, for the development of the *agricultural, mining, commercial, manufacturing* and *internal improvements* interests the country…It adopted the military organization of the United States Military Academy at West Point, and by the application of military government and instruction to its system of discipline, gave it an efficiency which was not only valuable but distinctive."[33] The Board of Visitors wisely minimized its role in the Civil War by saying, "It is unnecessary to dwell upon the record of the last four years…The State of Virginia, in all its organized departments, having restored its relations to the Government of the United States and acknowledged its authority, with full purpose to maintain, in good faith, these relations, presents this *State* institution in a condition of loyalty to the country."[34] Like most of the nation, those tasked with the rebuilding wanted to forget the horrors of the war and move forward. Not only did the Board present the Institute as an entity that would be loyal in support of the reforming country, but also they claimed it was desperately needed:

> "*Distinctively* marked out for this *school of Applied Science*: --we have only to behold the ruin which surrounds and almost overwhelms us, to heed the voice calling to us for help…This Institution desires to do

[33] Ibid., 4.
[34] Ibid., 4-5.

> its part in the great work. It was specially organized for it…if the means which it now asks, with so much reason, are granted, no interruption shall take place in its career of usefulness; but every energy shall be directed to give strength and honor and perpetuity to our State and country."[35]

The Board of Visitors specifically crafted their argument to emphasize the agricultural and industrial benefits VMI would have on the nation during Reconstruction while purposefully leaving out the military component of the Institution. On December 20, 1865, *The Lexington Gazette* published a portion of the Governor's Message of December 4, indicating the state's need for a Polytechnic School. Pierpont stated, "My opinion is, that we have in the Virginia Military Institute the elements of the proper organization to take charge of this school and give it the proper direction."[36] Pierpont not only supported the rebuilding of VMI but also believed this type of institution was something Virginia needed in order to recover from the war. The September meeting with Pierpont served as the true launching point for the reconstruction of VMI because without his approval and plea to the Legislature for money, the institute may not have been permitted to rebuild. With Pierpont's blessing, General Smith and the Board of

[35] *Special Report of the Board of Visitors of the VA. Military Institute*, September 22, 1865, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 5.
[36] "The Governor's Message of Decem. 4th 1865," *Lexington Gazette*, December 20, 1865, 1.

Visitors deliberated and determined that the Institute would reopen that fall with courses resuming on October 16, 1865.[37]

Back in Lexington, VMI began to address the logistical issues of building housing for cadets, designing and maintaining an effective disciplinary system during transition, and resupplying the Institute. Construction of log or board cabins for cadet barracks began in 1864.[38] However, these structures were not completed in a timely manner, and by the beginning of the 1865-66 term when the corps returned to VMI, it was necessary to board cadets in private homes and at the Lexington Hotel.[39] Boarding houses not only provided VMI cadets a place to live, but the formerly wealthy community members impoverished by the war had a way to make money. Women, such as ex-Governor Letcher's wife, "who, in common with many other ladies in Lexington, is reduced to the necessity of keeping a boarding house"[40] played an essential role in this process. Boarding house life, however, left the cadets

[37] Due to the suspension of mail activities, the reopening date was not largely published, so at the onset of classes, only eighteen cadets reported for duty. By February, the numbers increased, with ten cadets in the first class, nine in the second, eight in the third, and thirty in the fourth. *Report of the Board of Visitors and the Superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute*, June 27, 1866, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 5.

[38] *Report of the Board of Visitors of the Virginia Military Institute*, July 28, 1864, 3.

[39] Colonel William Couper, *One Hundred Year at V.M.I*, Volume III, 119.

[40] "Ex. Gov. Letcher, of Virginia," *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), August 18, 1866.

lacking in the disciplinary regimen they were exposed to at the Institute.

By December 9, 1866, the cabins were completed, and "it was possible to again establish barracks disciplinary regulations, after a fashion: a simple uniform (consisting of a cadet grey jacket, pants, and a military cap) was donned; and a company with cadet officers and non-commissioned officers was formed."[41] As those in the immediate community welcomed cadets into their homes, the faculty and members of the greater community joined together to raise money to rebuild and restock the Institute with academic materials. It was estimated that roughly $50,000 would be needed to accomplish this task.[42] Faculty made a substantial contribution towards funding a rebuilt VMI by proposing to surrender one-third of their salaries towards the reconstruction effort.[43] The Board of Visitors accepted their generous offer and declared it "a magnanimous act."[44] Community members also played an important role in accumulating the funds needed. General Smith indicated "several public spirited gentlemen" contributed a net sum of nearly $10,000.[45] While this donation went a long way

[41] Colonel William Couper, *One Hundred Year at V.M.I*, Volume III, 119.
[42] *Report of the Board of Visitors and the Superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute*, June 27, 1866, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 8.
[43] *Report of Board of Visitors*, Richmond, November 1866, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 3.
[44] *Report of the Board of Visitors and the Superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute*, June 27, 1866, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 8.
[45] Ibid., 8.

in aiding the process of rebuilding and restocking, more money was needed. To reach a broader audience, General Smith had ads printed in newspapers throughout the country to petition support. Such ads appeared in the *New York Times*—"Contributions in money or books, to aid in restoring the Library of the Virginia Military Institute, on the appeal of Gen. Francis H. Smith, Superintendent, may be left with D. Van Nostrand, No. 192 Broadway, who has kindly offered to receive and forward the same"—and in Raleigh's *Daily Progress*—"Smith…has issued a circular appealing for aid to rebuild the barracks of that institution destroyed by order of General Hunter. Fifty thousand dollars are required."[46] The extent to which the newspapers were effective is unknown, but General Smith was able to acquire enough money to eventually rebuild the Institute.

The year 1866 proved to be productive in terms of restoring to the Institute what the Civil War had taken. On May 15, 1864, ten cadets from VMI were mortally wounded at the Battle of New Market. Two years following the battle on May 5, Colonel J.T.L. Preston issued Special Orders No. 10, which stated the bodies of the fallen New Market cadets "should rest together on the grounds of this institution where they were trained to arms and which they illustrated by their courage. A detail consisting of one member from each class of the present corps will leave the Institute on Monday May 7th."[47] The detail of cadets left

[46] "Virginia Military Institute," *New York Times*, November 28, 1865; *The Daily Progress* (Raleigh, North Carolina), November 18, 1865.
[47] The detail consisted of Cadet Glazebrook and Overton of the 1st class, Dinwiddie of the 2nd class, and Anderson of the 4th class. Cadet

Lexington and travelled to New Market in order to retrieve the remains of five of their fallen comrades—Samuel Atwill, Thomas Garland Jefferson, Henry Jones, William McDowell, and Joseph Wheelwright—and bring them back to the Institute.[48] As per the order of General Smith, religious ceremonies honoring the cadets took place on the second anniversary of the battle at the Presbyterian Church. In addition, General Smith declared that all duties were to be suspended on that day "as an appropriate mark of respect to the memory of the gallant dead."[49] Following the services in the church, a procession was formed. It consisted, in order, of:

> "The Clergy, then the five bodies borne in separate hearses, with Committee of ex-Cadets who had participated in the battle, from the University, Washington College,

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Glazebrook had charge of the detail, and Colonel Scott Shipp, Commandant of the Cadets, accompanied them. Colonel J.T.L Preston, *Special Orders No. 10, May 5th 1866*, Virginia Military Institute Archives Online Exhibit, Accessed March 20, 2015.

[48] Charles Crockett was reunited with his fallen comrades in 1960 when his remains were moved to VMI. The four remaining New Market cadets are buried at various locations in Virginia. William Cabell is buried at Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond; Alva Hartsfield is in an unmarked grave in Petersburg; Luther Haynes is at his home "Sunny Side" in Essex County; and Jaqueline Beverly Stanard is in Orange, Virginia. Virginia Military Institute, "New Market Day, May 15, 1866: Reburial of Five Cadets Who Died at New Market, An Online Exhibit," Accessed March 20, 2015.

[49] Major General Francis H. Smith, *General Orders No. 7, May 14, 1866*, Virginia Military Institute Archives Online Exhibit, Accessed March 20, 2015.

> and various parts of the State, as pall bearers. Then followed the Corps of Cadets with Faculty of the Institute, as mourners—then the Students and Faculty of Washington College, and a long procession of gentlemen and ladies of the town and vicinity. In slow and solemn step they moved to the Institute, where the closing services were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Whisner."[50]

Once returned to Lexington, however, it would be years before the cadets would be laid in their final resting place. Their bodies were first placed in a vault in the old Porter's Lodge located near the Limit Gates, then moved to the magazine located on the bluff across the ravine behind barracks.[51] In 1878, the cadets were again moved into the newly erected Cadet Cemetery but were again relocated in 1912 for the final time and now rest under the statue "Virginia Mourning Her Dead."[52] For Cadet John L. Tunstall, a veteran of the Battle of New Market, witnessing his five classmates being re-interred in Lexington brought back the horrors of that battle. In a letter to his mother, Tunstall wrote, "Sorrow shrieks, and memory wails, when I revert to the bloody picture of intolerable scenes of

[50] "Local Items," *Lexington Gazette*, May 23, 1866.
[51] Virginia Military Institute, "New Market Day, May 15, 1866: Reburial of Five Cadets Who Died at New Market, An Online Exhibit."
[52] Ibid. The Cadet Cemetery served as a place to bury VMI alumni and ex-Cadets who died in battle. Moses Ezekiel, veteran of the Battle of New Market, sculpted the statue "Virginia Mourning Her Dead."

suffering and destruction which encompassed me on every side…War is a hard thing!"[53]

Perhaps as symbolic of restoration as the return of those five cadets killed at New Market, the governor of West Virginia returned the statue of George Washington that was removed by General Hunter's army in 1864.[54] A ceremony was held for the re-inauguration of the statue on September 10, 1866. Among the distinguished figures present were General Smith, ex-Governor Letcher (now on the Board of Visitors), and Robert E. Lee. General Smith invited General Ulysses S. Grant on August 4 to attend the festivities, but General Grant declined, citing an obligation to accompany President Johnson on his trip to Chicago.[55] The main orator at the ceremony was ex-Governor Letcher, and his speech was more directed towards the state of the country in the post-war years than the legacy of George Washington. Letcher stated,

> "A wise, just, tolerant, upright administration of public affairs will win back the affections of the south and entwine them around the pillars that uphold the Union as the 'clasping ivy' encircles the majestic oak…If the scenes of the last four years cannot be forgotten by either side, let

[53] "New Market Cadet John L. Tunstall to his mother," May 15, 1866, Virginia Military Institute Archives.
[54] *Report of Superintendent*, June 27, 1866, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 3.
[55] *The Daily Standard* (Raleigh, North Carolina), September 15, 1866.

> them be, at least, forgiven, and passed in solemn, dignified silence. Let each side cease to remind the other of the disagreeable incidents that occurred during that sad but eventful period."[56]

Through his speech, Letcher expressed his views for how the nation should handle Reconstruction. He essentially believed that in order to appease the South, the North needed to give them what they wanted and extend forgiveness in not discussing the war. The West Virginia Governor's willingness to return the statue of Washington was a physical example of what Letcher preached to the audience. His speech was met with mixed reviews. *The Spectator*, a newspaper based out of Staunton, Virginia, wrote, "The speech of Governor Letcher was well received and heartily applauded at its conclusion."[57] However, a Northern newspaper took a very different interpretation of the ceremony. An article in *The New York Times* ridiculed Letcher's statement and stated, "Had these been the extemporaneous after-dinner utterances of men flushed with wine, they might have passed without comment. But they are the deliberately conned words of men in responsible places, soberly put forth."[58] Additionally, it was noted that George Washington's name was only

[56] "An Address by Ex. Gov. Letcher," *Daily Milwaukee News*, September 26, 1866.
[57] "Re-inauguration of the Statue of Washington at Lexington, Va.," *Spectator* (Staunton, Virginia), September 18, 1866.
[58] *New York Times*, October 29, 1866.

brought up in connection with the example Robert E. Lee set for these young cadets.[59] The author of this article argues Letcher used the re-inauguration of the statue of Washington as an opportunity to tell young men to look to Confederate heroes for inspiration instead of men like George Washington, who were essential in forming a united country. Despite varied responses over General Letcher's remarks, Hubard's statue of Washington was replaced on its original pedestal to stand watch over the recovering Institute.

With the restoration of the Washington statue and the return of the fallen cadets of New Market, VMI moved forward in its effort to restore full operations. A significant step was taken in that same year as the Institute was given permission to resume the use of arms to train the cadets. On September 11, 1866, *The Raleigh Sentinel* wrote, "General Grant has not only given arms to the cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, but has also restored to them the old 'Cadet Battery.' He remarked in doing so that, 'the rising generation must be educated, and the means for that purpose must not be withheld.'"[60] General Grant's decision indicates a desire for a return to normalcy and progress in advancing the country through a small action taken at a Virginia school. As the Board of Visitors had declared their loyalty to the Union as part of a restored Virginia, this action by Grant reflects his belief in the sincerity of their purpose and declaration. History proved him right, as

[59] Ibid.
[60] *The Raleigh Sentinel*, September 11, 1866.

graduates from VMI in its post-war years to the present have served honorably in the services of the United States military with undivided loyalties.[61]

Throughout the academic years of 1866-1867 and 1867-1868, General Smith and members of the Board continued to be encouraged by the progress of VMI's reconstruction. However, the Institute faced another critical challenge in January of 1868. At the State Constitutional Convention of Virginia, Mr. Carr, of Dinwiddie County, offered a resolution that stated, "The property known as the Virginia Military Institute ought to be obliterated, and the property and funds of the same converted into a fund for the benefit of common schools."[62] Even roughly two years after VMI was permitted by Governor Pierpont to rebuild, it still faced critical opposition. In consideration of Mr. Carr's resolution to destroy VMI, William James, Chairman of the Committee on Public Institutions, reached out to General Smith and requested he give the past and present status of VMI for the committee to examine in order to reach an appropriate conclusion.[63] In his response, General Smith clearly stated the four basic aims of the Virginia Military Institute:

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[61] Some of these graduates include Medal of Honor Recipients Clarence E. Sutton, Class of 1890, and Charles E. Kilbourne, Class of 1894. Another distinguished post-Civil War VMI graduate is George C. Marshall, class of 1901. "VMI Alumni Medal of Honor Recipients," Virginia Military Institute Online Archives, Accessed April 16, 2015.
[62] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Virginia* (Richmond: The Office of the New Nation, 1867), 67.
[63] *Documents of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Virginia* (Richmond: The Office of the New Nation, 1867), 239.

> "1st, to provide competent teachers for the schools of the Commonwealth, as a State *normal* school; 2d, to promote the agricultural interests of the State, by imparting a practical education for the farmer; 3d, to train *civil engineers* to construct the works of internal improvements of the State; 4th, as incidental to its military government, to provide competent officers for the State militia. This brief outline of its general character shows that the Virginia Military Institute is a practical school, organized and regulated to meet the wants of the *industrial classes*, including in this designation the teacher, the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer, the civil engineer, and the miner, and its courses of study and methods of instruction have been carefully prepared to meet these important ends."[64]

General Smith used similar reasoning in this response as he had in 1865 when he successfully petitioned Governor Pierpont to allow reconstruction to proceed. His goal was to emphasize that the practical skills cadets learned at VMI were exactly what Virginia would need to physically rebuild the state's infrastructure and industry. General

[64] Ibid., 239

Smith indicated that VMI bettered the young men who came in, which in turn benefited the state. He stated,

> "I would say that 350 poor young men…many without resources of any kind, and have been here trained for usefulness and distinction; all of whom, save *two*, have first taught in the schools of the State, as required by law, and thus aided in improving and developing the educational interests of the State; others have built our railroads and canals; others again engaged in mining and like industrial pursuits; and they have exhibited a capacity for their distinctive work which has been so marked as to place them in positions of eminence and expansive usefulness."[65]

Again, General Smith tactically omitted the military aspect of education young cadets receive at VMI. He largely focused on the material and physical benefits Virginia would receive by endorsing such an institute as VMI. As a result of General Smith's persuasive and favorable argument, the committee tabled the resolution by Mr. Carr and did not obliterate VMI.[66] Boosted by this positive outcome, the Board of Visitors was able to efficiently press

[65] *Documents of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Virginia* (Richmond: The Office of the New Nation, 1867), 239.
[66] *Report of the Superintendent*, January 12, 1878, Virginia Military Institute Archives, 9.

forward in rebuilding the mess hall and professors' houses, purchasing the hospital building and adjacent lots, and fully equipping departments of instruction and administration.[67]

With the last major challenge to the existence of the Institute in the past, General Smith and other members of the VMI community were able to look to the future of the school. Reconstruction of post and barracks continued to press on, and by November 1869, "all of the wartime damage was repaired and the entire Corps was living in Barracks."[68] In 1868-69, the Corps had returned to normal and "reached its *antebellum* size of four companies."[69] In addition, daily life for cadets become regularized, as indicated by a letter from Cadet Edward M. Watson to his father:

> "I will begin my description just at 5 o'clock when I awakened by a most dreadful noise. I at first though that the house was falling or that a volcano had burst in about a quarter of a mile from—I hardly knew where, as I found myself lying with nothing between me and floor except a mattress about three feet wide. I was soon enlightened as to the cause of the disturbance by an old cadet

[67] Ibid., 9.
[68] McMurry, *Virginia Military Institute Alumni in the Civil War*, 1st ed., 71.
[69] Ibid., 71.

> who in the dim light of the very early morning, as he stood dressing close by, I had not noticed. He remarked in a tone which seemed anything but motherly, 'Rat, get up, Sir, and go to reveille.'"[70]

Watson goes on to describe another aspect of his daily ritual: mealtime. For each meal, the cadets march into the mess-hall and,

> "Each one having reached the seat assigned assumes the position of a soldier and standing staring the boy on the opposite [side] of the table in the face (who by the way in my case is mighty ugly), we have to wait until everybody has formed in his place. Then at the word 'be seated' each head of the three hundred cadets bobs down and we commence eating."[71]

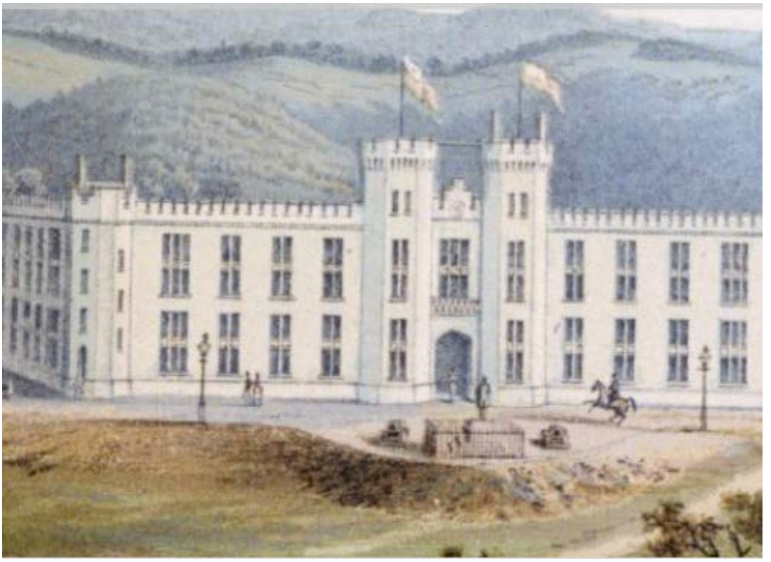
Such a routine as described by Watson would occur every day, except for Saturdays and Sundays, as it had in the pre-war years.

[70] "Cadet Edward M. Watson to his father," September 17, 1868, Virginia Military Institute Archives.
[71] Ibid.

With the disciplinary model restored and a normalized schedule, life at VMI resumed much as it had been before the war. Not unlike the rest of the country, the years of Reconstruction found VMI facing such trials and struggles that its very existence was called into question. However, the unwavering dedication of those advocating for the Institute was met with gracious support from those in political authority who chose to share the vision of a prosperous Institute integral to the rebuilding of a nation. Through the cooperative efforts of the State of Virginia, the Superintendent, the Board of Visitors, the cadets and faculty members, and the greater Lexington community, the Virginia Military Institute was able to overcome the devastation of war and rebuild a school that would continue to prosper 151 years after it was "left in ruins, with nothing left but reputation."[72]

[72] *Report of the Superintendent*, January 12, 1878, as cited in Colonel William Couper, *One Hundred Year at V.M.I*, Volume III, 105.

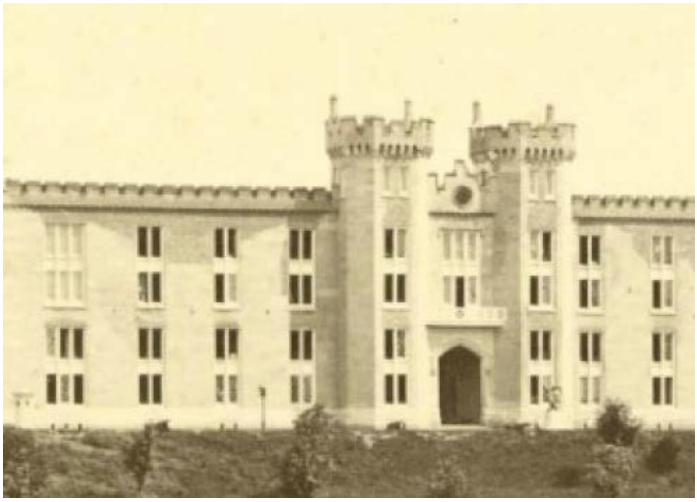
Appendix A



VMI Barracks as it looked in 1857. *VMI Barracks History—A Digital Exhibition from the VMI Archives.*

Barracks in ruin after General Hunter's raid, ca. 1866. *VMI Archives Photographs Collection*

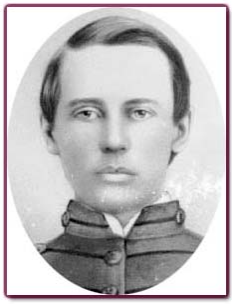
Main Street in Lexington, VA, ca. 1865-1866. *VMI Archives Photographs Collection*



VMI Barracks ca. 1875—Dark portions indicate what was rebuild as a result of Hunter’s raid. *VMI Barracks History—A Digital Exhibition from the VMI Archives.*

Cadets and townspeople in front of the Washington Statue, 1866. *VMI Archives Photographs Collection.*

New Market Monument, "Virginia Mourning Her Dead," 1903. *VMI Archives Photographs Collection*



Three of the five New Market Cadets that were reinterred at VMI in May of 1866. Colonel William Couper, *The Corps Forward: The Biographical Sketches of the VMI Cadets who fought in the Battle of New Market* (Buena Vista, VA: Mariner Publishing, 2005), 16.

Top: Samuel Francis Atwill; died July 20, 1864 at the home of Dr. F. T. Stribling in Staunton, VA as a result of lockjaw.
Bottom Left: William Hugh McDowell; killed in battle on May 15, 1864.

Bottom Right: Thomas Garland Jefferson; died three days after the battle, May 18, 1864 in the home of New Market resident, Mrs. Clinedinst.

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AN ANOMALOUS CASE OF SOUTHERN SYMPATHY: NEW JERSEY'S CIVIL WAR STANCE

Emily Hawk

On the balcony of the State House in Trenton on January 20th, 1863, the newly elected governor Joel Parker delivered his inaugural address to the people of New Jersey.[1] Parker, a War Democrat, had been elected governor the preceding November by the widest margin New Jersey had yet experienced, capturing 57% of the popular vote over his Republican opponent.[2] At the height of the Civil War, and just after President Abraham Lincoln's release of the Emancipation Proclamation, Parker's campaign called for "The Constitution as it is and the Union as it was,"[3] a stance reinforced by his inaugural address. He, like many of the New Jersey citizens that supported him with their ballot, opposed the notion of universal emancipation foreshadowed by the President's proclamation. "[Our] energies should be devoted to the restoration of the Union," the new governor proclaimed from the podium, "And the problem of emancipation is one

[1] "The Inauguration," *Trenton State Gazette*, Jan 21 1863.
[2] Brad R. Tuttle, "Politics to the Dogs: Southern Sympathy During the Civil War" in *How Newark Became Newark: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of an American City* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 51.
[3] Tuttle, "Politics to the Dogs," 51.

to be solved here after by the people of the States where the institution of slavery already exists."[4]

Parker's inaugural speech exemplifies a peculiarity about New Jersey during the Civil War: the state displayed unusual vehemence in its opposition to Lincoln and, in particular, his plan for emancipation. In fact, the political culture of New Jersey more closely resembled a slave-holding Border State like Kentucky or Delaware than its neighboring free states of New York and Pennsylvania. This divergence from Northern wartime norms—encountered at both the elite and popular levels of the citizenry and in both the Democratic and Republican parties of the state—is best understood by the state's agricultural economy and political heritage.

New Jersey's animosity toward Lincoln had its roots in the Colonial Era, when the state had been set apart economically from neighboring New York and Pennsylvania. As Maxine Lurie explains, many historical accounts of the state of New Jersey in its earliest days simply classify it as a "middle colony,"[5] assuming that, by geographical circumstance, it is most similar to neighboring Pennsylvania and New York. This assumption is understandable, since much of New Jersey is located within the spheres of influence of the major urban centers of New

[4] Larry Greene, "Civil War and Reconstruction" in *New Jersey: A History of the Garden State,* ed. Maxine N. Lurie and Richard Veit (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 162.
[5] Maxine N. Lurie, "New Jersey: The Unique Proprietary" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 111 (January 1987), 77.

York City and Philadelphia. A great deal of trade flowing into and out of these city centers passed along New Jersey's Delaware and Hudson River networks.[6] If regional and global ideas about liberty, emancipation, and equality also travelled these routes, then New Jersey was also a prime location for political debate in the North.

This assumption of geographic similarity is not, however, consistent with the reality of New Jersey's stunted economic development. In the years immediately following its founding as a colony, New Jersey failed to develop any of its towns or ports into major urban centers that could compete with rapidly-growing Philadelphia or New York City. This issued plagued New Jersey as it proceeded into statehood; it fell behind its neighbors in industry and manufacturing as the two bordering major cities drained it of trade and commerce.[7] With economic growth in this dismal condition, settlers arriving to New Jersey instead focused their efforts on agriculture, making profit by selling or renting their land[8] and by exporting produce throughout the Atlantic world. [9]

The agrarian economy of New Jersey was labor-intensive; thus, slavery played a crucial role in sustaining that economy. New Jersey's dependence on slave labor had been engrained by the time of the American Revolution. In

[6] James Gigantino, *The Ragged Road to Abolition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 2-3.
[7] Lurie, "New Jersey: The Unique Proprietary," 84.
[8] Ibid., 84.
[9] Maxine N. Lurie, "Colonial Period" in *New Jersey: A History of the Garden State,* ed. Maxine N. Lurie and Richard Veit (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 54.

1790, New Jersey housed 11,423 slaves, 6.2% of its total population of 184,139.[10] This figure surpassed the slave populations of all New England states combined.[11] While slavery in New Jersey did not reach the role of complete economic domination that it played in Southern colonies with large-scale plantations, the economy in New Jersey still relied on black labor to a significant extent.

Slavery was also, as Giles Wright calls it, "an important thread in New Jersey's social fabric."[12] If this thread were to be cut by abolition, the state's agricultural routine would be greatly disrupted. White New Jersians across the socioeconomic spectrum, therefore, worried about the implications of abolition in both Northern and Southern states. White farm workers feared that the flow of freed migrant black workers into the market willing to work for lower wages would diminish their agricultural jobs. [13] A similar fear affected the wealthier owners of the farms; this class's "preference was for laborers like themselves, considered more assimilable than Africans, who were perceived as uncivilized, primitive, savage, vicious, dangerous, and capable of the greatly dreaded acts of rebellion."[14]

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[10] University of Virginia Library Historical Census Browser.
[11] Gigantino, *The Ragged Road to Abolition*, 2.
[12] Giles R. Wright, "Moving Toward Breaking the Chains: Black New Jerseyans and the American Revolution" in *A New Jersey Anthology* ed. Maxine N. Lurie (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 194.
[13] Greene, "Civil War and Reconstruction," 149.
[14] Wright, "Moving Toward Breaking the Chains," 196.

These fears perhaps contributed to New Jersey being the final Northern state to pass a gradual emancipation act in 1804. Even then, the process was *very* gradual: slavery was formally practiced in pockets throughout the state until 1820.[15] As late as the 1860 census, New Jersey still counted a handful of slaves among its population, while Pennsylvania, New York, and all other free states reported zero.[16] Although the formal practice of slavery in New Jersey fell away, racism and racial tensions persisted. In April 1861, just before the surrender of Fort Sumter, former New Jersey Governor Rodman Pierce wrote to the editor of *The Newark Journal*: "We believe that slavery is no sin," concluding with a quote from the Confederate constitution that "Slavery – subordination to the superior race – is [the black person's] natural and normal condition." [17] The same fear of economic disruption that caused white New Jersians to resist abolition within the state manifested in wartime discussions of universal emancipation.

The general resistance of white New Jersians toward Southern emancipation became apparent in the political sphere when the Whig Party dissolved in the 1850s. While most former Whigs, including future president Lincoln, turned to the emerging Republican party, many New Jersey Whigs joined the Democratic Party instead, unable to accept the Republicans' antislavery

[15] Graham Russell Gao Hodges, "New Jersey in the Early Republic" in *New Jersey: A History of the Garden State*, 104.
[16] University of Virginia Library Historical Census Browser.
[17] Greene, "Civil War and Reconstruction,"159.

stance.[18] Because so many Whigs backed Democratic candidates in New Jersey, Democrats dominated state politics throughout the 1850s and 1860s, winning most statewide elections and supporting Democratic candidates in presidential elections.[19] Even after Lincoln became the first Republican to win the presidency in 1860, the Democratic Party in New Jersey remained the formidable political force.[20]

Throughout this period of Democratic dominance, the Republican Party in New Jersey was notably lukewarm in its support of federal Republican measures. The New Jersey branch of Republicans called themselves the "Union" Party, shying away from the abolitionist associations that came with Lincoln's brand of Republicanism.[21] *The Trenton State Gazette*, a Republican paper, often published the Confederate perspective alongside its own opinion pieces, such as the opinion of Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Despite the balancing efforts of its attempt to appeal to a broader readership, New Jersey's Republican press struggled significantly as the war progressed and universal emancipation became a more serious possibility. *The Newark Daily Mercury*, one of the Republican Party's highest-profile newspapers, went out of business just after

[18] Tuttle, "Politics to the Dogs," 43.
[19] Ibid., 43.
[20] Ibid., 45.
[21] Greene, "Civil War and Reconstruction," 156.

the release of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 due to lack of support.[22]

As New Jersey's economic and political behavior continued on a divergent path from that of its neighbors, the state began to resemble loyal border slave states, particularly Kentucky and Delaware. Though neither Kentucky nor Delaware had abolished slavery, both of these states remained loyal to the Union throughout the Civil War. However, despite their loyalty to the Unionist cause, Kentucky and Delaware did not show loyalty to its leader, President Lincoln, or his efforts toward emancipation. The citizens of New Jersey similarly failed to unify behind President Lincoln.[23] Two critical moments during the Civil War best exemplify the parallels among these three states: their shared opposition to the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and their electoral votes against the reelection of Lincoln in 1864.

In the case of the Emancipation Proclamation, the promise of freed slaves from the states in rebellion presented an external economic threat to many residents of New Jersey. As the numerous Copperhead, or anti-war, Democrats in New Jersey imagined it, "the war, originally envisioned solely to preserve the country, had been co-opted by zealots."[24] The Democratic position—still the dominant political stance in New Jersey at the time—had "consistently portray[ed] the war as an illegal, misguided

[22] Tuttle, "Politics to the Dogs," 52.
[23] Ibid., 39.
[24] Ibid., 50.

abolitionist quest"[25] and used the release of the Emancipation Proclamation to justify their rationale. State election results in November 1862 confirmed the popularity of this oppositional stance when Democrat Joel Parker won the office of governor and Democrats won control of both houses of the state legislature.[26]

Upon the release of the Emancipation Proclamation, the Democratic press was quick to argue that ending the war did not and should not require universal emancipation. An article in a December 1862 edition of *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register* quipped, "The President's logic continues the war to 1900, if we understand it. He says without slavery this war *could not continue*, and yet he proposes by his emancipation policy to continue that which continues the war until 1900!"[27] Many New Jersians took comfort in the idea that the Proclamation had validity only as a wartime measure and would be nullified upon the war's end. As another issue of *The Atlantic Democrat* reported, "The Constitution gives the President no authority whatever to issue such a decree as the emancipation proclamation and that the decree, legally regarded, is simply null and void…it must be looked upon as a measure of war, and not even policy."[28] By questioning the validity of Lincoln's action, New Jersians

[25] Ibid., 45.
[26] Ibid., 51.
[27] "True American," *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, December 20, 1862.
[28] "The Emancipation Proclamation Abroad," *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, January 10, 1863.

expressed their hope that universal emancipation would not become a reality.

Even though the Emancipation Proclamation only freed slaves in the states in rebellion, and therefore did not apply to loyal slave states like Delaware and Kentucky,[29] leaders in these two states similarly opposed the President's measure. Delaware Senator Willard Salusbury "claimed that its effect would be to flood his state with the freed slaves of rebels, creating racial conflict and serious social problems."[30] He reiterated that abolition was not an option for Delaware, despite its loyalty to the Union, and charged that he "never did see or converse with so weak and imbecile a man as Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States."[31] These concerns, stated on behalf of Delaware's citizens, echo those of white New Jersey farmers. They express a fear of both the economic and social challenges posed by an influx of freed black laborers.

Kentucky, considered "the bellwether of the loyal slave states,"[32] also opposed President Lincoln—himself a native Kentuckian—and the Emancipation Proclamation. Like many New Jersians, Kentuckians generally prioritized the preservation of the Union as the purpose of the war, in

[29] Lowell H. Harrison, "Lincoln, Slavery, and Kentucky" in *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 106 (Summer/Autumn 2008), 598.
[30] William C. Harris, "His Loyal Opposition: Lincoln's Border States' Critics" in *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, Vol. 32 (Winter 2011), 1.
[31] Ibid., 1.
[32] Harrison, "Lincoln, Slavery, and Kentucky," 571.

turn resenting any effort to universally end slavery.[33] Both parties in Kentucky shared this resentment: while the Democrats staunchly supported the states' rights argument for slavery, many Kentucky Republicans were former Whigs who insisted that preservation of the Union was the single issue of the war.[34] For both Kentucky and Delaware, as slave states, abolition presented too much of an economic and social risk. New Jersey joined these states in opposing the Emancipation Proclamation and the damaging potential it promised.

The presidential election of 1864 was Lincoln's campaign for reelection and another instance in which New Jersey behaved similarly to Kentucky and Delaware. The first wartime presidential race since 1812, the election pitted incumbent Lincoln against Democratic challenger George B. McClellan, a recently dismissed Union general who ran on a promise "to take every possible measure to end the war quickly."[35] Despite McClellan's advantage in military experience, all but three Union states cast their electoral votes for Lincoln, solidifying the Union's general confidence in President Lincoln to see the war to its finish.[36] However, three loyal states did indeed oppose the reelection of Lincoln and instead supported McClellan: New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. As the only free state to oppose Lincoln's reelection, New Jersey earned a

[33] Ibid., 580.
[34] Harris, "His Loyal Opposition," 2.
[35] Tuttle, "Politics to the Dogs," 56.
[36] Ibid., 57.

dubious reputation as "the most traitorous state in the North."[37]

Although McClellan was a well-respected resident of West Orange, New Jersey, his home state advantage did not influence the election so much as the citizens' distrust of Lincoln. In the months before the election, New Jersey's Democratic press lambasted Lincoln's character to direct support toward the Democratic candidate. One editorial by former Attorney General Senator Reverdy Johnson twisted the words of Lincoln's own campaign to encourage voters to choose McClellan, stating,

> It is not that we wish, to use his own classic figure, to swap horses in the midst of a stream, but that when we are on a journey and safety depends on making our destination at the earliest moment, we should cast aside a sprained and thin horse, and secure a sound and active one. In Gen. McClellan we are furnished.[38]

This author described McClellan as a reliable and trustworthy figure to imply that Lincoln was not.

A printed speech by Governor Parker also endorsed McClellan for the presidency on the basis of his superior character. Parker proclaimed, "I will say that the man presented by that [Democratic] convention is a man of

[37] Ibid., 39.
[38] "Hon. Reverdy Johnson for Gen. George B. McClellan" in *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, October 8, 1864.

great ability and character, and a man of sound principles, honest and faithful to the Constitution."[39] Parker then diminished Lincoln's character while disagreeing with the president's political decisions; "The very first article of the Constitution provides that the legislative power shall be intrusted [sic] to Congress, and the Executive of the United States has usurped the power of Congress in repeated instances,"[40] he complained. Parker took issue with three specific actions of Lincoln's: the creation of West Virginia "contrary to the Constitution," the violation of free press, and the suspension of habeas corpus.[41] The head of the State of New Jersey, two years into his term at this point, confirmed his anti-Lincoln stance in the months immediately preceding the election.

The governor's opinion represented a voice of political authority, but New Jersey's McClellan campaign also had strength at the popular level. As Election Day approached, several advertisements appeared in *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register* for meetings of so-called McClellan Clubs.[42] These clubs hosted festivals in McClellan's honor and stumped on his behalf throughout the state. [43] The club meetings took place predominantly in the South Jersey agricultural hubs of

[39] "Speech of Gov. Parker" in *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, October 8, 1864.
[40] "Speech of Gov. Parker," 2.
[41] "Speech of Gov. Parker," 2.
[42] For example: *Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, October 22, 1864, 2.
[43] *Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, October 22, 1864, 2.

Leedstown[44] and Egg Harbor City, where poor farm workers gathered in meeting halls and public houses in support of their favorite candidate. These cities were strategic locations for such gatherings, as supporters could engage large segments of the working classes and organize their support for the Democratic platform.

Disapproval of President Lincoln surfaced in popular literature as well. *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register* advertised for a bookstore in Absecon, a frequent stop for middle-class and wealthy tourists passing along the South Jersey shore. The book titles advertised included *Abraham Africana I: His Secret Life Revealed*, *The Lincoln (Negro) Catechism*, and *Trial of Abraham Lincoln*.[45] These texts circulated popular racist propaganda against the President, employing tropes that were commonly seen in political cartoons of the era. For example, as *The Lincoln (Negro) Catechism* ponders, "Does the Republican party intend to change the name of the United States?...What do they intend to call it? New Africa."[46]

It is no coincidence that New Jersey Democrats sought to disseminate this literature in Absecon. This location provided access to a wide audience beyond the area residents. Since Philadelphia and New York became commercial cities in the Colonial Era, New Jersey shore

[44] Now called Linwood.
[45] "For Sale at the Absecon Bookstore," in *Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, October 22, 1864.
[46] Charles Bracelen Flood, *1864: Lincoln at the Gates of History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 2009), 250.

points provided city dwellers with an opportunity for quiet refuge.[47] By the 1850s, the New Jersey beaches "offered what was to be a hallmark of Jersey Shore tourism: excess, size, and overwhelming hype."[48] With virtually no risk of battles occurring along these beaches, New Jersey provided a safe setting for wealthy tourists to pass through the state, as it was easily accessible by rail or by water.

While this literature spread via the Democratic press, the New Jersey Republican press worked to maintain a balance between their party identity at large and the state's economic concerns regarding abolition. Republican newspapers supported Lincoln's 1864 candidacy with tepid endorsements. For example, an October 1863 issue of *The South Jersey Republican* critiqued, "From the President to the postmaster…none are exempt who have resting upon them the sin of differing in their political faith from the standards of the Democracy – so called."[49] The article continued its mixed support by suggesting sympathy for the Southern cause, saying, "Confederates are admirable for the frankness and enthusiasm of their faith."[50] The lack of enthusiasm among Republicans in New Jersey is suggestive of wider public ambivalence toward the president's agenda.

The Daily State Gazette, another Republican newspaper published in the state capital of Trenton,

[47] Mark Alan Hewitt, "Boardwalks Reborn: Disaster and Renewal on the Jersey Shore" in *Taking Chances: The Coast after Hurricane Sandy* eds. Karen M. O'Neill and Daniel J. Van Abs (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2016), 166.
[48] Hewitt, "Boardwalks Reborn," 166.
[49] "Their Way" in *South Jersey Republican*, October 3, 1863.
[50] "Political" in *South Jersey Republican*, October 3, 1863.

endorsed Lincoln while also applauding the efforts of New Jersey Democrat groups.[51] On the same page as their official endorsement of the Lincoln ticket, a September 17, 1864 issue of the newspaper contained multiple update letters from the McClellan camp. It reports, "Our Democratic friends are no half-way supporters of their candidate. They pitch the planks of the Chicago Platform to the wind, and go for 'little Mac' without conditions."[52] Perhaps influenced by the sheer strength of the state's Democrats, Republican newspapers felt compelled to provide readers with the opponents' perspective. *The Gazette* even advertised an upcoming "Grand McClellan Festival," an event likely to be held with the same intention as the McClellan Club meetings of southern New Jersey.

Even after Lincoln achieved reelection, New Jersey newspapers remained steadfast in their disapproval of the President. In *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, Lincoln's defeat of McClellan did not even make the front page. The newspaper admitted, "We honestly believed that McClellan would lead to a restoration of the Union on terms no less honorable than by the election of Abraham Lincoln, but more to the interest of the country in every respect, and for that cause advocated his election."[53] In other words, although both men *could* achieve the goal of restoring the Union, McClellan would do so without universal emancipation as a term of surrender. Most New

[51] *Daily State Gazette* (Trenton, NJ), September 17, 1864, 2.
[52] Ibid., 2.
[53] "The Election–Its Effect on the Future," *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May Country Register*, November 19, 1864.

Jersey citizens preferred McClellan and his promise of a prompt end to the war without demanding abolition.

The December 8, 1864 issue of the *Register* featured statistics of the election, reporting that McClellan carried New Jersey with 68,018 votes to Lincoln's 60,014.[54] True figures for the election's results gave McClellan 52.84% of the popular vote and Lincoln 47.16%.[55] The incumbent president had fared worse in New Jersey's 1864 popular vote than he had in the election of 1860. In that earlier presidential race between Lincoln and Douglas, New Jersey split its electoral votes, casting four for Lincoln and three for Douglas even though Lincoln gained just 48.13% of the popular vote overall.[56]

The newspaper's report generously overestimated McClellan's performance in the national election outcomes as well. As the article stated, "The President has hardly five per cent majority on the total vote. For every hundred votes for Lincoln in the loyal States, there have been cast ninety-five for his Democratic competitor."[57] Bitter about this close margin that resulted in the loss of their preferred candidate, they continued, "[Lincoln] is spoken of by his partisans as if he were the saviour of his country… This exaggerated and mischievous language is one of the strongest proofs of the bad results of this method of

[54] "The Election in New Jersey," *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, December 3, 1864.
[55] Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections, 1864.
[56] Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections, 1860.
[57] "The Popular Vote of the United States," *The Atlantic Democrat and Cape May County Register*, December 3, 1864, 2.

selecting the chief executive officer of the nation."[58] As they did in their reaction to the Emancipation Proclamation, the press of New Jersey once again questioned the validity of President Lincoln.

In examining New Jersey's behavior throughout the Civil War, especially its reaction to the Emancipation Proclamation and Lincoln's reelection, we discover that New Jersey was anomalous among Northern free states by opposing the antislavery endeavors of wartime leadership. New Jersey's historically agrarian economy instead placed it in a category with loyal slave states and War Democrats. This categorization affected not only the strength of Democratic opposition to Lincoln, but also the weakness of Republican support for the president throughout the state.

The case of New Jersey during the Civil War suggests the merit of state level economic and political analysis for understanding the patchwork of Northern unity. Such state-level study has often been overlooked, as the popular narrative assumes that all Northern states stood united behind Abraham Lincoln in their loyalty to the Union. New Jersey's unusual stance demonstrates that, at least in one particular state, economic interests at the state level controlled the wartime actions and political endorsements of Union states. The resulting actions of New Jersey's economic interests challenge the narrative of Northern unity and dispel the myth of Lincoln's universal popularity that prevails in memory of the Civil War.

[58] "The Popular Vote of the United States," 2.

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MURDER IN MANASSAS: MENTAL ILLNESS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Savannah Rose

The small area of Manassas, Virginia began as a mere railroad junction, joining the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and the Manassas Gap Railroad. During the American Civil War, Manassas witnessed two major battles, the First Battle of Bull Run in 1861 and the Second Battle of Bull Run a year later, leaving the junction in ruins. As the nation plunged into Reconstruction following the end of the conflict, very few buildings remained, and the townspeople found destruction when they returned to the homes they had vacated for safety. As the town of Manassas proliferated, it immediately faced hardships as tragedy struck the residents of the town, tragedy that stemmed from the harsh fighting of the Civil War. In the years after the war, mental trauma and delusion led to a kidnapping, a murder, and the trial of the century in the small town of Manassas, leaving the people bewildered at the sudden psychological break of one of their most prominent citizens.

The town's development began when William S. Fewell arrived at the junction. An "enterprising and foresighted man," Fewell owned hundreds of acres within the area of Manassas Junction and laid out the foundations

of the would-be town.[1] Fewell inherited land from the will of Sanford Thurman in 1858, yet he stayed in Lynchburg, Virginia until 1865 to keep his family safe from the Civil War. Following the war, Fewell moved back to Manassas with his family, selling pieces of his land in order to begin forming a town.[2] By 1868, the town grew to such a size that officials in Prince William County, Virginia made a motion to move the county seat from Brentsville to Manassas, but they hesitated, waiting for the town to become officially incorporated and grow to a substantial size.[3] As the nation continued to reconstruct itself under the policies of President Andrew Johnson, the town of Manassas grew within Prince William County. In 1869, the first professional practices opened with a law office under George Round and several physicians' offices. "The village of Manassas had grown from mere pasture land into a thriving town," and it only continued to grow from there.[4] Churches were established, and *The Manassas Weekly Gazette* began production, giving the citizens a news outlet. In 1870, thirty more buildings were constructed in Manassas, a rate that continued for several years during Reconstruction.[5]

By 1871, the county seat prepared to make its move to Manassas as the town filled itself with a substantial

[1] Catherine T. Simmons, "Mr. Fewell's Town," in *Manassas, Virginia: 1873-1973* (Manassas, VA: Typesetting & Publishing Inc., 1986), 17.
[2] Simmons, "Mr. Fewell's Town," 17-19.
[3] "A Visit to Manassas," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 15, 1868.
[4] "Letter from Manassas," *Alexandria Gazette,* September 24, 1869.
[5] "Manassas," *Alexandria Gazette,* September 1, 1870.

number of Northern men, who ensured that the now five hundred citizens of Manassas accepted the political measures of Reconstruction. Manassas became the largest town between Alexandria and Warrenton and was "still pushing ahead."[6] *The Alexandria Gazette* reported that on March 6, 1873, the citizens of Manassas approved a charter of incorporation, officially becoming a town.[7] Manassas quickly became one of the most prosperous towns in Virginia during the Reconstruction Era due to the hard work of town founder William S. Fewell and his family.

William S. Fewell was born on February 4, 1814 and became a depot agent in Manassas Junction. After serving as the colonel of Company H of the 17th Virginia Volunteer Infantry in the American Civil War, Fewell returned to Manassas to begin settling the junction as a town.[8] Along with his wife, Elizabeth Norvell Fewell, William Fewell began a town and a family. Together, the Fewells had six children, Sarah C., Mary Elizabeth, twins Lucien Norvell and William Haydon, Margaret, and their youngest daughter, Fannie. Elizabeth died in 1868, forcing William to become the sole provider for his children and raise Margaret and Fannie mostly on his own; his other

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[6] "Extract of a Letter from Washington," *Alexandria Gazette,* May 1, 1871; "Correspondence from Fairfax News," *Alexandria Gazette,* June 12, 1871.

[7] "A Correspondence from the Washington Republican," *Alexandria Gazette,* March 6, 1873.

[8] Simmons, *Manassas, Virginia,* 17; "Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, 1861-65: W.S. Fewell," The National Archives, accessed on Fold3.

children had married and moved out of the house[9]. In 1870, William lived with the prominent Merchant family in Manassas with Margaret and Fannie. William remarried in 1871, bringing stepmother Virginia B. Mankin Fewell into his household to assist in raising his children.[10] Margaret left her father's house in 1871 following her nuptials, leaving sixteen-year-old Fannie with her father and stepmother. As the Fewell family grew and changed, they helped build the town, offering their services to many organizations that were meant to help the growing area as well as those intended to remember the battles that swept through the area, including the Ladies Memorial Association of Manassas.

The Ladies Memorial Association of Manassas organized on May 25, 1867, electing Mrs. Sarah E. Fewell, Lucien Fewell's wife, as their President and Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Fewell as corresponding secretary.[11] During their first meeting as an organization, the ladies of the society wrote a thank you letter to General Robert E. Lee for his service during the American Civil War.[12] The Association played a large role in forming the Confederate Cemetery in Manassas, as they moved to preserve the memory of those who died, ensuring that future generations would do the

[9] 1870 US Census, accessed on Ancestry.com.
[10] 1880 US Census, accessed on Ancestry.com.
[11] By 1870, Mary Elizabeth Fewell was often referred to as Mrs. B. D. Merchant, as she married Benjamin Merchant. Jeffrey M. Pouli, "The Manassas City Cemetery," in *A Brief History of the Manassas and Confederate Cemeteries* (Prince William County Genealogical Society, 1992); 1870 US Census.
[12] Pouli, "The Manassas City Cemetery."

same. Six months following their founding, William S. Fewell donated one acre of land for the beginnings of the cemetery. The Association received its first monetary donation from Miss Mary Lipscomb in 1867 and began working to raise additional funds for the creation of the cemetery. By 1869, over two hundred soldiers had been interred.[13] The Association grew in membership, as several notable figures throughout the community became involved, including Benjamin Merchant, a hotel owner in Manassas; Judge Charles E. Sinclair, a local attorney from Brentsville; William C. Merchant; and Fannie Fewell, the youngest daughter of William S. Fewell.

Aside from fundraising, letter writing, and creating the cemetery, the Ladies Memorial Association preserved the battlefields and held ceremonies for the town during Reconstruction. On May 9, 1868, the Ladies hosted the dedication of their cemetery, inviting spectators from Alexandria, Washington D.C., and all of Prince William County to attend, and preparing picnics, dinners, poetry readings, and orations. The Ladies invited several well-known figures in Prince William County to give these orations, one of whom was James F. Clark of Luray.[14] James F. Clark was one of the most prominent orators in Prince William County, and he had received several invitations from the Ladies Memorial Association of Manassas to speak in front of the crowds. Each trip allowed

[13] "Letter from Manassas," *Alexandria Gazette*, October 4, 1869.
[14] "Memorial Celebration at Manassas," *Alexandria Gazette*, May 11, 1868.

Clark to grow close to William S. Fewell, his wife, and his children.

On July 21, 1868, the Association held a celebration for the seven-year anniversary of the First Battle of Bull Run, one of the largest memorial celebrations in Manassas during Reconstruction. The celebration saw large numbers of viewers who came to see the ceremonies as well as the battlefields, and the Association invited several orators to speak, including James F. Clark. Clark gave a speech unlike the other orators before the jousting tournament labeled, "The Charge of the Knights." In his speech, Clark spoke of bravery, chivalry, courage, and respect for the women of society. He spoke of the men of the Confederate Armies who fought for victory or death, facing immense trials and dangers to support the Southern Cross. He spoke of the Civil War and the brave men on both sides who fought for their flags, noting the importance of the festivities occurring that day.[15] Clark left his audience aghast, speaking to the assemblage in a style that would not be surpassed the rest of the day and leaving an impression on his spectators.

The great Manassas orator James F. Clark was born in 1844 to Reverend John Clark—a prominent reverend in Prince William County—and Jane Clark. James Clark was the second youngest of six children. When the American Civil War broke out, he enlisted in the 4th Virginia Cavalry and returned to his profession as a school teacher when the

[15] "Manassas Celebration," *Alexandria Gazette*, July 13, 1868.

guns fell silent.[16] He married Mary Elizabeth Lee on October 24, 1868 and had two daughters, Laura L. in 1869 and Bertha in 1872.[17] Clark changed his profession to law and soon became a very prominent attorney in Prince William County, working alongside the Commonwealth's Attorney for several years while he lived in Luray, Virginia. Clark excelled in the law practice and became the sole attorney for the Commonwealth on several cases as he rose in public prominence.[18]

With his rise in notoriety for his work as an attorney and orator, James F. Clark was announced as a candidate for the Commonwealth's Attorney on July 12, 1870 and received the position that same year.[19] Clark moved his office and home to Manassas soon afterwards, working for the Commonwealth as he continued to rise in the ranks of attorneys.[20] In early 1872, Clark worked as the editor of *The Manassas Gazette,* increasing his presence in the community of Manassas as well as in Prince William County.[21] He made headlines with his move out of Manassas to King George County in August of 1872 as he prepared for his move to the west, along with his

[16] "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Virginia: James F. Clark," The National Archives, accessed on Fold3.
[17] 1860 US Census, accessed on Ancestry.com; 1870 US Census.
[18] "Letter from Prince William County," *Alexandria Gazette,* September 10, 1868; *Alexandria Gazette,* June 14, 1868; *Alexandria Gazette*, October 25, 1869.
[19] *Alexandria Gazette,* July 12, 1870.
[20] "James F. Clark," *Manassas Gazette,* March 12, 1872.
[21] *Manassas Gazette,* March 12, 1872.

resignation as editor of the *Gazette* and as the Commonwealth's Attorney. Clark was replaced by Charles E. Sinclair.[22] As Manassas continued to recover from the Civil War, however, James F. Clark made further headlines in the town, as the former prominent figure, then twenty-eight, was arrested for the abduction of sixteen-year-old Fannie Fewell.

On August 22, 1872, James F. Clark found himself at the end of his plan to seduce and abduct the youngest daughter of the most prominent citizen of Manassas, a plan unknown to the public for some time. Clark fled Fredericksburg that evening with the help of Mr. Thomas Haydon, stating that he was going into the country to visit his wife, who he had sent to live with her parents in King George County as they prepared for their move west. William S. Fewell obtained a warrant for the arrest of James F. Clark on August 23, just days after hearing rumors of Clark's connection to his daughter's disappearance. That evening, Sergeant Edrington arrested James Clark with great ease. Clark believed he was innocent, insisting that the arrest was caused by Mr. Fewell's paranoia and irrational concern about his daughter's whereabouts.

Though the arrest was an easy one, Clark feared retaliation by the Fewells. He worried that Mr. Fewell would shoot him at first sight and thus refused to leave his father-in-law's house until Fewell had been sworn to keep

[22] *Alexandria Gazette*, August 4, 1872.

the peace.[23] The news poured into Manassas, and great excitement arose over the two prominent families as citizens anxiously awaited further details surrounding the elopement, details that the newspapers gathered quickly. Until the trial could commence once again, Clark's examination occurred, and the accused was brought back to Prince William County on August 27 to be jailed. At his request, a guard accompanied Clark at all times, as Clark feared retaliation from the Fewell family. News of his arrival spread across the town quickly, with people across the county going to the jailhouse to catch a glimpse of the accused man as he sat alone in his cell.[24]

The Alexandria Gazette covered the "tragedy" in extensive detail, sharing information quickly as they discovered it. Secrecy kept many details hidden from the public, who awaited answers with the highly-anticipated arrival of Fannie Fewell back to Manassas. On August 24, Mr. Benjamin Merchant, a close friend of the Fewells, arrived in Washington D.C. and succeeded in finding the missing girl. With the help of Detective McElfrish, Merchant tracked Fannie Fewell's location to the Boyles Hotel, where Clark had abandoned her several nights before. Upon seeing Merchant, Fannie broke down into tears, claiming Clark married her in the city then left her with no money. Fannie returned to Manassas on August 26, accompanied by her father and a family friend, Judge

[23] "Arrest of James F. Clark," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 24, 1872.
[24] "Jas. F. Clarke," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 27, 1872.

Charles E. Sinclair.[25] The town of Manassas longed to discover the fine details regarding the elopement as rumors filled the town of the plotted revenge against Clark by the Fewell family.

Whenever asked about his connection to the affair, Clark asserted his innocence with great force, claiming he never encountered Fannie Fewell before in an intimate setting. Chosen to represent Clark in his trial were John L. Marye Jr. and Charles Herndon, while the Fewell family hired the Commonwealth's Attorney, and James Clark's replacement in the position, Charles Sinclair as their counsel. Fewell and Merchant spoke to Sinclair about Clark's actions with Fannie, claiming that Clark made no suspicious moves towards Fannie and that there had been no intimacy between them aside from a short, accompanied carriage ride they took together.[26] Details regarding Fannie's conduct on the night of the elopement startled the town, as they learned that the young, beautiful girl left Mr. Merchant's house on July 21 and traveled by train to Alexandria, Virginia. During the train ride, Fannie concealed herself in a water chest to escape the eyes of her father, who worked as the depot agent at the train station. Once in Alexandria, Fannie rode away in a carriage along with James Clark, where they took a train to Missouri.[27]

[25] "The Clark Affair," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 26, 1872; "Prince William County Items from the Manassas Gazette," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 26, 1872.
[26] "The Case of James F. Clark," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 27, 1872.
[27] Ibid.

Fannie Fewell became ill with anxiety after her return home, refusing to speak to anyone outside her family and closing off her testimony and further details until her recovery.[28] Due to Fannie's illness, the Fewell family delayed Clark's trial until she could tell her side of the story. Though Fannie Fewell refused to see the public and partake in an examination, she released a statement through Charles E. Sinclair. In it, she blamed Clark for her abduction, stating that Mrs. Hynson, a family friend in Manassas, had helped her in the elopement and was told that Clark had separated from his wife forever. Fannie refused to finish the statement as she broke down in excitement.[29] William S. Fewell prepared evidence for the upcoming trial, gathering testimonies from Benjamin Merchant and other witnesses who had watched Fannie board the train at Manassas the night she ran away. While the Fewell family prepared their case against James F. Clark, the accused remained in the Brentsville County Jail, waiting to prove his innocence. Held in a felon's cell, James Clark allowed newspaper personnel to enter the cell and talk to him about the affair, but he did nothing but assert his innocence. One reporter recounted his visit to Clark, noting how the man feared for his safety in the prison.

Clark's room contained little but a bed, a table, a fireplace, a tin wash bin, and two chairs. Clark claimed that Mr. Fewell and Fannie's older brother, Lucien Fewell, had

[28] "Telegraph News," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 27, 1872.
[29] "The Case of Jas. F. Clark," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 28, 1872.

not been friendly with him since his arrival at the prison. Clark stated that he knew the people of Manassas had turned against him since he first advocated for the removal of the courthouse of the county to Manassas. He cited this notion, rather than his plan of eloping with Fannie, as his reason for leaving the county abruptly. Clark noted the security of the prison, saying that the guards had no fear that he would escape and thus had put few officials on duty against the prisoner's request for additional protection. With only one jailer and no guards, Clark understood how easy it would be for someone to assassinate him but claimed that if anyone were to shoot first it would be him, as he did not fear personal harm while in prison.[30]

Though Clark's comments insinuated that he had no fear, he did worry about the repercussions from the Fewell family. Clark feared Lucien Fewell, who had a violent past, worrying that his safety in the prison was not as secure as he wanted to believe, as a drunken Lucien had been contained and brought back to his family home in Manassas after hearing assassination rumors. The man who had once spoken out for courage in the face of the enemy and respect for women in 1868 was now cowering in jail, accused of abducting the daughter of the town founder.

Lucien Norvell Fewell, born in May of 1854, grew up in Prince William County with his siblings, including his twin brother William Haydon Fewell.[31] Lucien served

[30] "The Case of Jas. F. Clark," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 29, 1872.
[31] Lucien Fewell and William Haydon Fewell are consistently listed as having the same month and year of birth and being of the same age. 1860 US Census.

in Company H of the 17th Virginia Infantry along with his father and twin brother, enlisting on April 6, 1862 as a private and serving in George Pickett's division at the age of seventeen.[32] As the boys began their military careers in the Civil War, William Haydon died on June 30, 1862 in the Battle of Frazier's Farm in Virginia.[33] Heartbroken, Lucien continued to fight at the Second Battle of Bull Run, where he believed he had killed Lieutenant Colonel Fred Pierson of the 1st New York Volunteer Infantry and picked up the fallen officer's sword. For years after the battle, Fewell worked desperately to find the relatives of Pierson, eventually trading them the sword for a double-barrel shotgun.[34] For the rest of the war, Lucien fought bravely with his fellow men until his capture outside of Bermuda Hundreds in 1864.[35] Captured on July 30, 1864, Lucien Fewell was transferred to Elmira Prison in New York on August 8, 1864. His father desperately searched for his son, putting ads in local papers seeking details on the whereabouts of Lucien. Lucien was eventually released from Elmira Prison on June 19, 1865, returning home to Manassas a changed man.[36] After witnessing the horror and

[32] "L. N. Fewell," Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865, accessed on Ancestry.com.
[33] "Company H: Names of Men Who Joined Company H, After September 1, 1861," *History of the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry C.S.A.* (Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Company, 1870), 299.
[34] Lucien N. Fewell to Henry L. Pierson, July 12, 1869.
[35] "Lynchburg, Va., Oct 18, 1864," *Richmond Enquirer,* October 20, 1864.
[36] "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Virginia: LN Fewell," The National Archives, accessed on Fold3.

carnage of the American Civil War, Lucien became disillusioned with combat and civilian life and frequently integrated the two. During his career as a soldier, Fewell had used violence to stay alive and kill his enemy, a mindset that he could not shed when he returned home.

Immediately following the Civil War, while his town rebuilt itself, Lucien ran into trouble with the law. On February 8, 1868, the case of the *Commonwealth of Virginia v. Lucien N. Fewell* began as George and Thomas Jones accused Lucien of assault and battery. George Jones claimed that Lucien struck him in the face with intent to kill him and "all the dammed Yankees about." Thomas recounted similar actions taken upon him, stating that Lucien planned on murdering both men. Lucien was found guilty of all charges and sentenced to pay a fine.[37] One month later, Lucien faced another charge of assault from James Brawner and W.S. Hynson. Both men recalled Lucien's attempts to murder them, and he was indicted once again.[38] May 12, 1869 brought another assault charge from L. L. Allen, who accused Lucien of assaulting him close to death outside of the town's Presbyterian Church. Again, Lucien was found guilty by the county court.[39] In

[37] Ronald Turner, "February 8, 1868*: Commonwealth of Virginia v. Lucian N. Fewell*," *Clerk's Lose Papers: Selected Transcripts 1811-1899*, vol. IV (Manassas: RELIC Bull Run Regional Library), 238-239.
[38] Turner, "March 14, 1868: *Commonwealth of Virginia v. Lucian N. Fewell*," *Clerk's Lose Papers*, vol. IV, 241.
[39] Ronald Turner, "May 12, 1869: *Commonwealth of Virginia v. Lucian N. Fewell*," *Clerk's Lose Papers: Selected Transcripts 1804-1899: Indictments, Juries, and Trials*, vol. III (Manassas: RELIC Bull Run Regional Library), 91.

1870, there was yet another charge against Lucien Fewell, as Elijah B. Georgia accused Fewell of beating him in front of his family with the intent to kill.[40] Despite all the charges, Lucien's Confederate military career allowed him to walk free, but he carried a reputation of violence.

Preparations for the trial pushed on as William S. Fewell and Charles E. Sinclair continued to gather evidence to convict Clark. Private letters between Fannie and Clark appeared and were held as evidence against Clark. The letters proved Clark's intentions in the matter, stating that he found her to be a beautiful young lady and a flirt.[41] Sinclair believed in Clark's guilt, stating that he deserved to be punished by the law but not by violence. William S. Fewell promised to not interfere with Clark during the trial but wished he had "blown Clark's brains out" when they arrested him.[42] William Fewell, overcome by grief, told the public that his daughter had fallen victim to a heinous plot that destroyed her reputation and that of the family. Details soon surfaced of Fannie being taken to Missouri before the marriage, where Clark robbed and abandoned her, angering the Fewell family further. The Fewells had the town's sympathy behind them as they pushed forward with the trial.

Tensions mounted between the Fewell family and James F. Clark with the emergence of more details and evidence against Clark, until the case hit a sudden climax

[40] Turner, "December 4, 1870: *Commonwealth of Virginia v. Lucian N. Fewell*," *Clerk's Lose Papers*, vol. III, 95.
[41] "James F. Clark," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 29, 1872.
[42] Ibid.

with the murder of James F. Clark by Lucien N. Fewell.[43] Before walking into the Brentsville jailhouse on August 31, 1872, Lucien N. Fewell's reputation for assault ran rampant through Manassas, making the news of Clark's murder shocking but not unexpected.

On the night of August 31, Lucien Fewell strolled into the Brentsville Jailhouse with no trouble. He found the front door open with only one jail attendant on duty, who pointed out to Fewell the cell that contained the cowering Clark. Fewell found Clark lying on his bed when he raised his gun through the bars of the cell. Clark, catching sight of the gun, jumped up and fled to the corner of the cell, pleading with Fewell not to shoot. The cries fell on deaf ears, as Lucien Fewell shot seven rounds through the cell door, mortally hitting Clark in the left breast and heart.[44] Clark threw everything in his cell at Lucien Fewell in a desperate attempt to save himself, but to no avail. Fewell fired his first three shots before help arrived for Clark and was firing his last shot when Major Thornton attempted to arrest him. Fewell left the jail and returned to Manassas, where he gave himself up to the authorities. Once Lucien was in jail, Judge Sinclair ordered eight men be placed outside the jail to act as guards, to keep Lucien from escaping, and to restrict those who might come in.[45] Back in the cell, Clark laid dying as those around him attempted to save him. Soon after he was shot, Clark was moved to a

[43] "The Clark Affair," *Alexandria Gazette,* August 31, 1872.
[44] Ibid.
[45] "The Clark-Fewell Tragedy," *Alexandria Gazette,* September 2, 1872.

new bed in a cell upstairs, where he died on September 2, 1872.[46]

Lucien Fewell, now held in the same cell in which he shot Clark, became anxious, stating that Clark had to pay for his actions and deserved death and refusing to rest until news of Clark's death came through. Lucien Fewell's primary examination began on September 2, attracting a large crowd from Prince William County whose sympathy lay with Fewell; most believed that Clark deserved assassination. Clark's family hired Charles E. Sinclair, J. Y. Menefee, and ex-Governor of Virginia Henry A. Wise to convict Lucien of murder, while William S. Fewell hired General Eppa Hunton, General William H. Payne, and Henry W. Thomas to represent his son.[47] Lucien Fewell had no fear of conviction, believing that he was justified in murdering Clark for abducting his sister and diminishing his family name.

Scheduled to begin trial in October, Lucien remained in prison, heavily guarded. After a few illnesses, Lucien Fewell began trial on October 7, 1872 in front of the biggest audience the county courthouse had ever seen. The trial, presided over by Judge Nicol and a carefully selected jury, began with a speech by General Hunton, who moved to wait until November to begin gathering proper

[46] "The Clark-Fewell Tragedy: Death of James F. Clark," *Alexandria Gazette*, September 3, 1872.
[47] "The Clark Affair," *Alexandria Gazette*, September 7, 1872; *The Bell Ringer* (Education and Research Committee of the Friends of Brentsville Courthouse Historic Centre Inc., February 2006), 4.

evidence.[48] Unaware of Clark's death and her brother's imprisonment, Fannie Fewell slowly began to speak up about her experiences to her counsel, blaming Clark solely for seducing and abducting her. This testimony needed to be gathered before the trial could properly begin, and it was approved to be pushed back a month. Forced to wait another month in jail, Lucien decided to attempt escape on October 20 but ultimately failed.[49]

At last, the trial commenced on November 6, 1862 with the opening statements from both sides. The jury for the trial came from the Prince William County, and most had developed a predisposed notion about the case but swore to base their judgments solely on the evidence.[50] These opinions, however, played a role in the result of the trial as the jurors knew the prominent Fewell family and understood the pain brought upon them by the actions of James F. Clark. The defense based their arguments on the notion that Lucien Fewell lost control of himself due to the angst and grief that overcame him, leading him to uncontrollably shoot Clark.[51]

The trial continued, hearing evidence from Lucien Fewell, Major Thornton, Benjamin Merchant, and Miss Fannie Fewell. During the trial, the last details regarding the elopement of Fannie and James Clark arose. Clark took

[48] "The Fewell Case: Speech of General Hunton—Murder Trial," *Alexandria Gazette,* October 8, 1872.
[49] "Letter from Brentsville," *Alexandria Gazette,* October 21, 1872.
[50] "The Fewell Trial," *Alexandria Gazette,* November 2, 1872.
[51] "Prince William County Items," *Alexandria Gazette,* November 2, 1872.

Fannie to New Mexico, Missouri, where he left her with no money, and returned to Washington, D.C. Fannie, with the help and financial aid of the hotel owner, tracked Clark down in Washington, where he robbed her again, leaving her in the Boyles Hotel where Benjamin Merchant found her days later.[52] Letters exchanged between Fannie and James Clark proved to the jury that the elopement was planned and that Clark had romantic feelings for Fannie while married to his wife Mary, with whom he had two daughters.[53] Fannie Fewell's testimony became the most important piece of evidence against Clark, as she blatantly blamed him for the elopement. She included the aliases Clark used to travel with, as he changed both his and Fannie's names several times for hotel records. This secrecy proved to the jury that Clark planned his actions and did so in a manner to not be discovered by the public or the Fewell family. Fannie blamed Mrs. Hynson, the family friend who aided her elopement, for the content of the love letters written to Clark, pushing all the blame off her in an attempt to salvage her reputation.[54]

After Fannie's testimony, Judge Nicol made it clear that if the jury found Lucien Fewell as having suffered from temporary insanity, he would be acquitted of all charges. Following the testimony, instructions were given to the jury to follow in the decision of the case. These instructions dictated that if the jury believed that the "act complained was the offspring or product of mental disease

[52] "The Fewell Trial," *Alexandria Gazette*, November 2, 1872.
[53] "The Fewell Trial," *Alexandria Gazette*, November 9, 1872.
[54] "The Fewell Trial," *Alexandria Gazette*, November 10, 1872.

in the prisoner," then the delusion in the planning and execution of the murder would not render Fewell responsible for the act.[55] Thus, on November 13, 1872, Lucien N. Fewell was acquitted of the murder of James F. Clark on the basis of insanity and disease of the mind. The jury declared Fewell temporarily insane, claiming that he suffered from "diseases of the mind, [that left him] so affected thereby as to render him irresponsible for such [an] act."[56] Lucien's brave and heroic actions during the Civil War may have also influenced the jury, as they could have found it difficult to convict a man who fought nobly for Confederate Virginia. Demands of Southern honor played a large role in his acquittal, as the customs of the time demanded a response to the damage upon Fannie's reputation, a response given by Lucien's vicious actions against Clark. Lucien Fewell was released from prison to a large and applauding crowd, welcomed with congratulations as he made his way home to Manassas.[57]

Lucien continued to suffer from "temporary insanity," as his criminal actions did not dissipate following his 1872 acquittal. The following year, Lucien Fewell was charged with assaulting and stabbing Charles L. Hynson, the husband of James Clark's aid in kidnapping Fannie. Fewell was charged with attempted murder but found not

[55] "The Fewell Trial," *Alexandria Gazette*, November 13, 1872.
[56] "The End of the Fewell Trial: Acquittal of the Prisoner," *Alexandria Gazette*, November 14, 1872.
[57] "The Argument in the Fewell Case," *Alexandria Gazette*, November 15, 1872.

guilty based on insanity.[58] Fewell then assaulted his own wife, Sarah E. Fewell, and was charged with assault by Charles Brawner in 1876. This offense landed Lucien in prison, but he was released once again due to temporary insanity.[59] Sarah left Lucien Fewell not long after the assault, and he married Mary Jane Maples in 1880. Lucien decided to move to New Mexico to raise his two children with Mary,[60] but his new home did not keep him from legal trouble.

The Baltimore Sun reported that Lucien Fewell had been arrested in Santa Fe for the murder of several men and was in jail awaiting trial in 1888.[61] Acquitted, Lucien began work as a carpenter in New Mexico before accepting a job as a stagecoach driver.[62] He was fired and given the nickname "Piston John" for shooting at men while driving.[63] Lucien's final act of assault came in 1900 when he pleaded guilty to assault with the intent of murder and was sentenced to two years in prison.[64] From there, Lucien Norvell Fewell disappeared from the record books, dying sometime before 1910.

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[58] Turner, "December 10, 1873: Commonwealth of Virginia v. Lucian N. Fewell," *Clerk's Lose Papers*, vol. III (Manassas: RELIC Bull Run Regional Library), 116.
[59] Turner, "Commonwealth v. Lucien N. Fewell," *Clerk's Lose Papers*, vol. III (Manassas: RELIC Bull Run Regional Library), 110.
[60] 1890 US Census, accessed on Ancestry.com.
[61] "Items from Piedmont, Virginia," *Baltimore Sun*, January 9, 1888.
[62] 1890 US Census.
[63] *New Mexican* (Santa Fe, New Mexico), April 21, 1893; *New Mexican*, March 2, 1894.
[64] *Albuquerque Daily Citizen*, October 1, 1900.

Lucien Fewell lived a life filled with criminal charges and murder, all caused by his experiences during the American Civil War. With the loss of his twin brother, his desperate and remorseful search for the family of the man he killed in battle, and his capture by Union forces, Lucien most likely suffered from combat-induced mental illness and may have been unaware of what he was doing during the acts. Civil War battlefield combat was often concentrated and personal, as most troops fought on the ground facing their enemy at close distances. Lucien suffered for almost three years in combat, witnessing the death of his twin brother along with numerous other comrades, and he experienced poor health and living conditions while at Elmira Prison. This intense exposure to trauma caused Lucien to suffer from mental illness for the rest of his life, leading him to become a violent and viscous person at times. Lucien's life following the Civil War was filled with anguish, violence, and tragedy, and he took his problems out on the citizens of Prince William County.

Lucien's experience during the Reconstruction Era was not uncommon, as many Civil War veterans suffered from combat-induced psychological trauma. Following the war, soldiers returned home with the notion that mental illness equated to manly weakness or underlying physical ailments and thus shied away from society or acted out to prove their manliness. The Civil War generation did not fully understand the concept of insanity and mental illness and often did not know how to treat those who suffered

from post-combat trauma.[65] Known as "irritable heart," mental illness ran rampant wih the veterans of the American Civil War, and conditions were so wretched that men often suffered until they experienced some type of psychological breakdown.[66] Many noticed that veterans were sometimes strangely silent or experienced inexplicable bursts of rage and violence.[67]

For many men, the American Civil War was their first exposure to death, battle, and tragedy, as well as the shock, sounds, and horrific sights associated with war.[68] While soldiers suffered horrible hygiene and physical conditions, studies have found that prisoners of war also dealt with the difficult conditions of boredom, physical cruelty, disease, deprivation, and significant weight loss, resulting in psychological problems that lingered and intensified for years after the end of the war.[69] Prisoners of war were frequently kept in close quarters next to each other, which was fine at the beginning of the war when they were only kept for a few days before being returned or exchanged back to familiar faces. In the later years of the Civil War, however, the men were no longer quickly or routinely returned to their own side of the war but remained

[65] Eric T. Dean Jr., "'We Will All Be Lost and Destroyed:' Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Civil War," *Civil War History* 37, no 2 (June 1991): 139.
[66] Ibid., 142.
[67] Ibid., 150.
[68] Eric T. Dean Jr., *Shook Over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress, Vietnam, and the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 70.
[69] Dean, *Shook Over Hell*, 81.

in prison camps until they died or were set free at the end of the war. Prisoners were frequently abused in the camps, adding to their psychological trauma.[70] These experiences in the Civil War lead to the exposure to intense scenes of death and suffering that produced a variety of stress reactions in soldiers and prisoners of war. These stress reactions caused men to suffer from flashbacks, extreme anxiety, depression, nightmares, cognitive disorders, and, in some cases, extreme violence.[71] The violence of the Civil War quickly spilled into civilian life, as soldiers who were trained to kill threw off the restraints of society and accepted a disillusioned life of increased violence. This led to an increase in crime around the nation during the era of Reconstruction.[72]

Leaving his family in Manassas for the warfront certainly affected Lucien Fewell. The tragic death of his twin brother just months after joining the army was traumatizing, and it was made worse when Lucien had to leave him behind on the battlefield. Although Civil War soldiers frequently adjusted to war and the deaths of comrades, many expressed great emotion when the victim was a close friend or family member.[73] Lucien continued to fight, feeling remorseful and guilty due to his role in the death of a Union stranger. After several more months, Lucien was taken from his surrogate family of Company H to Elmira Prison, facing harsh conditions all while being

[70] Ibid., 82.
[71] Ibid., 87.
[72] Ibid., 98-99.
[73] Ibid., 73.

surrounded by death and disease. These events in Lucien Fewell's Civil War career left him a scarred man, and he returned home filled with violence, rage, and disappointment over the loss of his brother and his nation. James Clark gave Lucien the perfect outlet for such anger, as Clark not only attacked his sister's reputation but the reputation of his family and fallen brother. Deemed "insane," Fewell got off with murder when no one could understand the processes running through his mind. This was the reality for many veterans who returned home from witnessing first-hand the carnage and destruction of the American Civil War. With no outlet for their mental illness, many went into solitude or acted out in violence as Lucien Fewell did in Manassas, Virginia.

Following the Fewell Trial of 1872, the town of Manassas continued to grow and prosper. The town became incorporated in 1873, officially becoming a town in Prince William County, Virginia. In 1892, the county seat moved from Brentsville to Manassas, just years after the incarceration of James Clark and Lucien Fewell. Fannie Fewell married James Edgar Trimmer in 1874, changing her name to Frances Sanford Trimmer to conceal her tarnished reputation.[74] She had four children before dying from exhaustion in 1914. William S. Fewell and his new wife, Virginia, moved from Manassas to Alexandria in 1881, leaving behind the town he founded as well as the place that ruined his family's name.[75]

[74] 1880 US Census.
[75] 1890 US Census.

Reconstruction hit the Fewell family with great force, as the family founded Manassas but dealt with the abduction of their daughter and the murder trial of their trauma-stricken son. Manassas during Reconstruction was not unlike the rest of the former Confederacy in that it dealt with the physical and psychological wounds of a post-war America. Manassas suffered physically and psychologically during Reconstruction, as the town continued to work on rebuilding infrastructure and learned to deal with its citizens suffering from war-caused mental illnesses. Manassas during Reconstruction was a place of growing and learning, and the town learned more about those living in it, as well as how to function as a town. The Fewell-Clark Affair tested the town's citizens in supporting two of the most prominent families within its borders during a time of rebuilding and change. The Fewell trail tested Manassas'—as well as Prince William County's—ability to handle its citizens' suffering from war-related mental illnesses, as they worked on incorporating Civil War veterans back into society. Manassas rebuilt its town, memorialized the dead who fought in the battle with a new cemetery and battlefield, and worked to help those still suffering from its effects psychologically and physically as they returned home. The experience of the Fewell family is much like that of the United States during Reconstruction: stricken by tragedy but continuously growing.

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"ALTOONA WAS HIS, AND FAIRLY WON": PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE ALTOONA GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 1862

Kees Thompson

When the first shells blasted into the walls of Fort Sumter in April 1861, the doors of the starting gate flew open, and the dogs of war finally sprung free as the American Civil War commenced. Immediately, the Commander-in-Chief went to work. While coordinating with U.S. Secretary of War Simon Cameron to reinforce the southern border, he called upon his citizens to take up arms and enlist. He ordered the presidents of the local railroads to halt all shipments of "contraband" heading south, and he instructed telegraph lines to cease all communication that included troop movements. To lead the troops, he tapped Captain George B. McClellan, known as a wunderkind in military circles. To solidify strategy, the chief called on all of the western governors for a conference in Cleveland to discuss war strategy and an invasion of the South. Furthermore, he aggressively supported the separatist movement in western Virginia, stationing an army at the border under McClellan, who later invaded, routed the lingering Confederate forces, and secured the government of what would become the new state of West Virginia.[1]

[1] William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), 158-59, 162-63; *The War of the Rebellion: A*

Much has been written and debated about the "war powers" of President Abraham Lincoln, especially in the first months of his presidency before Congress convened. But the aforementioned actions were not justified by the President's war powers, as they were not taken by President Lincoln at all; rather, the leader described above is actually William Dennison Jr., Governor and "Commander-in-Chief" of the state of Ohio at the outset of the Civil War. Even as one of the more ineffective governors, especially in managing finances and organizing the state militia, Governor Dennison still clearly wielded an enormous amount of power, not only in his own state but nationally. Indeed, at the start of the war, the Union was truly that: a union of (the remaining) states who at times acted independently yet whose power was always compounded when they acted in concert. The culmination of this united power and influence was supposed to manifest itself at the Loyal War Governors' Conference of September 1862.

Also called the "Altoona Conference" for its location at the central Pennsylvania railroad junction, the gathering has mostly been relegated to the footnotes of history, largely forgotten in the grand narratives of the Civil War and the Lincoln administration. Indeed, events immediately preceding the gathering—most notably the

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Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Cornell University Library, 1880-1901), series 3, I, 101-04; Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Her Generals, and Soldiers* (New York: Moore, Wilstach, and Baldwin, 1868), 1: 41-42; Richard H. Abbott, *Ohio's War Governors* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1962), 18-19.

"victory" at the Battle of Antietam and the subsequent announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation—seemingly rendered the conference moot. When it is mentioned, the Altoona Conference is characterized as another one of the war's "close calls" in which President Lincoln escaped an organized revolt of his governors by the favorable preceding events. Lincoln did surely respect the prestige and power, both military and political, of the governors. Nevertheless, this paper suggests that, far from a surprise obstacle, the Altoona Conference was partly the contrivance of Lincoln himself, who intended for it to be linked to the Emancipation Proclamation and have it serve as a political buttress for his most controversial presidential order.[2]

In order to properly assess the motivation for, and significance of, the conference, it is important to first examine the context of the conference and Lincoln's relationship with the governors. At the outset of the war, most Northern states and their governors were extremely enthusiastic about the war, with their constituents enlisting in droves. In fact, the state of Ohio raised men so quickly that there was no way to house or feed them all, and they sat idly in the state capital, awaiting orders. The War Department under Simon Cameron scrambled to gather supplies and organize the mass of militia units scattered across the cities of the North, yet it suffered from a fatal lack of efficiency, especially in the face of complaints from

[2] Tarring S. Davis and Lucile Shenk, eds. *A History of Blair County Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: National Historical Association, 1931), 1: 90.

leaders in every state, each with his own opinion on the correct course of action for both his army and the effort as a whole. Each governor acted like a distinct "war minister" with duties stretching from raising war funds to retrieving the bodies of dead constituents to commissioning officers in the regiments from his state. This last duty triggered much friction with the War Department, as patronage became a political battleground as the war progressed and the armies of the nation became increasingly nationalized.[3]

Nevertheless, all of the enthusiasm that burst forth after Fort Sumter dwindled as the months dragged on, and it was all but trampled after the First Battle of Bull Run, when it became clear that the war would not simply be a glorious march straight into Richmond. By the early months of 1862, the governors and Lincoln Administration were at a near stalemate over recruiting. The Radical Republican governors, especially those in New England led by the fiery John Andrew of Massachusetts, blamed Lincoln's policies for slow recruiting numbers as well as the overall lack of progress in the war. The Radicals argued that the dearth of enthusiasm stemmed from an uninspiring foundation for the war itself; a public commitment that the war was one definitively fought to erase the evil of slavery

[3] Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 148-154; Reid, *Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Her Generals, and Soldiers*, 1: 28; William B. Weeden, *War Government, Federal and State, in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Indiana, 1861-1865* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906), xi-xii; Stephen Engle, *All the President's Statesmen: Northern Governors and the American Civil War*, ed. A. Kristen Foster, Frank L. Klement Lectures 15 (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2006), 11.

would demoralize the South and rally the North in spirit and manpower, leading to victory. Moreover, they desired a purge of the army, replacing moderate or Democratic generals such as McClellan with those such as John C. Fremont, who was the darling of the Radicals for his attempts to implement emancipation in Missouri against the will of Lincoln. McClellan was detested by the Radicals, who saw him as wholly incompetent and who were outraged by his public stance against the emancipation of slaves.[4]

Lincoln had to resist the Radicals, although he shared in some of their sentiments. Lincoln was by no means ambivalent towards slavery, yet he was wary of sudden, widespread emancipation across the nation. More importantly, Lincoln was held in check by perpetual fear of the reactions of the borders states; in many ways, the war, and even the fate of the capital, rested on their placation. But the Radicals, who controlled Congress, were constantly attempting to ram through legislation to remold the war effort into more of an abolitionist crusade. Lincoln, ever the compromiser in a manner that would make his idol Henry Clay proud, attempted to combat the wave of abolitionist fervor with a moderate plan for compensated emancipation. Although compensated emancipation was approved for

[4] Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 242; William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf, "The Altoona Conference and the Emancipation Proclamation," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 71, no. 3 (July 1947): 196; Alexander K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times: Some Personal Recollections of War and Politics during the Lincoln Administration* (Philadelphia: Times Publishing, 1892), 91.

Washington D.C., Lincoln's plan was met with disdain from both sides of the issue, especially in in the Border States.[5]

By the summer of 1862, tensions between Lincoln and the Radicals were rising with each passing day. After McClellan's Peninsula Campaign ended in utter failure, additional troops were needed more than ever, yet the governors seemed indifferent to this new call for troops, which simply joined the continual stream of calls sent throughout the year. Even when Washington itself was supposedly threatened by General Stonewall Jackson, response from the governors was sluggish. Thus, Lincoln knew he must incite the governors politically. Secretary of State Seward, acting in concert with Lincoln, left Washington in late June of 1862 to personally call on the mayors of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston in an apparent attempt to bypass the governors and enlist the help of the mayors.[6]

The governors were greatly alarmed by this development, fearing the power that would shift to Lincoln if he were able to recruit without his "war ministers." Andrew Curtin, the pro-Lincoln governor of Pennsylvania, intervened on behalf of his fellow leaders and met with Seward while the Secretary was in New York. In a meeting

[5] Abraham Lincoln, *Speeches and Writings: 1859-1865*, ed. Don E. Fehrenbacher (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1989), 585-6; McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times*, 92; Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 242-244; John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York: Century, 1890), 109-11.

[6] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, 113, 117-19.

on June 30, 1862, at the Astor House, Governor Curtin, Seward, and Governor Morgan of New York agreed that the raising of troops was a gubernatorial prerogative, and the governors agreed to affix their signatures to a public letter, pre-written for them by Seward and Lincoln, stating a belief that "the decisive moment [of the war] is near at hand" and explicitly asking President Lincoln to call for more reinforcements. This letter was then sent out to the other governors, eighteen of whom signed the letterS some even delivered the letters personally to the thankful President. [7]

Nevertheless, Andrew Curtin was not just another one of the many governors with whom Lincoln and his Cabinet had to deal in order to conduct the war effort. Rather, Curtin and Lincoln were political allies, and the President counted this particular governor as somewhat of a confidant. Indeed, Curtin biographer Alexander McClure, himself an influential Republican politician and patronage-wielder in Pennsylvania, wrote:

> Many circumstances combined to bring Lincoln and Curtin into the closest official and personal relations from Lincoln's [presidential] nomination until his death…the nomination of Lincoln was made possible by two men – Henry S. Lane of Indiana and Curtin of Pennsylvania…The

[7] Hesseltine and Wolf, "The Altoona Conference and the Emancipation Proclamation," 197-99; *Official Records,* series 3, I, 181-82.

> appointment of [Curtin's in-state rival] Cameron to the Lincoln Cabinet was regarded by Curtin as unfortunate, and would have made very strained relations between [them] had not both been singularly generous in all their impulses and actions…there was never a shadow upon the relations of these two men. Curtin was profoundly loyal and an enthusiast in everything pertaining to the war.[8]

Thus, when Seward met with Curtin in New York, the governor was naturally a willing participant in the ploy to aid his Commander-in-Chief. The success of the governors' call for more troops—eventually allowing Lincoln to settle on asking for an astounding 300,000 more troops—was not likely lost on either man, especially looking toward the future, with Lincoln's relationship with the other governors unlikely to ameliorate because of the lingering dissension over war strategy.[9]

With the failure of Lincoln's attempts at seeking a compromise regarding emancipation and increased pressure from Radicals in Congress, the President began to chart a new course. In late June of 1862, Lincoln undertook the drafting of his Emancipation Proclamation; a month later, Lincoln called together his Cabinet and surprised them with his draft of the document. The following discussion

[8] McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times*, 232.
[9] William Marvel, *Lincoln's Darkest Year: The War in 1862* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2008), 81-83.

revealed a deeply divided Cabinet, much more so than Lincoln had anticipated. Much of the criticism surrounded the timing of the document, with Secretary Seward warning of its possible effect on European nations eager to intervene in the conflict. Thus, unbeknownst to the public or the governors at large, Lincoln's draft for emancipation was tucked quietly into his desk, awaiting an opportune moment.[10]

In early September, a panic swept the North. Confederate General Robert E. Lee, emboldened by recent victories and hoping to influence the coming elections in the North, invaded Maryland. Furthermore, to the outrage of many of the Northern Governors, as well as his Cabinet, Lincoln restored the cashiered McClellan to his command. Secretary Chase, who as a Radical had no love for the General and believed he "ought to be shot," led a group of Cabinet members in a confrontation with Lincoln in which they delivered a signed protest regarding McClellan's service. Lincoln was forced to defend McClellan, arguing that he was best equipped for defensive tactics in the area. Furthermore, Lincoln had not only once again rejected calls for the admittance of African-American soldiers, but he openly threatened the governors with a possible national draft.[11]

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[10]Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 247-48; Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America*, 118-24.

[11]Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 478-79; Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 250-52.

With events unraveling in the capital, Governor Andrew called a clandestine meeting of the New England governors. Under the auspices of attendance at the commencement ceremony of Brown University in Providence, five of the six New England governors met with three representatives from the National War Committee, a newly established, Radical-dominated committee based in New York. The governors discussed their views on the war as well as the President's policies and Cabinet. After much discussion, those in attendance formally agreed that "the unanimous choice of New England was for a change of the cabinet and a change in the generals" and sent the New York delegates to Washington to convey their message. The delegates, upon their arrival, met with Lincoln personally, yet they immediately clashed with the President, who accused them of a zealous hatred for Seward and dismissed their pleas as immaterial.[12]

Lincoln was not wrong in his characterization of the Radicals' feelings towards his Secretary of State; the Radical wing of the party had distrusted Seward since the crisis at Ft. Sumter and the day his stint as Secretary of State began. Specifically, they charged him with being too complacent and conciliatory in his negotiations with the South, paralleling the complacent McClellan, whom he championed. Likewise, they believed Seward was the greatest obstacle preventing the Lincoln Administration from fully embracing abolitionism. This impression of

[12] Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 252-53; Hesseltine and Wolf, "The Altoona Conference and the Emancipation Proclamation," 199.

Seward was linked to the popular Radical belief that Lincoln was ineffectual as president and was simply the political puppet of Seward. Joseph Medill, a prominent Republican as the editor of the partisan *Chicago Tribune*, wrote: "Seward must be got out of the Cabinet. He is Lincoln's evil genius. He has been President *de facto*, and has kept a sponge of chloroform to Uncle Abe's nose all the while, except one or two brief spells…" Thus, Lincoln's vehement defense of Seward to the New York delegates did nothing to assuage the New England governors' fears of Lincoln's inefficacy as the leader of his administration.[13]

It was in this contentious climate, perhaps the "darkest hour of the war," that the idea for a meeting of all of the governors of the loyal states began to emerge. Governor Andrew, incensed over Lincoln's rebuff of the New York delegates, arrogantly claimed to an acquaintance that he was "sadly but firmly trying to organize some movement, if possible, to save the president from the infamy of ruining our country." But Governor Andrew was not alone in his sentiment. Leaders across the nation, mostly Radicals, welcomed the idea of a governors' conference, one whose result Lincoln would actually listen to and perhaps even trigger his resignation. Indeed, there was no denying that the unofficial grumblings for the

[13] David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 401; Frederic Bancroft, *The Life of William H. Seward* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899), 2: 361-64.

conference had a distinct Radical and anti-Lincoln air about them.[14]

Governor Curtin, a disciple of Lincoln's more moderate approach to issues such as emancipation and the Border States, was suspicious of the plans brewing and believed that the governors should convene, not to assail the President but to show their support. The first official mention of the conference appeared when Governor Curtin contacted Governor Andrew in early September of 1862.[15] Governor Curtin's message was simple: "In the present emergency, would it not be well if the loyal governors should meet at some point in the Border States to take measures for a more active support of the government?" Andrew, who could not refuse such an offer and then subsequently call for a conference himself, replied that he would indeed attend such a conference. Within a week, an

[14] Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 253.

[15] Sources seem to conflict over the timing and the context of the original conception of the official Altoona Conference. Several reputable sources claim that the inspiration was born back when Governor Curtin was in New York alongside Secretary Seward. Most allude to the account of John Russell Young, who wrote an excerpt entitled "Curtin and the Altoona Conference" for William Egle's 1896 biography of Curtin. Young supposedly consulted an account by Governor Austin Blair of Michigan for his information on the entire conference. But Governor Blair was unable to attend the conference itself, and it seems more likely that the incorrect assumption of the inspiration occurring in New York stems from a misinterpretation of Governor Curtin's letter to A.K. McClure dated Feb. 16, 1892 (partly reproduced below). By neglecting the wording in "Governor Andrew *afterward* acquiesced, and I *then wrote* him…" (emphasis added), one could mistakenly assume that Curtin's and Andrew's correspondence occurred in a single event—coinciding with Curtin's meeting with Seward in New York on June 30-July 1, 1862.

invitation was sent out to all of the governors from Curtin as well as two of his fellow moderate governors: David Tod of Ohio and Francis Harrison Pierpont of West Virginia.[16]

Attendance at the conference was impressive, considering the ten day notice and the present situation in many of the states, with governors from the Midwest to New England to the Border States. Nevertheless, very few sparks flew when all of the delegates first assembled in the Logan House on September 24. Civil War historian William Hesseltine argues that the victory at Antietam and subsequent Emancipation Proclamation, announced a mere day before the conference, completely took the wind out of the sails of the conference. He writes:

> Hence the governors assembled in Altoona with the Emancipation Proclamation hanging over them. The astute Lincoln had cut the ground from under the Radicals, and, politicians as they all were, they knew it. Governor Curtin, with an uncontrollable twinkle in his eye, met his colleagues…[who included] Tod…and Pierpont, a New England delegation of Maine's Israel Washburne, Rhode Island's William Sprague, and New Hampshire's Nathaniel Berry, a Midwestern group consisting of Illinois's Yates, Wisconsin's Edward Saloman, and Iowa's Samuel

[16] Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 254.

> Kirkwood, while Maryland's Augustus Bradford and New Jersey's Charles Olden represented eastern moderates. Indiana's Oliver P. Morton had sent one D.J. Rose as his personal representative. New York's Edwin D. Morgan…had refused to attend. Connecticut's William Buckingham was still enroute, and Michigan's Austin Blair was…too busy…to journey to Altoona.[17]

Hesseltine argues that, despite the later defensive protests from Republicans and even, once, from Lincoln himself, the impending conference was extremely influential in forcing the Emancipation Proclamation out of the desk of Lincoln, or at least in its timing; with the threat of a united front of governors against him looming, like that emerging from their previous gathering in Providence, Lincoln was forced to maneuver, albeit skillfully, and "cut the ground" from under the Radicals.[18]

By examining the account written by Governor Curtin himself, however, we see a different picture of the conference—and Lincoln's relationship with his governors—emerge. Instead of fearing the conference of his governors as if it was some sort of attempted "Second Hartford Convention," as claimed later by the bitter Democratic press, Lincoln actually embraced the idea of a conference. Writing a letter years afterward to his good

[17]Hesseltine and Wolf, "The Altoona Conference and the Emancipation Proclamation," 202.
[18] Ibid., 196, 199-202.

friend and political ally Alexander McClure, Curtin recollected:

> [After agreeing to the conference and dispensing invitations]… Governor Andrew, Governor Tod, and myself consulted Mr. Lincoln, and he highly approved of our purpose. In that interview he did not attempt to conceal the fact that we were upon the eve of an Emancipation policy, and he had from us the assurance that the Altoona conference would cordially endorse such a policy. All that was done at the Altoona conference had the positive approval of President Lincoln in advance, and he well understood that the whole purpose of the movement was to strengthen his hands and support the bolder policy that all then knew was inevitable. The address presented to Mr. Lincoln from the Altoona conference was prepared by Governor Andrew and myself. I did not then doubt that it would lose us the coming election in Pennsylvania, and so said to Mr. Lincoln, but I believed that the country then knew what the war was about, and that it was time to bring slavery to the front as the great issue.[19]

[19] McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times*, 270-72.

In this view, Lincoln was not forced to deviate from his plans based on the conference nor outmaneuver his own "war ministers." Rather, Lincoln acted in a manner he so desired from his generals: he observed the looming possibility of a governors' conference as an opportunity and marched out to meet it head-on, welcoming it and converting it into an advantage. Thus, the conference became a boon for Lincoln, shoring up support immediately after his issuance of the document which would earn him the moniker "The Great Emancipator."[20]

The "address" to which Curtin refers is the final result of the discussions of the conference, which was published in newspapers as well as presented to Lincoln himself in person. Although there was some discussion of divisive topics such as the judgment of those in command, with the radicals still out for the blood of McClellan, the final document amounted to a simple yet stalwart proclamation in favor of Lincoln's most recent actions, with the exception of the reinstatement of McClellan, who was not mentioned anywhere in the document. In the address, the Emancipation Proclamation was officially supported, although it was far from worshipped by the Radicals such Andrew, who later called it "a poor *document*," rife with strategic blunders, "but still a mighty act." Other provisions included those that expressed direct loyalty to the President and his constitutional war powers, asked him to raise and hold 100,000 men in reserve for emergencies, and, of course, celebrated the heroism of the

[20] Engle, *All the President's Statesmen,* 21.

Union soldiers. Although not all of the governors affixed their signatures, including the elected chairman of the conference, Governor Bradford, who heeded the desires of his Border State constituents, twelve governors signed it that day, with more afterwards, as some non-attending governors endorsed it after it was sent to them. Indeed, the mostly non-divisive final document could not have been written better by Lincoln himself, who would benefit from the united address of the governors endorsing his Emancipation Proclamation.[21]

Following the two-day conference, the attending governors traveled to Washington and met with the President in the White House on September 26. The meeting began with an uncomfortable level of courtesy yet was actually highly productive, as Lincoln listened patiently to the governors' suggestions on a myriad of issues dealing with the logistics of the war effort, many times even requesting written recommendations from the governors. As the long interview progressed, the effects of emancipation were discussed as was the war effort. Finally, Governor Kirkwood of Iowa expressed concern over General McClellan, the lack of confidence he engendered around the nation, and even Lincoln's own ability to control him. In an account written nearly thirty years after the fact, Governor Kirkwood recounts his version of both the conference at Altoona and the resulting meeting with

[21]Davis and Shenk, eds. *A History of Blair County Pennsylvania*, 1: 91; William H. Egle and John Russell Young, *Life and Times of Andrew Gregg Curtin* (Philadelphia: Thompson Publishing, 1896), 318-20; Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, 256.

President Lincoln at the White House. On approaching discussion of the contentious issue of McClellan's command, Kirkwood writes:

> I said to the President that I spoke only for the Iowa people; that in their judgment, Gen. McClellan was unfit to command his army; that his army was well clothed, well armed, well disciplined, were fighting in a cause as good as men ever fought for, and fought as bravely as men ever fought, and yet were continually whipped, and our people did not think he was a good general who was always whipped. Mr. Lincoln smiled in his genial way and said "You Iowa people, then, judge generals as you do lawyers, by their success in trying cases." I replied, "Yes, something like that; the lawyer who is always losing his cases especially when he was right and had justice on his side, don't get much practice in Iowa."[22]

Nevertheless, the tone of the discussion shifted starkly when Kirkwood pressed Lincoln, even going so far as to suggest that "the administration [was] afraid to remove Gen. McClellan." Lincoln, with incredible calmness and tact, stated: "If I believed our cause would be

[22] Henry Warren Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa's War Governor* (Iowa City: Author, 1893), 229.

benefited by removing General McClellan tomorrow, I would remove him tomorrow. I do not believe so today, but if the time shall come when I shall so believe, I will remove him promptly, and not till then." Thus, directly, honestly, and laying out his full intentions before him—paralleling the development of the Altoona Conference—Lincoln deftly won over the situation, ending the meeting after that very statement.[23]

The view of the Altoona Conference as a more open and direct contrivance departs from those that depict the conference and its surrounding events as yet another lucky escape by Lincoln from a political disaster. But it does not necessarily signify that Lincoln was any more or less politically savvy. In Hesseltine's interpretation of events, Lincoln faced a daunting showdown yet managed to not only avoid losing the Border States or being steamrolled by the Radicals but also to transform the situation into one in which the governors reinforced him and personally handed him a mandate on one of his most decisive decisions. In this essay's view, in which Lincoln welcomed the conference, he is blessed with tremendous foresight, recognizing opportunity in a conference of governors before its conception. Furthermore, if Lincoln was being truthful when Republicans, in the face of staunch Democratic conspiracy theories regarding the Emancipation Proclamation, extracted from him the statement, "I never thought of the governors at all. When

[23]Hesseltine and Wolf, "The Altoona Conference and the Emancipation Proclamation," 203-04; Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* 230; Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors,* 260.

Lee came over the Potomac, I made a resolve that if McClellan drove him back I would send the Proclamation after him," then he certainly is the consummate genius of political engineering—or at least the luckiest.[24]

But this revised view of the Altoona Conference and its connection to Lincoln's actions raises numerous tantalizing questions. What did Lincoln expect the political climate to be like for the conference, considering he so thoroughly embraced the idea of the conference in the war's darkest hour? Was he somehow certain of McClellan's impending victory, even though it would eventually hinge on the improbable discovery of Lee's strategic plans for his Maryland Campaign? If not, and without a victory to hang it on, how could Lincoln have promised governors such as Curtin that the release of the Emancipation Proclamation was imminent? Perhaps it is possible that the Altoona Conference was even Lincoln's reserve card: grandly announcing emancipation alongside his united "war ministers" at their conference of unyielding support for the Union cause could be a powerful statement. In fact, maybe the Altoona Conference would have become *the* decisive event instead of Antietam, with endless scholarship analyzing every key moment. The Altoona Conference, although remaining a footnote in history, seemingly raises more questions than answers. But these are questions that allow us to better investigate and attempt to understand the motivations and decisions of certainly

[24] Hesseltine and Wolf, "The Altoona Conference and the Emancipation Proclamation," 195.

one of the most enigmatic leaders in our nation’s history, a true political general, and his approach towards a most precarious expedition.

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