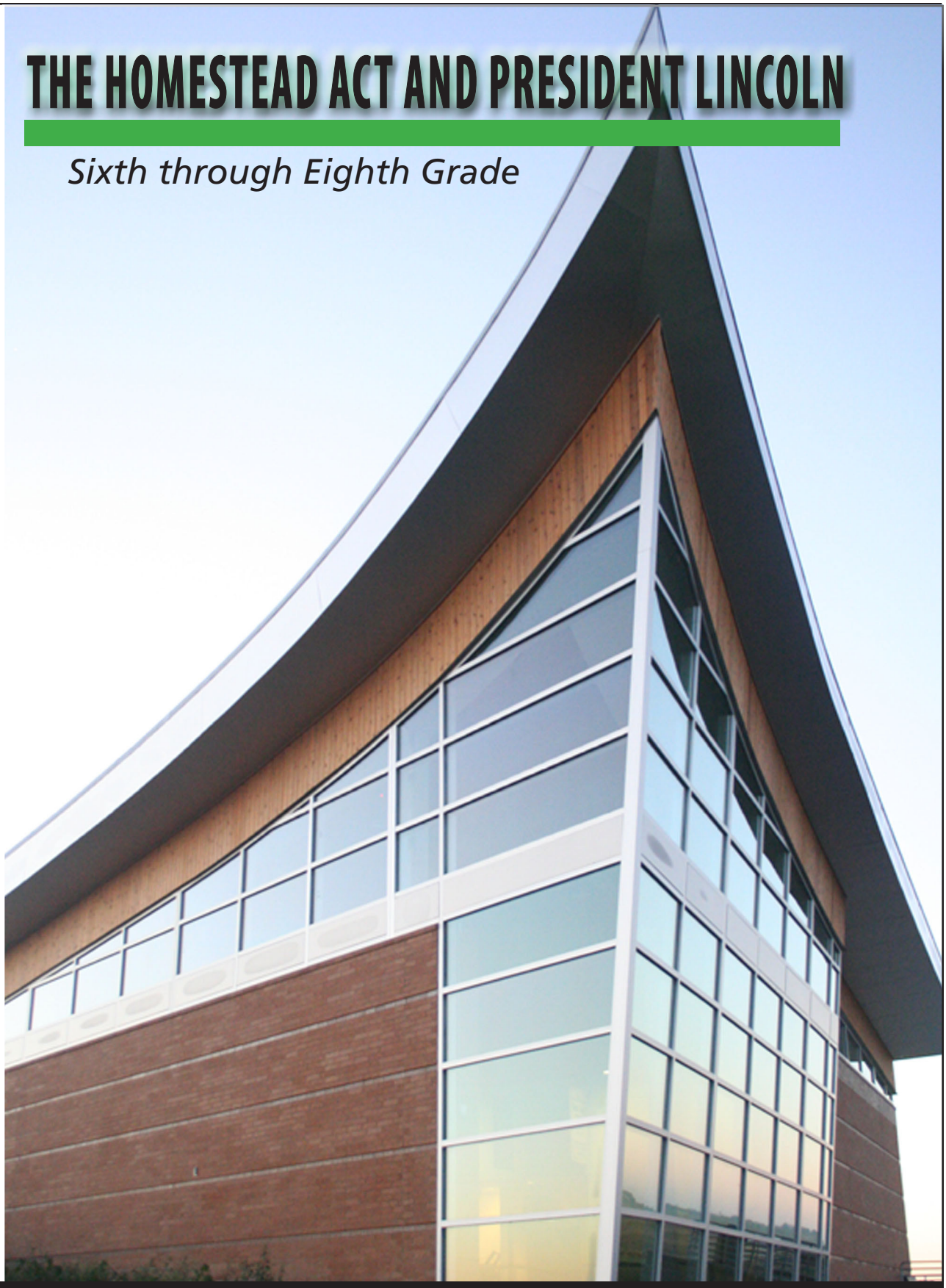
Free Land was the Cry!

THE HOMESTEAD ACT AND PRESIDENT LINCOLN

Sixth through Eighth Grade



Homestead

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Homestead National Monument
of America, Nebraska

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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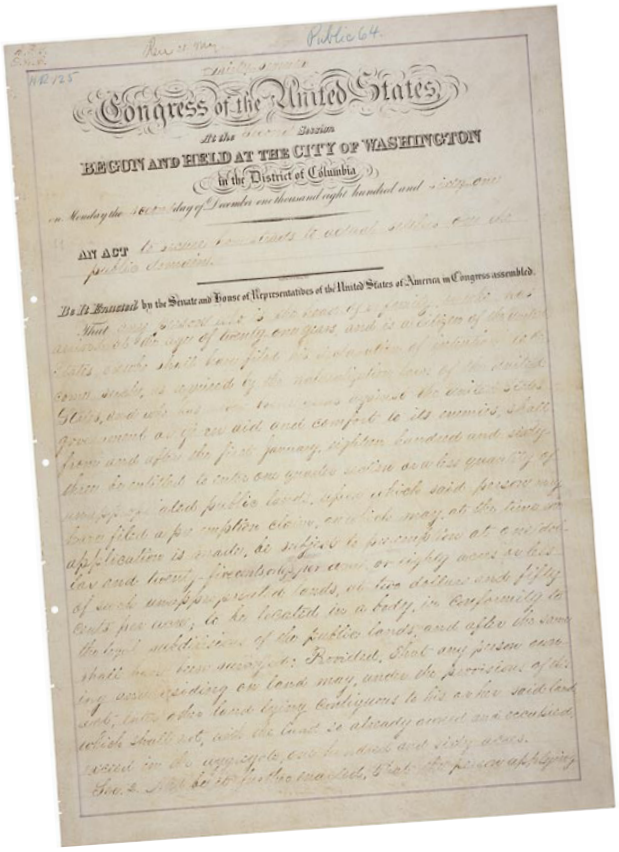
Some of the ideas in this lesson may have been adapted from earlier, unacknowledged sources without our knowledge. If the reader believes this to be the case, please let us know, and appropriate corrections will be made. Thank you.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION


Public 64.

Congress of the United States

BEGUN AND HELD AT THE CITY OF WASHINGTON

in the District of Columbia

AN ACT

Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

President Abraham Lincoln made the Homestead Act a law by signing it on May 20, 1862. This law gave 160 acres of land away to individuals who met certain requirements. In order to file a claim, an individual had to be at least 21 years of age or be the head of household. This law allowed women to file claims and own land. The act also required a person to be a citizen of the United States or declare intention to gain citizenship. This allowed many European immigrants, African-Americans and others to stake claims as well. Many railroads and western towns sent representatives to European countries to entice people to move to the United States. These representatives showed pictures of beautiful towns with tree-lined streets and rich soil for farming.

The applicant of a claim had to file an affidavit with the local land office stating they met the conditions required by the law. At this time, the claimant would pay a fee of $12 for filing the paperwork.

Once the filing was complete, there were additional requirements to meet in order to receive the patent and title to the land. A person had to build a home, live on the land, make the land his/her permanent residence, and work the land for a period of 5 years.

Many people who came to claim land paid for the services of a locator. This persom would assist them in finding an unclaimed tract of land. Many locators showed individuals land near their own claim in order to "settle" the country and have neighbors nearby.

After living on the land, building a home, and farming the land for 5 years, it was time to "prove up." This simply required the homesteader to find two individuals who would serve as witnesses. These witnesses had to state they had known the homesteader for 5 years, knew the claimant had tilled the land and grown crops. With witnesses in tow, a claimant would proceed to the land office to "prove up," paying another small filing fee of $6 and having both witnesses sign the final documents. Afterwards, the claimant would receive a final certificate or patent to the land, having met all the conditions.

Homesteading by the Numbers

10 Percent of U.S. land given away under the Homestead Act

30 Number of states in which homestead lands were located.

40 Percent of homesteaders that "proved up" on their claims and earned the deed from the federal government.

123 Years the Hoemstead Act was in effect.

160 Acres in a typical homestead claim.

4,000,000 Approxiamate number of claims made under the Homestead Act

27,000,000 Total number of acres distributed by the Homestead Act.

CURRICULUM OBJECTIVES

- Students will analyze historical documents.
- Students will be able to identify what documentation was needed to earn a Homestead Patent.
- Students will analyze statistics to understand the impact of the Homestead Act on the nation.
- Students will develop skills in evaluating graphs.
- Students will be able to differentiate between relevant and irrelevant information.
- Students will synthesize the way that the Homestead Act influenced the development of the nation.

NATIONAL STANDARDS

NSS-USH.5-12.4 ERA 4: EXPANSION AND REFORM (1801-1861)

- Understands United States territorial expansion between 1801 and 1861, and how it affected relations with external powers and American Indians.
- Understands how the industrial revolution, increasing immigration, the rapid expansion of slavery, and the westward movement changed the lives of Americans and led toward regional tensions.
- Understands the extension, restriction, and reorganization of political democracy after 1800.

NL-ENG.K-12.7 EVALUATING DATA

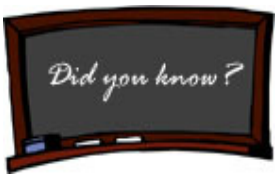
- Students conduct research on issues and interests by generating ideas and questions, and by posing problems. They gather, evaluate, and synthesize data from a variety of sources (e.g., print and nonprint texts, artifacts, people) to communicate their discoveries in ways that suit their purpose and audience.

SPECIAL ICONS

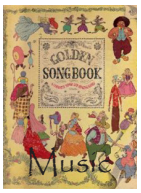
Indicates a reproducible handout is included

Indicates advanced lessons

Indicates an additional math lesson



Indicates a little known fact about the subject



Indicates an additional music or art activity

Indicates an additional language arts lesson

Pre-Visit Activity #1 (suggested)

GETTING TO KNOW THE HOMESTEAD ACT

Time Needed

One class period.

Materials Needed

- Copy of the Homestead Act
- Copy of the National Archives Written Document Analysis Worksheet
- Poster Paper

Introductory Set

Ask students why their family lives in the community that they do? Students will likely respond with jobs or family. Ask why people move from one place to another. Answers will likely be opportunities or family. Ask students to imagine they were living in the 1860's and identify where in the United States they would most likely live. Remind students that while there were American Indians living throughout the 30 Homesteaded states there were few others living on the plains. Share with students that today they will become familiar with the Homestead Act of 1862 that encouraged the settlement of the west.

Process

Students should complete the National Archives Written Document Analysis Worksheet in order to practice the skill.

Students should answer the following questions in regard to the Homestead Act.

- How old did you have to be to make a claim?
- Could women make a claim?
- Did you have to be a citizen of the United States?
- How much land could you claim?
- What did you have to do to earn the deed to the land?

Discuss the answers to the questions with the entire class.

Culminating Activity

Once students have completed their questions they will create an illustrated poster that tells the story of the Homestead Act through images.

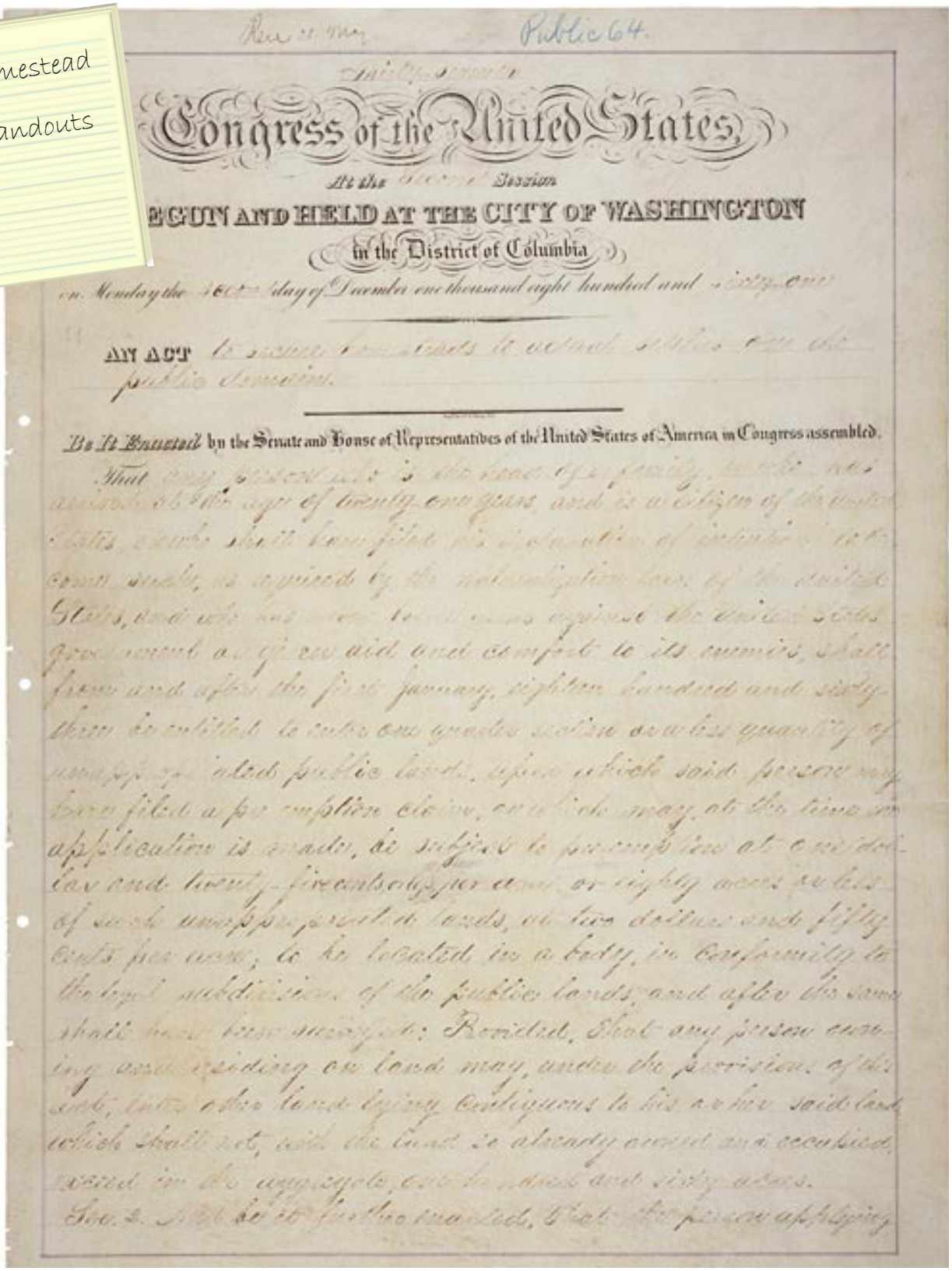
How is the Homestead Act Cared for Today?

Visit http://youtu.be/1Ht3b1m2m20 to learn where the Homestead Act of 1862 is stored and how it is cared for so it can be viewed by future generations.

GETTING TO KNOW THE HOMESTEAD ACT

Pre-Visit Activity #1 (suggested)

Homestead Handouts



Congress of the United States

At the Second Session

BEGUN AND HELD AT THE CITY OF WASHINGTON

in the District of Columbia

on Monday the second day of December one thousand eight hundred and sixty one

AN ACT to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain.

Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and who has not borne arms against the United States government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall from and after the first January, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, be entitled to enter one quarter section or less quantity of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a pre-emption claim, or which may, at the time an application is made, be subject to pre-emption at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, or eighty acres or less of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre; to be located in a body, in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and after the same shall have been surveyed: Provided, That any person owning and residing on land may, under the provisions of this act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land which shall not, with the land so already owned and occupied, exceed in the aggregate one hundred and sixty acres.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the person applying

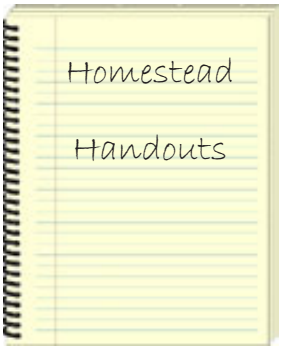
A complete copy of the Homestead Act is available at the end of this unit.

Pre-Visit Activity #2 (suggested)

What would it cost today?

In 1863 the cost for filing a homestead application was $10 for a temporary claim and $2 that went to the commissioned land agent. After meeting the requirements, the homesteader had to pay another $6 to receive the land patent. In 2010 that $18 fee would cost you about $400.

HOMESTEAD ACT PAPERWORK



All Neve homesteading records available in the Additional Resources.

Time Needed

One class period

Materials Needed

- National Archives Written Document Analysis Worksheets- one for each document
- Copies of the Neve Land Records – One for each group/student.

Introductory Set

Ask students if they have ever had to produce documentation of who they are or when they were born? Why did they have to do this? Why is it important to have documentation? Explain that students will learn what type of documents had to be completed in order to earn a Homestead Patent.

Process

Distribute the National Archives Written Document Analysis Worksheet and the Neve Land Records to each student. Students will need to complete a worksheet for each of the records.

Students may be placed into groups to reduce the time needed to complete the analysis.

Culminating Activity

Once students have completed their analysis, have them describe some of the information that they found to be interesting as well as discussing any questions that they might have. Discuss with students whether they feel the paperwork was too much, not enough, or just right. Discuss why.

HOMESTEAD ACT PAPERWORK

Daniel Freeman filed his claim for a homestead on January 1, 1863. The paperwork associated with a homestead claim are over 20 pages.

Finding a Sequence

Students will examine congressional laws and homesteading records while searching for clues as to what order to put them in. The documents used in the activity should be examined carefully as to their correct order. The names and dates are of no significance. It is the type of document that is significant and what order they would have been done to claim land under the Homestead Act of 1862.

The Homestead Act of 1862 activity is located on the National Archives and Records Administration Docs Teach website at www.docsteach.org The activity is located at http://docsteach.org/activities/9271.

Students will put the documents in order and then answer the question at the end of the unit and email the response to the teacher.

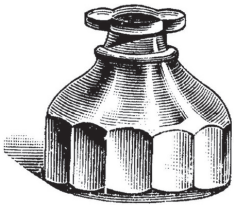
Filled With Stories: Homestead Records Project

Students will learn how current technology is being used to make the Homestead Act paperwork available for people to access online. This project is being undertaken by Homestead National Monument of America, Family Search and Fold3. Watch a video which explains the process at http://youtu.be/C2X4UslDrso

After the video write 500 words on the impact these digital records will have on you and your family or on society as a whole.

Pre-Visit Activity #2 (suggested)

Enrichment Activities



The immigrants who came to America to pursue the opportunity to acquire free land under the Homestead Act were most likely not required to carry documentation from their old countries, but if you ever travel to a foreign country you will need a Passport issued to you that identifies you as a United States citizen and will help to protect you in a foreign country. Would you like to know how to obtain a United States passport? In this activity you will research the steps it takes and the paperwork that needs to be completed to obtain a United States Passport.

Visit http://travel.state.gov/passport/passport_1738.html

RANGER-LED EXPERIENCE

Your group will be welcomed by a park ranger who will talk briefly about the Homestead Act, Homestead National Monument of America and the National Park Service. They will then start the film *Land of Dreams: Homesteading America*. *Land of Dreams* takes you on a journey through 30 states and 123 years of homesteading history. From President Thomas Jefferson's vision of an American West settled with small farms, to the reality of its vast checkerboard landscape. *Land of Dreams* lets you tour homesteads from Nebraska to Alaska. You visit with homesteaders, their descendants, and American Indians. You witness personal stories of struggle and success. See how the land was lost and claimed, settled and tamed. See cabins built, but then abandoned, and farms of today as you explore the legacy of the 1862 Homestead Act with *Land of Dreams*.

At the conclusion of the film discuss the following questions:

- What was it like for homesteaders and American Indians before and after the Homestead Act?
- What changed for homesteaders and American Indians?
- What was good and bad about the Homestead Act?
- What price did the settlers pay and the American Indians pay for the Homestead Act in terms of what was gained and what was lost?

RANGER-LED EXPERIENCE

Explore the exhibits at the Heritage Center. Complete all questions on this page.

1. What did the advertisements for homesteading suggest? What ideas, symbols, or promises were used to lure people to the West?

2. What does the plow mean to

- Homesteaders?
- American Indians?

3. What did the 1785 Land Ordinance Act do?

4. What was the drought called that occurred in the 1930s?

5. What was Kenneth Deardorff's homestead "worth" to him?

6. Compare Daniel Freeman's homesteading experience with Kenneth Deardorff's.

Not able to visit Homestead National Monument of America in person? Homestead National Monument of America is proud to be a pioneer in distance learning technology. We also offer traveling trunks for classrooms. Contact the Education Coordinator at (402) 223-3514 to schedule your virtual field trip or order a traveling trunk on the Homestead Act.

Post-Visit Activity #1 (suggested)

HOMESTEADING BY THE NUMBERS

Kenneth Deardorf on the porch of his cabin in Alaska.

Approximately 4 million claims were made under the Homestead Act. Of these, 1.6 million were successful. The total number of acres distributed through the Homestead Act was 270.2 million. The Act was not repealed until 1976 in the lower 48 and not until 1986 in Alaska. The last homesteader was Kenneth Deardorf from Alaska. He received his patent in 1988.

Time Needed

One class period

Materials Needed

Homestead Statistics Worksheets – see Additional Resources to access worksheets.

Introductory Set

Ask students to brainstorm laws that they know have changed or influenced American history. Students are then to describe how those laws impacted the nation. Explain that students will learn today how the Homestead Act of 1862 influenced the nation.

Process

Students are to complete the Homestead statistics worksheets in order to develop an understanding of the effect of the Homestead Act of 1862 upon the United States.

This assignment could be used as group or all-class activity with the charts being transferred to a presentation program and projected onto a large screen.

Culminating Activity

Bring students back together and have them discuss as a class the information that they have reviewed and how the Homestead Act influenced the nation as a whole.

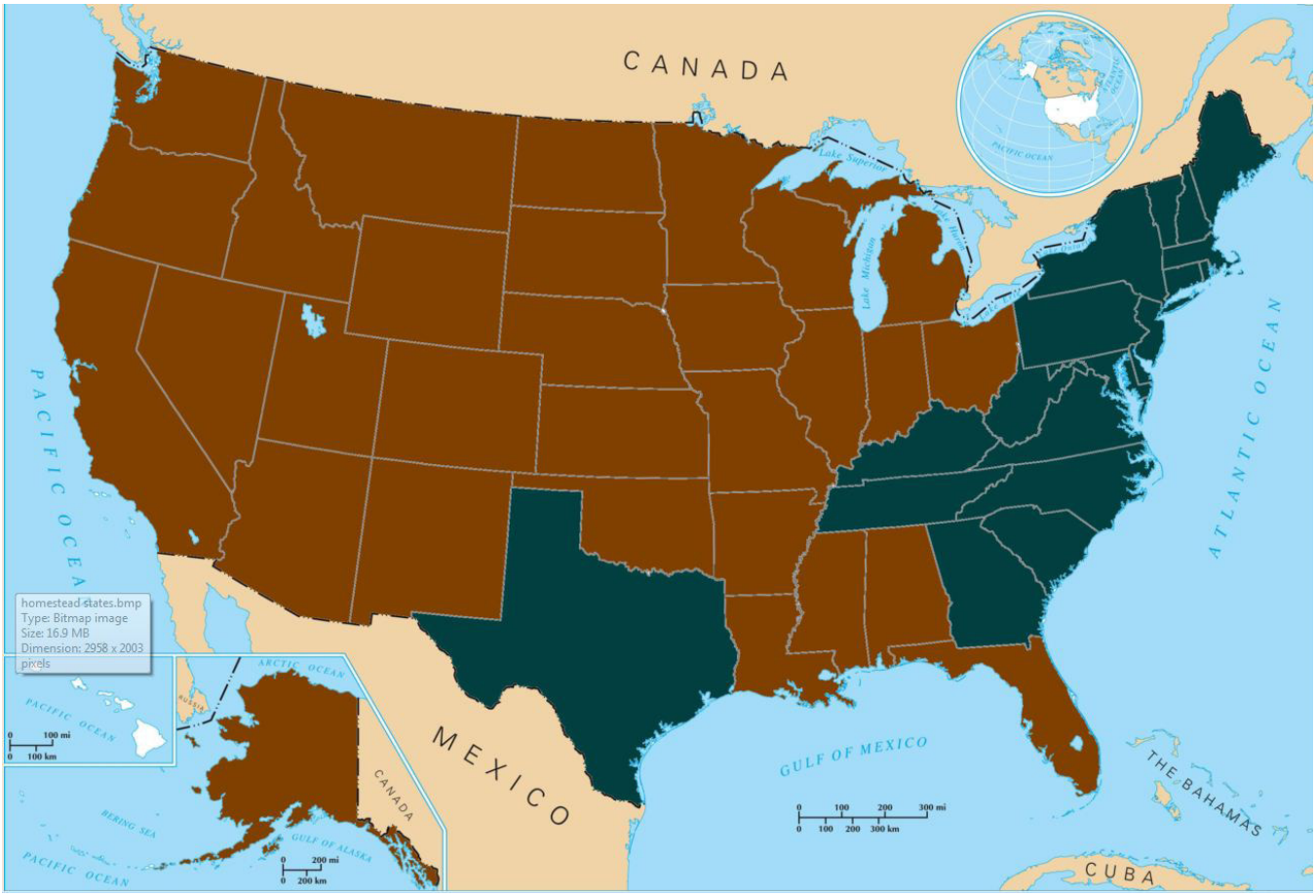
Impacts of the Homestead Act

Students will learn about the impacts of the Homestead Act by watching a video that explains the impacts at: http://youtu.be/5KxooR9my1Q

This activity can be used at the conclusion of a unit of study on the Homestead Act of 1862.

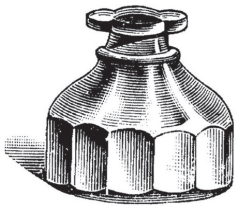
HOMESTEADING BY THE NUMBERS

Pre-Visit Activity #1 (suggested)



The 30 states in brown were opened up to homesteading.
A jpg of this image is available at http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/

Enrichment Activities



Homesteading by the Numbers

While Homesteading offered millions of acres of land for settlement, Homesteaders were not the largest recipients of western lands. Millions of acres of land were offered to the railroads for sale and use in building rail lines and communities. Research the role that the railroads played in the settlement of the west and write a comparative essay between the railroads and homesteaders.

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

LEGACY OF THE HOMESTEAD ACT

'There are certain things we can only do
together. There are certain things only a Union can do.
Only a Union could harness the courage of our Pioneers
to settle the American West,
which is why President Abraham Lincoln
passed a Homestead Act
giving a tract of land to anyone seeking a stake
in our growing economy.'
Barack Obama, February 12, 2009

Time Needed

One class period

Materials Needed

Copies of the Presidential Quotes
Presidential Quotes may also be accessed on Homestead National Monument of America's website at:
http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/presquotes.htm

Introductory Set

Ask students to identify some events or documents in American History that are important – write responses on a board. Students should then be asked how they know that these events or documents are important – responses should include how much people talk about it or how often officials refer to it. Tell students that they will identify how Presidents of the United States have remembered the Homestead Act.

Process

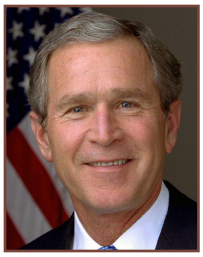
Provide students with copies of the Presidential Quotes. Students may be divided into groups and allowed to evaluate the quotes. Students should be instructed to select the words or phrases that describe how that President referred to or regarded the Homestead Act. Conduct a class discussion of how the Homestead Act is remembered and do students agree or disagree with the ideas expressed by the Presidents.

Culminating Activity

Students will produce their own short Presidential speeches. Have students choose a current event that can relate to their view of the Homestead Act and create a short speech that makes reference to the Act in a manner that they feel best "remembers" the importance of this historical document.

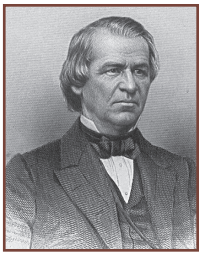
PRESIDENTIAL QUOTES

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)



In America's ideal of freedom, citizens find the dignity and security of economic independence instead of laboring on the edge of subsistence. This is the broader definition of liberty that motivated the Homestead Act, the Social Security Act, and the GI Bill of Rights.

George W. Bush, January 20, 2005



An allusion has been made to the Homestead Law. I think it worthy of consideration, and that the wild lands of the country should be distributed so that every man should have the means and opportunity of benefitting his condition.

Abraham Lincoln, February 12, 1861 [replying to comments made by Frederick Oberkline, chairman of a committee representing eighteen German industrial associations that called in a body to pay their respects as Lincoln's "Inaugural" Train stopped in Cincinnati, Ohio]

The homestead policy was established only after long and earnest resistance; experience proves its wisdom. The lands in the hands of industrious settlers, whose labor creates wealth and contributes to the public resources, are worth more to the United States than if they had been reserved as a solitude for future purchasers.

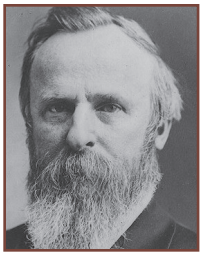
Andrew Johnson, December 4, 1865

The report of the Secretary of the Interior exhibits the condition of those branches of the public service which are committed to his supervision. During the last fiscal year 4,629,312 acres of public land were disposed of, 1,892,516 acres of which were entered under the Homestead Act. The policy originally adopted relative to the public lands has undergone essential modifications. Immediate revenue, and not their rapid settlement, was the cardinal feature of our land system. Long experience and earnest discussion have resulted in the conviction that the early development of our agricultural resources and the diffusion of an energetic population over our vast territory are objects of far greater importance to the national growth and prosperity than the proceeds of the sale of the land to the highest bidder in open market. The preemption laws confer upon the pioneer who complies with the terms they impose the privilege of purchasing a limited portion of "unoffered lands" at the minimum price. The homestead enactments relieve the settler from the payment of purchase money, and secure him a permanent home upon the condition of residence for a term of years. This liberal policy invites emigration from the Old and from the more crowded portions of the New World. Its propitious results are undoubted, and will be more signally manifested when time shall have given to it a wider development.

Andrew Johnson, December 3, 1866

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

PRESIDENTIAL QUOTES



I see no reason why Indians who can give satisfactory proof of having by their own labor supported their families for a number of years, and who are willing to detach themselves from their tribal relations, should not be admitted to the benefit of the Homestead Act and the privileges of citizenship, and I recommend the passage of a law to that effect.
It will be an act of justice as well as a measure of encouragement.

Rutherford B. Hayes, December 3, 1877

I also repeat the recommendation made in my first annual message, that a law be passed admitting Indians who can give satisfactory proof of having by their own labor supported their families for a number of years, and who are willing to detach themselves from their tribal relations, to the benefit of the Homestead Act, and to grant them patents containing the same provision of inalienability for a certain period.

Rutherford B. Hayes, December 1, 1879

The America to which these Swedish settlers came was a land that needed the hardy qualities they brought. It was not a land that was particularly softhearted towards newcomers, but everyone believed that each should have a fair chance regardless of his origin.

The newcomers quickly learned their way about and soon felt at home. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided them, as well as many other pioneers, with an opportunity to acquire land and establish family farms. To the land-hungry immigrants, the tough prairie sod seemed a golden opportunity and they conquered it by hard work.

Harry S. Truman, June 4, 1948

And the Republican Party was--and is--very much alive. A fact easily forgotten is that through all those years--from the first year of War Between the States in 1861 to the first year of the New Deal in 1933--the Republican Party was in office three-fourths of the time. It helped mold each age and was itself molded by each age--the extremist Party in one day, the champion of something called "normalcy" in another. With America and with the times, it restlessly changed; sometimes growing, sometimes faltering, sometimes partially divided--in short, behaving like a normal, healthy political party in a vital, thriving Republic.

The ascendancy of the Party through the great part of this great century is the clearest answer to the feeble but persistent myth that the Republican Party is simply a conspiracy against change. The century abounds with such answers. They begin with the Emancipation Proclamation. And they continue:

In the 1860's and '70's: the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; the purchase of Alaska and the Midway Islands; the First Homestead Act;

Dwight D. Eisenhower, September 21, 1953

7

PRESIDENTIAL QUOTES

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

My friends, it comes down to this simple statement: It is the problems that change; the principles do not.

Let us look at several examples in government.

Agriculture. Because of the unique exposure of the farmer to economic forces over which he has no control, and the dependency of the nation upon our agricultural economy, the Federal government must concern itself in practical ways to assist in assuring a sound farm economy and income. That's the principle.

Now, one application of this principle a hundred years ago: A Federal Homestead Act, passed under Lincoln, providing free quarter sections of land to settlers. That's what they did a hundred years ago.

The application today: a new set of Federal actions, such as sensible price supports, the Soil Bank, stepped-up Federal research, and development of markets.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, June 7, 1957

IN JULY 1862, in the darkest days of the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln signed two acts which were to help to mold the future of the Nation which he was then struggling to preserve.

The first of these, the Homestead Act, provided, in Carl Sandburg's words, "a farm free to any man who wanted to put a plow into unbroken sod."

The second, the Morrill Act, donated more than one million acres of Federal land to endow at least one university in every State of the Union.

Thus even as the Nation trembled on the brink of destruction the vast lands of the American West were open to final settlement. A new America of unparalleled abundance began to grow, and the most ambitious and fruitful system of higher education in the history of the world was developed.

John F. Kennedy, November 12, 1961

One hundred and fifty years ago the vacant lands of the West were opened to private use. One hundred years ago the Congress passed the Homestead Act, probably the single greatest stimulus to national development ever enacted. Under the impetus of that Act and other laws, more than 1.1 billion acres of the original public main have been transferred to private and non-federal public ownership. The 768 million acres remaining in federal ownership are a valuable national asset.

John F. Kennedy, March 1, 1962

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

PRESIDENTIAL QUOTES

Now the other course is the course of opportunity. If we choose that, we say that empty fatalism has no part in the American dream. Like the lawmakers in our past who created the Homestead Act, some of them who wrote the Land-Grant Act, some of you out there who helped write the Farmers' Home Act, we say that it is right and that it is just, and that it is a function of government, and that we are going to carry out that responsibility to help our people get back on their feet and share once again in the blessings of American life. We say that we are not helpless before the iron laws of economics, that a wise public policy uses economics to create hope--and not to abet despair.

Lyndon B. Johnson, August 26, 1965

Americans have always built for the future. That is why we established land grant colleges and passed the Homestead Act to open our Western lands more than 100 years ago.

Lyndon B. Johnson, February 1, 1966

We may never live to see an America without poverty. But we may see an America:

--where a lifetime of poverty is not the inevitable fate of a child born into it;

--where there is a genuine opportunity for every child and young person to live in decency and security;

--where the means of liberation and the understanding of how to use them are available to all of us.

If we reach that America it will be because we did not grow tired. It will be because we gave Americans a chance to help themselves.

That is in the finest and oldest American tradition: the same tradition that established the land grant colleges and public education, and the GI bill of rights; the same tradition that passed the Homestead Act; the same tradition that established the NYA more than 30 years ago.

Lyndon B. Johnson, May 8, 1967

And just as surely, today's immigrants to modern America--the Negroes, the Spanish-Americans and the Puerto Ricans--are going to make it.

In part, they are going to make it because the rest of us, acting through our Government, or acting privately, are going to help these people get on their feet so that they may make the long march that so many others have made to freedom and prosperity.

They are going to help make it on their own.

That is the oldest and the finest of all of America's traditions.

The Homestead Act gave land to those who wanted it.

The Morrill Act set up the land-grant colleges so that Americans could get an inexpensive higher education.

Lyndon B. Johnson, September 22, 1967

PRESIDENTIAL QUOTES

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

I think all of us recognize that America's future depends upon America's farmers. Our national heritage was created by farmers. All Americans--actually, the entire world--today depend more than ever upon all of you.

Abraham Lincoln signed the Homestead Act, which embodied our fundamental belief in the importance of the American family farm. Lincoln was so right.

Thomas Jefferson, George Washington had shared the same great vision. They were convinced--so am I--that a man with a stake in his own land is a free man. His family is a free family, and together the family farm is the basis of our free society.

Gerald R. Ford, April 3, 1976

Free people build free markets that ignite dynamic development for everyone. And that's the key, but that's not all. Something else helped us create these unparalleled opportunities for growth and personal fulfillment: a strong sense of cooperation, free association among individuals, rooted in institutions of family, church, school, press, and voluntary groups of every kind. Government, too, played an important role. It helped eradicate slavery and other forms of discrimination. It opened up the frontier through actions like the Homestead Act and rural electrification. And it helped provide a sense of security for those who, through no fault of their own, could not support themselves.

Ronald Reagan, October 15, 1981

Thomas Jefferson said his criteria for honor and status was not wealth, but virtue and talent. In "Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years," Carl Sandburg wrote that Lincoln believed "the accent and stress was to be on opportunity, on equal chance, equal access to the resources of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To give man this equal chance in life was the aim, the hope, the flair of glory, spoken by the Declaration of Independence."

Through the years, this promise was made real, thanks to the hard work, the dedication, and commitment to freedom of the American people. Our commitment to freedom has meant commitment to the rule of law, and commitment to the law has created opportunity: for example, historic legislation like the Homestead Act; passage of the 14th amendment to strengthen the guarantee of civil rights for every citizen, regardless of race, creed, or color; and, more recently, Brown vs. Board of Education, which emphatically decreed that race can never be used to deny any person equal educational opportunity. No future will outshine ours if we hold tight to the torch of freedom, if we remain true to the rule of law, and if we meet the challenge of providing opportunity to all our people.

Ronald Reagan, August 1, 1983

I've long believed that one of the mainsprings of our own liberty has been the widespread ownership of property among our people and the expectation that anyone's child, even from the humblest of families, could grow up to own a business or a corporation. Thomas Jefferson dreamed of a land of small farmers, of shopowners, and merchants. Abraham Lincoln signed into law the Homestead Act that ensured that the great western prairies of America would be the realm of independent, property owning citizens—a mightier guarantee of freedom is difficult to imagine.

Ronald Reagan, August 3, 1987

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

PRESIDENTIAL QUOTES

Now, let me start with a story, a bit of history -- 1862, the middle of the Civil War. And on May 20th of that year, Abraham Lincoln sat down with pen in hand and signed into law the Homestead Act of 1862. And that bill gave 160 acres to any family who wanted to make a go of it in the wilderness and reach for the American dream.

It is one of the most successful endeavors in American history, causing the great land rush to the Wild West and forming the vision for a new homesteading program in urban America today. Because Abraham Lincoln's Homestead Act empowered people, it freed people from the burden of poverty. It freed them to control their own destinies, to create their own opportunities, and to live the vision of the American dream.

George H.W. Bush, November 28, 1990

In the midst of the Civil War, President Lincoln signed into law two visionary programs that helped our people come together again and build America up. The Morrill Act helped states create new land grant colleges. This is a land grant university. The university in my home state was the first land grant college west of the Mississippi River. In these places, young people learn to make American agriculture and industry the best in the world. The legacy of the Morrill Act is not only our great colleges and universities like Rutgers but the American tradition that merit and not money should give people a chance for a higher education.

Mr. Lincoln also signed the Homestead Act that offered 100 acres of land for families who had the courage to settle the frontier and farm the wilderness. Its legacy is a nation that stretches from coast to coast. Now we must create a new legacy that gives a new generation of Americans the right and the power to explore the frontiers of science and technology and space. The frontiers of the limitations of our knowledge must be pushed back so that we can do what we need to do. And education is the way to do it, just as surely as it was more than 100 years ago.

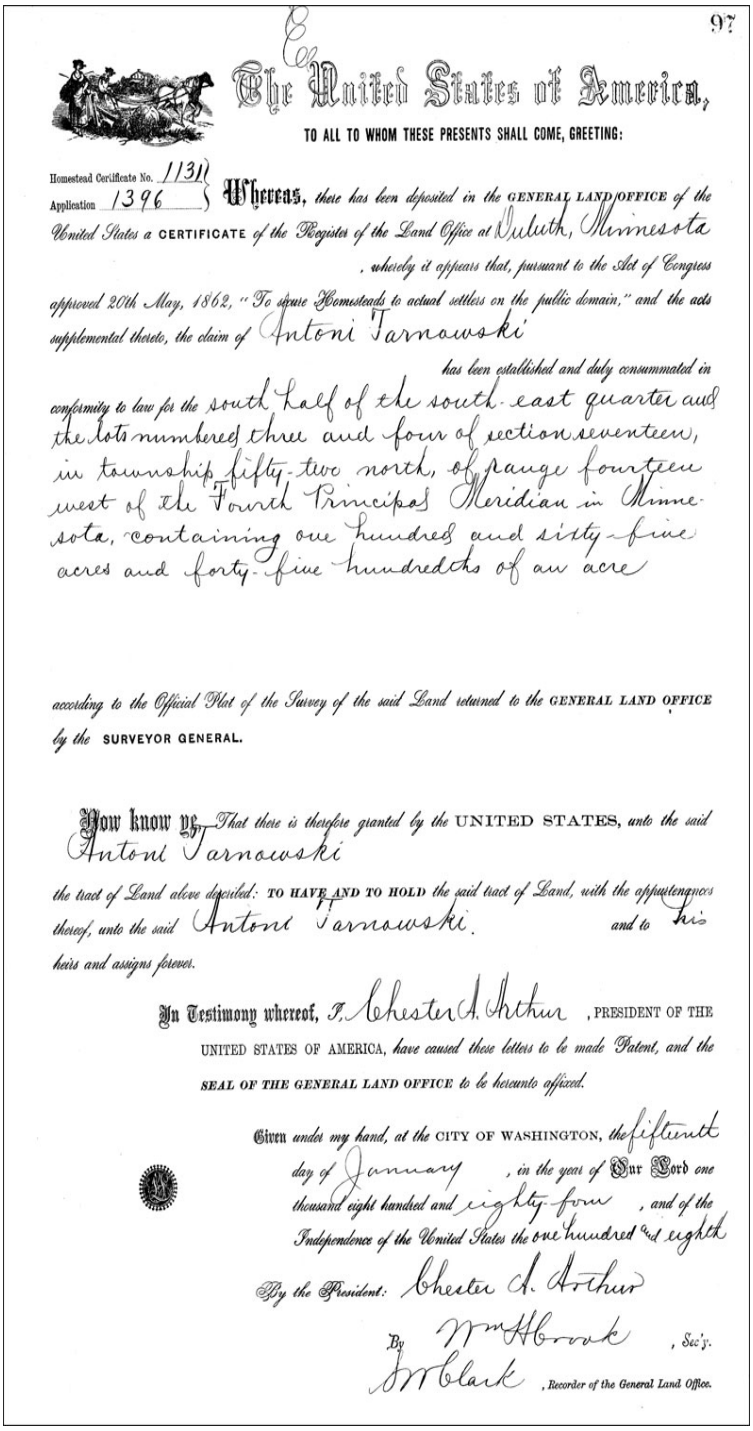
Bill Clinton, March 1, 1993

In answering this call our people are following a proud history. More than a century ago President Abraham Lincoln signed the Homestead Act, and the frontier of this country was settled by countless families who took up the challenge in exchange for 100 acres to call their own. In the 1930's President Roosevelt enlisted millions of young people to restore the environment through the Civilian Conservation Corps. FDR gave others a chance to support themselves through the buildings made possible by the Works Project Administration. I was in the United States Justice Department just yesterday, a building built in 1934 by people who were giving service to their country, and it's still a beautiful monument to the legacy of that kind of service. The parents of the baby boom had the GI bill, which was one of the best investments our Government ever made. A generation ago, the young people of my generation saw suffering in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and many rushed to the challenge laid down by President Kennedy when he created the Peace Corps, which became our country's greatest ambassador, building bridges of understanding to far off cultures. And now, three decades later, a challenge has been presented to all of you, a new challenge and an old one, as old as America and as new as your future.

Bill Clinton, April 30, 1993

PRESIDENTIAL QUOTES

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)



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The United States of America,

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:

Homestead Certificate No. 1131
Application 1396

Whereas, there has been deposited in the GENERAL LAND OFFICE of the United States a CERTIFICATE of the Register of the Land Office at Duluth, Minnesota, whereby it appears that, pursuant to the Act of Congress approved 20th May, 1862, "To secure Homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain," and the acts supplemental thereto, the claim of Antoni Tarnowski has been established and duly consummated in conformity to law for the south half of the south-east quarter and the lots numbered three and four of section seventeen, in township fifty-two north, of range fourteen west of the Fourth Principal Meridian in Minnesota, containing one hundred and sixty-five acres and forty-five hundredths of an acre

according to the Official Plat of the Survey of the said Land returned to the GENERAL LAND OFFICE by the SURVEYOR GENERAL.

Now know ye, That there is therefore granted by the UNITED STATES, unto the said Antoni Tarnowski the tract of Land above described: TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said tract of Land, with the appurtenances thereof, unto the said Antoni Tarnowski and to his heirs and assigns forever.

In Testimony whereof, I, Chester A. Arthur, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, have caused these letters to be made Patent, and the SEAL OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the CITY OF WASHINGTON, the fifteenth day of January, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and eighth

By the President: Chester A. Arthur

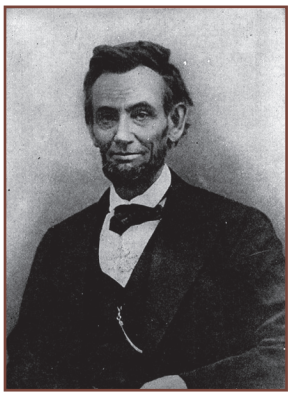
By Wm H Crook, Sec'y.

J M Clark, Recorder of the General Land Office.

Once a person lived on the land for five years, made improvements to the land, and cultivated a crop they received a certificate indicating the land now belonged to them. This certificate was signed by the President of the United States.

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

THE LEGACY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN



An allusion has been made to the Homestead Law. I think it worthy of consideration, and that the wild lands of the country should be distributed so that every man should have the means and opportunity of benefitting his condition.

Abraham Lincoln, February 12, 1861 [replying to comments made by Frederick Oberkline, chairman of a committee representing eighteen German industrial associations that called in a body to pay their respects as Lincoln's "Inaugural" Train stopped in Cincinnati, Ohio]

Time Needed

One class period

Materials Needed

Document Handouts- These articles are lengthy - links are provided at the end of each to allow students to access them on line – Readings may be divided among students to decrease the time needed.

Introductory Set

What is a legacy? How do you get a legacy? Can a legacy change? In history, legacies are created and often changed over time. As people learn more about an individual the perception that they have of that person may change for the positive or become more negative. Think of a person today that is not viewed as popular. Do you think that 150 years from now the perception of that person will be the same? History has many examples of changing legacies; one is that of John Adams. While serving as the second President of the United States, Adams was not well liked. Later in life Americans began to view the ex-president with more favor. More recently a widely popular biography and subsequent HBO movie series has made Adams a much more popular individual in the eyes of many Americans.

In this activity students will look at the legacy of Abraham Lincoln and determine why that legacy exists as it does and compare that public perception to an earlier time prior to his death.

Process

Students should be placed into small groups. Have some groups look at Lincoln today and some at Lincoln before his death. Students should create informational charts that identify key elements to explain the public perception or legacy of Abraham Lincoln.

Culminating Activity

Have each group share with the class their findings and discuss with the class why Lincoln was viewed the way he was prior to his death and how he is viewed today. Have students create generalizations as to how and why this occurs. Students may then create a journal entry or written response describing what they have learned about Lincoln and whether his legacy is accurate.

Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)
Impact and Legacy

In 1982, forty-nine historians and political scientists were asked by the Chicago Tribune to rate all the Presidents through Jimmy Carter in five categories: leadership qualities, accomplishments/crisis management, political skills, appointments, and character/integrity. At the top of the list stood Abraham Lincoln. He was followed by Franklin Roosevelt, George Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, and Harry Truman. None of these other Presidents exceeded Lincoln in any category according to the rate scale. Roosevelt fell into second place because he did not measure up to Lincoln in character. Washington, close behind, ranked third because of his lesser political skills. It is the general opinion of pollsters, moreover, that the average American would probably put Lincoln at the top as well. In other words, the judgment of historians and the public tells us that Abraham Lincoln was the nation's greatest President by every measure applied.

Interestingly, had the average Union citizen been asked the same question in the spring of 1863, there can be no doubt but that Lincoln would have fared poorly. Not much more could have been said for him even a year later, when Lincoln thought that he would lose his bid for reelection. It would take Lee's surrender at Appomattox Courthouse and his own death a week later to propel Lincoln into the pantheon of presidential greatness.

And Lincoln's canonization began almost immediately. Within days of his death, his life was being compared to Jesus Christ. Lincoln was portrayed to a worshipping public as a self-made man, the liberator of the slaves, and the savior of the Union who had given his life so that others could be free. President Lincoln became Father Abraham, a near mythological hero, "lawgiver" to African Americans, and a "Masterpiece of God" sent to save the Union. His humor was presented as an example of his humanity; his numerous pardons demonstrated his "great soul"; and his sorrowful demeanor reflected the burdens of his lonely journey as the leader of a "blundering and sinful" people.

Historians, mindful of Lincoln's mythic place in American popular culture, accord him similar praise for what he accomplished and for how he did it. Because he was committed to preserving the Union and thus vindicating democracy no matter what the consequences to himself, the Union was indeed saved. Because he understood that ending slavery required patience, careful timing, shrewd calculations, and an iron resolve, slavery was indeed killed. Lincoln managed in the process of saving the Union and killing slavery to define the creation of a more perfect Union in terms of liberty and economic equality that rallied the citizenry behind him. Because he understood that victory in both great causes depended upon purposeful and visionary presidential leadership as well as the exercise of politically acceptable means, he left as his legacy a United States that was both whole and free.

As the most activist President in history, Lincoln transformed the President's role as commander in chief and as chief executive into a powerful new position, making the President supreme over both Congress and the courts. His activism began almost immediately with Fort Sumter when he called out state militias, expanded the army and navy, spent $2 million without congressional appropriation, blockaded

southern ports, closed post offices to treasonable correspondences, suspended the writ of habeas corpus in several locations, ordered the arrest and military detention of suspected traitors, and issued the Emancipation Proclamation on New Year's Day 1863.

To do all of these things, Lincoln broke an assortment of laws and ignored one constitutional provision after another. He made war without a declaration of war, and indeed even before summoning Congress into special session. He countered Supreme Court opposition by affirming his own version of judicial review that placed the President as the final interpreter of the Constitution. For Lincoln, it made no sense "to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution." Following a strategy of "unilateral action," Lincoln justified his powers as an emergency authority granted to him by the people. He had been elected, he told his critics, to decide when an emergency existed and to take all measures required to deal with it. In doing so, Lincoln maintained that the President was one of three "coordinate" departments of government, not in any way subordinate to Congress or the courts. Moreover, he demonstrated that the President had a special duty that went beyond the duty of Congress and the courts, a duty that required constant executive action in times of crisis. While the other branches of government are required to support the Constitution, Lincoln's actions pointed to the notion that the President alone is sworn to preserve, protect, and defend it. In times of war, this power makes the President literally responsible for the well-being and survival of the nation.

Lincoln's legacy of executive authority did not last beyond his death, and over the next forty years both Congress and the courts overshadowed the White House in power and influence. Still, the most lasting accomplishments attributed to Lincoln are the preservation of the Union, the vindication of democracy, and the death of slavery, all accomplished by the ways in which he handled the crisis that most certainly would have ended differently with a lesser man in office. His great achievement, historians tell us, was his ability to energize and mobilize the nation by appealing to its best ideals while acting "with malice towards none" in the pursuit of a more perfect, more just, and more enduring Union. No President in American history ever faced a greater crisis and no President ever accomplished as much.

Find this essay online at:

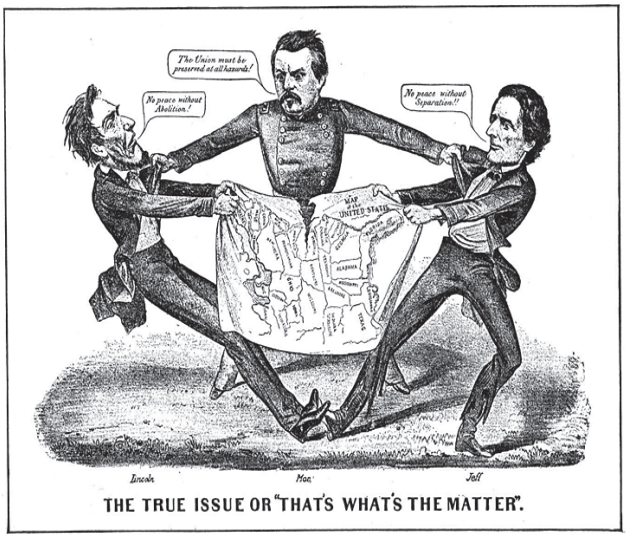
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/lincoln/essays/biography/9

ABRAHAM LINCOLN RESOURCES

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

Evidence for The Unpopular Mr. Lincoln
THE PEOPLE AT THE POLLS 1860-1864
BY LARRY TAGG; HALLOWED GROUND MAGAZINE, SPRING 2009

"The illustrious Honest Old Abe has continued during the last week to make a fool of himself and to mortify and shame the intelligent people of this great nation. His speeches have demonstrated the fact that although originally a Herculean rail splitter and more lately a whimsical story teller and side splitter, he is no more capable of becoming a statesman, nay, even a moderate one, than the braying ass can become a noble lion. People now marvel how it came to pass that Mr. Lincoln should have been selected as the representative man of any party. His weak, wishy-washy, namby-pamby efforts, imbecile in matter, disgusting in manner, have made us the laughing stock of the whole world. The European powers will despise us because we have no better material out of which to make a President. The truth is, Lincoln is only a moderate lawyer and in the larger cities of the Union could pass for no more than a facetious pettifogger. Take him from his vocation and he loses even these small characteristics and indulges in simple twaddle which would disgrace a well bred school boy."



Written as Abraham Lincoln approached Washington by train for his 1861 presidential inauguration, this tirade was not the rant of a fire-eating secessionist editor in Richmond or New Orleans. It was the declaration of the Salem Advocate, a newspaper printed in Lincoln's home ground of central Illinois. The Advocate had plenty of company among Northern opinion makers. The editor of Massachusetts's influential Springfield Republican, Samuel Bowles, despaired in a letter to a friend the same week, "Lincoln is a 'simple Susan.'"

The most esteemed orator in America, Edward Everett, wrote in his diary: "He is evidently a person of very inferior cast of character, wholly unequal to the crisis." From Washington, Congressman Charles Francis Adams wrote, "His speeches have fallen like a wet blanket here. They put to flight all notions of greatness." Then, at the end of his journey a few days later, Lincoln was forced to sneak into the capital on a secret midnight train to avoid assassination, disguised in a soft felt hat, a muffler and a short bobtailed coat.

After Lincoln's unseemly arrival, the contempt in the nation's reaction was so widespread, so vicious and so personal that it marks this episode as the historic low point of presidential prestige in the United States. Even the Northern press winced at the president's undignified start. Vanity Fair observed, "By the advice of weak men, who should straddle through life in petticoats instead of disgracing such manly garments as pantaloons and coats, the President-elect disguises himself after the manner of heroes in two-shilling novels, and rides secretly, in the deep night, from Harrisburg to Washington." The Brooklyn Eagle, in a column

titled "Mr. Lincoln's Flight by Moonlight Alone," suggested the president deserved "the deepest disgrace that the crushing indignation of a whole people can inflict." The New York Tribune joked darkly, "Mr. Lincoln may live a hundred years without having so good a chance to die."

Known almost exclusively by his got-up nickname "The Railsplitter," Lincoln had won the 1860 election in November with 39.8 percent of the popular vote. This absurdly low total was partly due to the fact that four candidates were on the ballot, but it remains the poorest showing by any winning presidential candidate in American history. In fact, Lincoln received a smaller percentage of the popular vote than nearly all the losers of two-party presidential elections. Immediately, however, even this scant total dropped in the panic of the Secession Winter, as seven Southern states left the Union and worried Northerners repented their votes for the Illinoisan.

At the time he was sworn in, Lincoln's "approval rating" can be estimated by examining wintertime Republican losses in local elections in Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Cleveland and St. Louis, and state elections in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island; by the observations of Henry Adams (of the presidential Adamses) that "not a third of the House" supported him; and by the published reckoning of the New York Herald that only 1 million of the 4.7 million who voted in November were still with him. All these indications put his support in the nation at about 25 percent — roughly equivalent to the lowest approval ratings recorded by modern-day polling.

How could a man elected president in November be so reviled in February? The insults heaped on Lincoln after his arrival in Washington were not the result of anything he himself had done or left undone. He was a man without a history, a man almost no one knew. Because he was a blank slate, Americans, at the climax of a national crisis 30 years in coming, projected onto him everything they saw wrong with the country. To the opinion makers in the cities of the East, he was a weakling, inadequate to the needs of the democracy. To the hostile masses in the South, he was an interloper, a Caesar who represented a deadly threat to the young republic. To millions on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line, he was not a statesman but merely a standard bearer for a vast, corrupt political system.

Lincoln had never administered anything larger than a two-person law office, and historians have often excused his mismanagement of the war effort during his first eighteen months in office as a period of growing into his job. It was the Emancipation Proclamation in September of 1862, according to the modern view, that signals the disappearance of the novice Railsplitter and marks the emergence of the ultimate statesman — the Great Emancipator.

This, however, was not the view at the time. The Chicago Times, for example, branded the Emancipation Proclamation "a monstrous usurpation, a criminal wrong, and an act of national suicide." An editorial in Columbus, Ohio's The Crisis asked, "Is not this a Death Blow to the Hope of Union?" and declared, "We have no doubt that this Proclamation seals the fate of this Union as it was and the Constitution as it is.… The time is brief when we shall have a DICTATOR PROCLAIMED, for the Proclamation can never be carried out except under the iron rule of the worst kind of despotism."

While the Northern press howled, angry letters piled up on Lincoln's desk and spilled onto the floor. William O. Stoddard, the secretary in charge of reading Lincoln's mail, wrote:
"[Dictator] is what the Opposition press and orators of all sizes are calling him. Witness, also, the litter on the floor and the heaped-up wastebaskets.

There is no telling how many editors and how many other penmen within these past few days have undertaken to assure him that this is a war for the Union only, and that they never gave him any authority to run it as an Abolition war. They never, never told him that he might set the negroes free, and, now that he has done so, or futilely pretended to do so, he is a more unconstitutional tyrant and a more odious dictator than ever he was before.

They tell him, however, that his …. venomous blow at the sacred liberty of white men to own black men is mere brutum fulmen [empty threat], and a dead letter and a poison which will not work. They tell him many other things, and, among them, they tell him that the army will fight no more, and that the hosts of the Union will indignantly disband rather than be sacrificed upon the bloody altar of fanatical Abolitionism."

Indeed, there were enough angry letters home from soldiers to give color to the rumors of military revolt hinted at by Stoddard. A New York Herald correspondent attached to the Army of the Potomac felt its temper and feared for the Republic:

"The army is dissatisfied and the air is thick with revolution.... God knows what will be the consequence, but at present matters look dark indeed, and there is large promise of a fearful revolution which will sweep before it not only the administration but popular government."

Less than two months later, in the midterm election of 1862, Northerners handed down their judgment on the Emancipator. It was a condemnation, a thumping Republican defeat — what the New York Times called "a vote of want of confidence" in Abraham Lincoln. The middle states that had swept the Railsplitter into the presidency in 1860 — Illinois, Indiana, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania — had now deserted him. All of them sent new Democratic majorities to Congress. To them was added New Jersey, which was a Republican donnybrook. In all, the number of Democrats in the House almost doubled, from 44 to 75, cutting the Republican majority from 70 percent to 55 percent. Heartsick at the Republicans' ruin, Alexander McClure of Pennsylvania wrote, "I could not conceive it possible for Lincoln to successfully administer the government and prosecute the war with the six most important loyal States declaring against him at the polls."

When the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect on January 1, 1863, Lincoln was pilloried again in the Northern press, and desertions by disgusted soldiers climbed into the thousands. Seeing no slaves freed, even abolitionists were soured by the Proclamation's impotence. As the cold, hard rains of winter announced the approach of the third year of the war's unimaginable sorrow, Lincoln was isolated and alone. Congressman A. G. Riddle of Ohio wrote that, in late February, the "criticism, reflection, reproach, and condemnation" of Lincoln in Congress was so complete that there were only two men in the House who defended him: Isaac Arnold of Illinois and Riddle himself. Author and lawyer Richard Henry Dana, after a visit to Washington in February 1863, reported to Charles Francis Adams:
"As to the politics of Washington, the most striking thing is the absence of personal loyalty to the President. It does not exist. He has no admirers, no enthusiastic supporters, none to bet on his head. If a Republican convention were to be held to-morrow, he would not get the vote of a State."

Suddenly, warnings were everywhere that, just as Lincoln's election had sparked the secession of the South out of fear that he would abolish slavery, the Emancipation Proclamation would spark the secession of the Old Northwest — the states of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio — now that the fear had been made real. Army recruitment came to a halt in those states. In response, Congress rushed through

the Draft Law, the first federal conscription act in the history of the nation. To many, the appearance of United States enrollers going from house to house was visible proof that the tentacles of Lincoln's government were curling around every American.

The popular revolt, when it reached its violent culmination, came not in the Northwest but in the nation's largest metropolis. In July 1863, in the wake of the Emancipation Proclamation and the Draft Law, riots broke out in New York City, a conflagration that, aside from the Civil War itself, was the largest insurgency in American history. Meade's victory over Lee at Gettysburg and Grant's capture of Vicksburg in the summer of 1863 stopped the erosion of Lincoln's popular support that had climaxed with the riots, but Northerners maintained a wait-and-see attitude until the spring campaigns of 1864. When spring came, the horrible carnage of Grant's Overland Campaign in the wildernesses of Virginia sent Lincoln's popularity again into eclipse.

Lincoln secured his renomination at the party convention in early June 1864, but there was no enthusiasm for him; he won by using the spoils system practice of stacking the party convention with appointees — delegates who owed their jobs to him. Attorney General Edward Bates noted in his diary, "The Baltimore Convention … has surprised and mortified me greatly. It did indeed nominate Mr. Lincoln, but … as if the object were to defeat their own nomination. They were all (nearly) instructed to vote for Mr. Lincoln, but many of them hated to do it …." The Chicago Times sneered that Lincoln could lay his hand on the shoulder of any one of the "wire-pullers and bottle-washers" in the convention hall and say, "This man is the creature of my will." James Gordon Bennett, in the columns of the New York Herald, declared, "The politicians have again chosen this Presidential pigmy as their nominee."

Things got worse over the election summer. There was the embarrassment of the near-capture of Washington in July 1864 by a rebel detachment under Lt. Gen. Jubal Early. The price of gold soared as speculators betted against a Union victory. Seeing Lincoln wounded, the Radical Republicans went in for the kill — on August 5, the New York Tribune devoted two columns to a sensational Radical declaration, known as the Wade-Davis Manifesto, that charged their own nominee with "grave Executive usurpation" and "a studied outrage on the legislative authority." It was the fiercest, most public challenge to Lincoln's — or, for that matter, any president's — authority ever issued by members of his own party. With the appearance of this surely fatal blow, everyone considered Lincoln a beaten man, including the president himself. The Democratic New York World savored the spectacle of the Lincoln's demise, reprinting an editorial from the Richmond Examiner: "The fact … begins to shine out clear," it announced, "that Abraham Lincoln is lost; that he will never be President again.… The obscene ape of Illinois is about to be deposed from the Washington purple, and the White House will echo to his little jokes no more."

In late August, however, the Democrats nominated George McClellan on a platform that declared, "The War Is a Failure. Peace Now!" Suddenly, as bad as Lincoln may have seemed for many Republicans, he could never be as bad as McClellan. The general who battled the Republicans more fiercely than he ever had the rebels now peddled peace at any price. And then, on September 3, only three days after the Chicago convention adjourned, a second, even more amazing deliverance arrived at the White House in the form of a telegram from Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman in Georgia: "Atlanta is ours and fairly won."

Its six simple words translated a military victory

in Georgia into a political miracle unequalled in American history. Senator Zachary Chandler called it "the most extraordinary change in publick opinion here that ever was known within a week." Lincoln's friend A.K. McClure sketched the election year in a stroke when he wrote, "There was no time between January of 1864 and September 3 of the same year when McClellan would not have defeated Lincoln for President." On September 4, the tide was, incredibly, reversed. The providential fall of Atlanta was followed by more Union victories in the Shenandoah Valley during September and October, and Republicans unified around Lincoln in time to win a huge electoral triumph in November: 212 electoral votes to 21.

The popular vote for Lincoln, however, was disappointing. After four years in the presidency, even in the spread-eagle patriotism of a civil war, Lincoln had only barely improved his popular showing in the North, from the 54 percent who voted for the unknown Railsplitter in 1860 to the 55 percent who voted for the Great Emancipator in 1864, when the war was almost won. In nine states — Connecticut, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Vermont — his percentage of the vote actually went down. Lincoln lost in all the big cities, including a trouncing of 78,746 to 36,673 in New York. In the key states of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, with their 80 electoral votes, only one half a percentage point separated Lincoln and McClellan. A shift of 38,111 votes in a few selected states, less than 1 percent of the popular vote, would have elected McClellan.

After Sherman's capture of Atlanta, a New York Republican had predicted, "No man was ever elected to an important office who will get so many unwilling and indifferent votes as L[incoln]. The cause takes the man along." Even after his reelection, plenty of Republicans were skeptical of Lincoln's contribution to the victory. According to Ohio Rep. Lewis D. Campbell, "Nothing but the undying attachment of our people to the Union has saved us from terrible disaster. Mr. Lincoln's popularity had nothing to do with it." Rep. Henry Winter Davis insisted that people had voted for Lincoln only "to keep out worse people — keeping their hands on the pit of the stomach the while!" He called Lincoln's reelection "the subordination of disgust to the necessities of a crisis." Of the seven presidential elections he had participated in, said Rep. George Julian, "I remember none in which the element of personal enthusiasm had a smaller share."

And now hatred of Lincoln developed a new, deadlier character, as dissenting Northerners and ground-under-heel Southerners woke to the awful dawn of four more years of Lincoln's "abuses." This short period culminated in Lincoln's assassination on April 14, 1865. It was only with his death that Lincoln's popularity soared. Lincoln was slain on Good Friday, and pastors who had for four years criticized Lincoln from their pulpits rewrote their Easter Sunday sermons to remember him as an American Moses who brought his people out of slavery but was not allowed to cross over into the Promised Land. Secretary of War Stanton arranged a funeral procession for Lincoln's body on a continental scale, with the slain president now a Republican martyr to freedom, traversing in reverse his train journey from Springfield to the nation's capital four years earlier. Seeing Lincoln's body in his casket, with soldiers in blue standing guard, hundreds of thousands of Northerners forgot their earlier distrust and took away instead an indelible sentimental image of patriotic sacrifice, one that cemented the dominance of the Republican Party for the rest of their lives and their children's.

This article appeared in the Summer 2009 issue of Hallowed Ground, the Civil War Preservation Trust's award-winning membership magazine. Link to source: http://www.civilwar.org/hallowed-ground-magazine/unpopular-mr-lincoln.html

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN RESOURCES

Abraham Lincoln and the Election of 1864

Featured Book

Jennifer Weber , Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North (Oxford University Press, 2006)

No American President had been reelected since Andrew Jackson had defeated Lincoln hero Henry Clay in 1832. Abraham Lincoln determined to break that three-decade long curse. Meeting with President Lincoln in the summer of 1863 Benjamin Rush Cowen recalled that President Lincoln "talked of the pending political campaign with great intelligence and interest, and had many pertinent inquiries to make as to the political situation in Ohio. His anxiety as to the result of the election, however, seemed less on his own account than because of the effect his defeat might have on the issue of the war."[1] There is ample evidence from Mr. Lincoln's interactions with friends like Leonard Swett and Alexander K. McClure that Mr. Lincoln took an active interest in his own reelection. He told one Presbyterian delegation that he "had his hand in" and wanted to remain in the presidency until the Civil War was won.[2]

A few months later, California journalist Noah Brooks reported: "There is no longer any need of concealing or ignoring the fact that Lincoln is a candidate for renomination. Your correspondent has the highest authority for saying that he does not seek the nomination, but really desires it at the hands of the loyal people of the United States. In this desire, a natural ingredient, is his hope that he may receive the suffrages of the people as an approval of the policy with which he has conducted an Administration through a long and arduous struggle. It is true that other Presidents may have asked the same on the same ground, but Lincoln has been called upon to administer the Government in strange and perilous times, and, as it is conceded that a change in the Administration during the present war would be, to say the least, risky, or, to use Lincoln's own phrase, would be 'swapping horses in the middle of the stream' it would be a direct rebuke to the present incumbent of the Presidential chair to rotate him out of office while affairs are in such a situation."[3]

Brooks, who had easy access to the President, reported: "He is no seeker for a renewal of office, busies himself with no thought of his own future, and never bestows favors with any reference whatever to the relations of an applicant for office toward himself. But patient, patriotic, persevering, and single-hearted, he goes right on with his duty, 'pegging away,' just as though, as he has said to me, his own life were to end with his official life, content to leave his earnest labors and conscientious discharge of duty to the disposal of God and his country."[4]

There were serious impediments to President Lincoln's reelection, however. "During four years of administration, Mr. Lincoln had made many enemies, among those who had originally supported him; and the democratic party were not scrupulous in the use of means to bring him into disrepute with the people. Many republicans suffered under private grievances. Their counsels had not been sufficiently followed; their friends had not been properly served," wrote early Lincoln biographer Josiah G. Holland. "Some thought Mr. Lincoln had been too fast and too severe in his measures; others thought that he had been too slow."[5] Historian Harold M. Dudley wrote: "Many of Lincoln's critics credited him with honesty and good intentions but indicted his judgment, his lack of system, and his failure to act promptly."[6]

Democratic conservatives and Republican radicals maneuvered to find an alternative to the incumbent. The difficulty which radicals had in choosing a candidate to oppose President Lincoln was

similar to President Lincoln's need for a general. Not just anybody would do. Salmon P. Chase had the presidential bug and he had an ego to match. He believed his had the gravitas and the background necessary for the Presidency. President Lincoln and his close relationship with Secretary of State William H. Seward grated on him. President Lincoln's policies grated on Chase's followers in Congress who organized behind his candidacy. Chase biographer Frederick J. Blue wrote: "Exactly when Chase was informed of the organization of the campaign group is not known, but in mid-January he wrote that a number of 'the clearest headed and most judicious men here...have determined to submit my name to the people in connection with the next Presidency.' Moreover, he 'consented to their wishes.' Several of the members had personal grievances against Lincoln in addition to political differences."[7]

Interior Secretary John Palmer Usher remembered that "Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, put out a circular saying that Mr. Lincoln was not qualified to manage the affairs of this country and to successfully conduct the war then raging. It was signed by Kansas men with others. It was...broadcast all over the country under the frank of the treasury department, this privilege being used by the bureau officers, one or more, of the treasury department. Many of the circulars were returned directly to President Lincoln."[8]

The document was distributed by Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy's in February 1864. "This circular was marked 'strictly private,' and gave to Pomeroy, whose initials were S.C., the nickname of 'Secret Circular Pomeroy.'" wrote Lincoln aide William O. Stoddard, but 100,000 "secret" documents were printed. Stoddard noted that " its main propositions...were that the renomination of Lincoln was not only undesirable but impossible; that the honor of the nation and the cause of liberty and union would suffer in consequence of his reelection; that the 'one-term principle' was essential to the safety of republican institutions; that Salmon P. Chase had more of the qualities needed in a President at that critical time than any other man; and that the discussion of Chase's availability had surprised his warmest admirers by the development of his strength."[9]

The publicity around the Pomeroy Circular forced Chase to pen an awkward letter of apology – and resignation – to President Lincoln, who denied that he had read the document although he had been shown the circular. President Lincoln wrote that he "did not perceive occasion for change" in Chase's job. On March 5, Chase renounced his presidential ambitions. By mid-March, Nicolay was writing: "Chase having retired from the Presidential contest, the tide continues to set as strongly as ever to Lincoln, and politicians therefore have but little to intrigue about. A few malcontents in the Republican party are stewing around, trying to make Butler, Fremont, or anybody they can get, the nucleus of a little faction in opposition to Lincoln but there is not the remotest prospect that their eggs will hatch."[10]
Chase's decision was forced not just be the ineptitude of his own supporters but also by the shrewd maneuvering of Lincoln supporters and patronage holders, engineering resolutions of support for his reelection, beginning in New Hampshire in January. Frederick J. Blue wrote: "The president had skillfully used his own patronage to build up his support and retain the backing of most party leaders. The ill-timed, intemperate appeal of the Chase committee thus precipitated a rush of politicians to join the Lincoln bandwagon and urged his renomination."[11]

Political intrigue did not cease, however. The names of Union generals were prominently mentioned. President Lincoln preferred not to show his political hand but he had been active in sounding out the intentions of possible presidential oppo-

nents such as Generals Ulysses S. Grant and Benjamin Butler. He sent personal representatives to sound them out. Historian Mark Scroggins argued that President Lincoln "knew that his machination would have to be kept secret. It was not that Hannibal Hamlin was a popular vice president. In fact, he cut a rather dull figure in the office. Nor was it because Hamlin had a hard core of support in New England. Lincoln had to be covert because if the Radical Republicans knew that he was considering a Southern War Democrat for the ticket, they would have done everything in their power to demolish his nomination."[12]

John Hay recorded in his diary in May 1864:

> I said to the President today that I thought Butler was the only man in the Army to whom power would be dangerous. McClellan was too timid & vacillating to usurp. Grant was too sound and cool headed & too unselfish; Banks also. Fremont would be dangerous if had more ability & energy.
>
> "'Yes,' says the Ancient, 'he is like Jim Jett's brother. Jim used to say that his brother was the biggest scoundrel that ever lived, but in the infinite mercy of Providence he was also the biggest fool."[13]

Butler was an opportunist in the best and worst senses. He saw that his political ambitions were cultivated. Biographer Richard S. West, Jr., wrote: "Colonel J. Wilson Shaffer, a Western newspaperman and politician, who had adopted Butler as his favorite candidate for the Presidency and had devoted most of the past year to pushing that project, was rewarded with the spot of Chief of Staff. Shaffer became a sort of roving liaison officer to present to officials in New York, Baltimore and Washington the military problems of Butler's command – a post in which he continued his political machinations."[14]

President Lincoln was dismissive of the Frémont challenge. Treasury official George S. Boutwell recalled: "When the proceedings of the convention of dissenting Republicans, which assembled at Cleveland in 1864, were mentioned to him and his opinion sought, he told the story of two fresh Irishmen who attempted to find a tree-toad that they heard in the forest, and how, after a fruitless hunt, one of them consoled himself and his companion with the expression, 'An' faith it was nothing but a noise."[15] Recalling the same story, Benjamin Rush Cowen said Mr. Lincoln added: "A good many things in this world at which timid people become greatly alarmed are found on nearer approach to be mere noise."[16] When Mr. Lincoln was informed that only 400 persons had attended the Cleveland convention, he pulled out a Bible and read the verses from I Samuel 22:2: "And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men."[17]

A little more than a week after the Cleveland convention, Republicans gathered in Baltimore for what they called a National Union Party convention. Lincoln aide John Hay wrote to colleague John G. Nicolay in Baltimore at the start of the convention: "The President wishes not to interfere in the nomination even by the confidential suggestion. He also declines suggesting anything in regard to platform or the organization of the Convention. The Convention must be guided in these matters by their own views of justice & property."[18]

Lincoln's nomination was opposed only by a radical delegation from Missouri, which the President clearly wanted seated despite its opposition to him. They cast their votes for General Ulysses Grant before moved that Lincoln's renomination be unanimous. Pandemonium erupted. Attorney General Edward Bates complained: "The Baltimore Convention (National Union I believe, it's called

itself) has surprised and mortified me greatly. It did indeed nominate Mr. Lincoln, but in a manner and with attendant circumstances, as if the object were to defeat their own nomination. They were all (nearly) instructed to vote for Mr. Lincoln, but many of them hated to do it, and only 'kept the word of promise to the them hated to do it, and only 'kept the word of promise to the ear' doing their worst to break it to the hope. They rejected the only delegates from Mo. who were instructed and pledged for Lincoln, and admitted the destructives, who were pledged against Lincoln, and, in fact, voted against him, falsely alleging that they were instructed to vote for Grant! The conservative was chosen in a manner more legitimate and regular than the destructive Radicals; for the Radical convention in Mo. (which appointed those delegates) was, substantially annulled, by the defection of the whole German element, they preferring to go to Cleveland and support Fremont, rather than go to the packed Lincoln gathering, at Baltimore." He wrote that those who did not defect directly to Fremont "resolved to send delegates to Baltimore, because they could better serve the destructive cause, and support Fremont, at Baltimore than at Cleveland. And they judged rightly – for they 'are wiser, in their generation than the children of light.'"[19]

Then, the Republican-Union convention turned its attention to the nomination for vice president. Among those nominated were Vice President Hannibal Hamlin, former New York Senator Daniel S. Dickinson, and Tennessee Governor Andrew Johnson. Controversy has swirled about what role President Lincoln played in replacing Vice President Hannibal Hamlin with Johnson. Lincoln's secretaries denied his involvement; Pennsylvania newspaper editor Alexander K. McClure swore by it. At the time, John G. Nicolay wrote that he had told the chairman of the Illinois delegation "I thought Lincoln would not wish even to indicate a preference for V.P. as the rival candidates were all friendly to him." President Lincoln had written on the letter "Wish not to interfere about V.P."[20] Journalist Noah Brooks said that President Lincoln told him he would have been happy with Hamlin's renomination. He added: "Some of our folks referring, as I believed, to Republican leaders had expressed the opinion that it would be wise to take a War Democrat as candidate for Vice-President, and that, if possible, a Border State man should be the nominee." President Lincoln pronounced his approval by saying: "Andy Johnson, I think, is a good man." But according to Brooks, "I have always have been confident that Lincoln, left to himself, would have chose that old ticket of 1860 – Lincoln and Hamlin – should be placed in the field."[21] When asked about his preferences for Vice President, Mr. Lincoln informed the Illinois delegation that Kentuckian Joseph "Holt is a good man, but I had not heard or thought of him for V.P. Wish not to interfere about V.P. Can not interfere about platform. Convention must judge for itself."[22]

Governor Johnson had a clear lead on the first ballot but was well short of nomination. Hamlin's renomination may have been doomed by political jealousies. Hamlin Biographer Mark Scroggins wrote: "The excitable governor of Iowa, William Stone, suddenly leaped out of his seat and announced that his delegation would give his state's entire vote to Johnson. Governor Stone had no authority to take this action; he was not even an elected delegate. He was only filling a vacancy. Most of the Iowa delegation opposed Johnson. The spokesman, Daniel D. Chase, tried frantically to signal Chairman Dennison. But Governor Dennison was either confused or did not hear Chase's protests. Before Chase could get the floor, Kentucky announced that she was changing her vote to Johnson too. This swung the pendulum and state after state abandoned Hamlin and threw their votes to Johnson."[23]

At President Lincoln's request, the Republican Convention endorsed a constitutional amendment to end slavery. The Republican Platform proclaimed: "That as Slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican Government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that we uphold maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of Slavery within the limits or jurisdiction of the United States."[24]

Ohio Governor William Dennison led a national delegation from the Baltimore convention to the White House. "I know no reason to doubt that I shall accept the nomination tendered; and yet perhaps I should not declare definitely before reading and considering what is called the Platform," President Lincoln told the delegation informing him of his nomination: "I will say now, however, that I approve the declaration in favor of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the nation. When the people in revolt, with a hundred days of explicit notice, that they could, within those days, resume their allegiance, without the overthrow of their institution, and that they could not so resume it afterwards, elected to stand out, such an amendment of the Constitution as is now proposed, became a fitting, and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause. Such alone can meet and cover all cavils. Now, the unconditional Union men, North and South, perceive its importance, and embrace it. In the joint names of Liberty and Union, let us labor to give it legal form, and practical effect."[25] It was a somewhat disingenuous statement from a President who worked hard behind the scenes to achieve just that result at the Republican convention.

With the convention behind him, President Lincoln ran into a series of increasingly troubling political difficulties. Journalist Noah Brooks recalled: "Political discussion in Washington during the months immediately preceding the second nomination of Lincoln was exceedingly animated. Although, as we afterward found, the country at large really thought of no name but Lincoln's, Washington politicians were all agog over a variety of compromises that would placate the ultra-radicals of the Republican party, and keep in line the conservatives.[26] Those radicals and abolitionists unhappy with President Lincoln were not pacified by his renomination. Other Republicans grew increasingly worried about his reelection prospects. Historian Christopher J. Olsen wrote: "The incomplete nature of William T. Sherman's accomplishment [in Georgia dealt another blow to Lincoln and the Republicans. On July 18, Lincoln had called for another five hundred thousand volunteers, and Peace Democrats rejoiced. By September 1, the Union had suffered more than one hundred thousand casualties since May, and the Confederates still held Richmond, Petersburg, and Atlanta. The Union Army under Nathaniel Banks was stalled in southern Mississippi, Benjamin Butler never got up the peninsula in Virginia, and the Confederates controlled Texas and most of Arkansas. After starting the year with such high hopes, Union voters now despaired. The July 1864 draft call produced the most no-shows of any single Union drafter...."[27]

The Democratic prospects of General George B. McClellan seemed to be rising. In March, former President Millard Fillmore wrote McClellan's wife: "As a general rule I am not in favor of electing military chieftains to the Presidency but all general rules have their exceptions and in my humble judgement, this is a crisis in the affairs of the nation, when a truly patriotic and skillful mili-

tary man of disinterested devotion to his country can do more than save it from ruin than any other and I believe General McClellan to be that man and hence my desire to see him President."[28] Many Americans agreed with Fillmore as spring turned to summer. Historian Harold M. Dudley wrote: "The summer of 1864 was an exceedingly gloomy period for the union cause and a time of depression for the president. The resignation of Secretary Chase, the mounting price of gold with the evident lack of national credit, the failure to recruit the army by volunteers making necessary a presidential call for half a million men in the draft order of July 19, the Wade-Davis Manifesto of August 5 with its heavy burden of criticism directed in full force against the President, the lack of cooperation manifested by Horace Greeley in the Niagara Falls peace proposals of early August, together with open rebellion in Ohio led by Vallandigham, and the rabid attacks printed in the New York World, which led to a temporary suspension of its publication, all pointed to the tremendous pressure which bore down upon the administration during July and August."[29]

Historian Hans L. Trefousse wrote: "Lincoln himself was also depressed by the Manifesto. It was sad 'to be wounded in the house of one's friends,' as he put it, and he wondered whether Wade and Davis intended to oppose his election openly. But the President realized that the authors had probably overshot their mark. Commenting that he had not and probably would not read the Manifesto, he told a characteristic story. 'It is not worth fretting about,' he said. 'It reminds me of an old acquaintance who, having a son of a scientific turn, bought a microscope. The boy went around, experimenting with his glass upon everything that came in his way. One day, at the dinner table, his father took up a piece of cheese. 'Don't eat that, father,' said the boy; 'it is full of wrigglers.' 'My son,' replied the old gentleman, taking, at the same time, a huge bite, 'let 'em wriggle; I can stand it if they can!'"

> "Lincoln's story was apt. He could stand the Manifesto, as the reaction of the country was beginning to show. His supporters in Washington did not even bother to print the document in their Daily Morning Chronicle; the Tribune's strictures upon it made much better copy. And when, three days later, news of Farragut's victory at Mobile reached the North, they could well afford to disregard the Manifesto altogether. The skies are again brightening,' they wrote.[30]

Maine Congressman James G. Blaine wrote: "Although they might have won Republican approval on the specific constitutional issues involved, Wade and Davis seriously misjudged the political situation. So far from hurting Lincoln, the protest actually seemed to help him. As Blaine put it, the 'very strength of the paper was...its special weakness. It was so powerful an arraignment of the President that of necessity it rallied his friends to his support.'"[31] Many Republicans and Republican newspapers rushed to the President's defense – including Wade's own local Ashtabula Sentinel. The county Republican convention resolved "That the recent attack on the President by Wade and Davis is, in our opinion, ill-timed, ill-tempered, and ill-advised, carrying great and undisguised joy to rebel camps in the South and rebel sympathizers in the North..." The New York Times charged it was designed to "aid the success of the Democratic party." However, noted Davis biographer Gerald Henig wrote, "a number of party members...firmly sided with Wade and Davis. William Cullen Bryant of the New York Evening Post vigorously argued that the congressmen were entitled to speak out when the President, at his own whim, put aside the action of Congress and 'left the restoration of the rebel states...wholly unprovided for, except by methods which the Executive might think proper to dictate." The editor of the Principia, an aboli-

tionist paper published in New York, regarded the manifesto as a 'manly protest' against Lincoln's desire 'to sacrifice, upon the altar of personal ambition, the liberties not only of four millions of native colored Americans, but, through the subversion of our republican institutions, the liberties also of thirty millions of whites.'"[34]
Later in August, Republicans panicked. The Army of the Potomac was stalled outside Richmond after a series of bloody defeats in battle. Americans seemed to be wearying of the war effort and Republicans were wearying of their standard-bearer who in July had pocket-vetoed the Wade-Davis Bill on reconstruction. Lincoln friend Alexander K. McClure wrote that "three months after his re-nomination in Baltimore his defeat by General McClellan was generally apprehended by his friends and frankly conceded by Lincoln himself."[35] Republican National Chairman Henry J. Raymond wrote: "I hear but one report – the tide is setting against us."[36]

Two events changed the political tide: the capture of Atlanta by General Sherman and the nomination of General McClellan on a peace platform. Historian Fawn Brodie wrote: "The moment, however, that George B. McClellan was nominated to oppose Lincoln on the Democratic ticket, Thaddeus Stevens and other Radicals, recognizing a real enemy, began to work feverishly for Lincoln's victory. As Charles Sumner put it privately, 'Lincoln's election would be a disaster, but McClellan's damnation.' Thaddeus Stevens quietly urged Carl Schurz to repair the split in the Republican Party by swinging the Frémont Radicals to Lincoln's side. And Zachary Chandler finally succeeded in getting Frémont to withdraw from the race. Stevens exacted a price for this, however – the Conservative, anti-Negro Montgomery Blair went out of the Cabinet."[37]

During the summer, President Lincoln had met with Simon Cameron and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. Stevens pressured him to promise to remove Postmaster General Blair from his Cabinet. Mr. Lincoln refused, saying: "It would be degrading to my manhood to consent to any such bargain – I was about to say it is equally degrading to your manhood to ask it." Then he added: "I confess that I desire to be re-elected. God knows I do not want the labor and responsibility of the office for another four years. But I have the common pride of humanity to wish my past four years Administration endorsed; and besides I honestly believe that I can better serve the nation in its need and peril than any new man could possibly do."[38]

The Democrats had postponed their own convention until the end of the summer. Returning home to Illinois in August 1864, John Hay wrote back to the White House: "We are waiting with the greatest interest for the hatching of the big peace Snakes at Chicago. There is throughout the country, I mean the rural districts, a good healthy Union feeling & an intention to succeed, in the military & the political contests, but everywhere in the towns, the copperheads are exultant and our own people either growing & despondent or sneakingly apologetic."[39] The next day, Hay expanded his field report:

> It is reported here that Horace Greeley Henry J. Raymond & the Ex. Com. Are trying to run Lincoln off, having give up beat. Most of our people are talking like damned fools. My father on the contrary is the most sanguine man I have met. He says we will carry this State with a fair working majority. Some of the Dutch [Germans] are bit with the Fremont mania. But the returned soldiers are all for Lincoln, if they can be kept right till November."[40]

Historian Jennifer L. Weber wrote: "Copperheads continued hammering away at the themes that had become their rhetorical centerpieces: The financial and human costs of the war, the suspension of

habeas corpus, the presence of the draft, the fact that this had become a war of emancipation. Lincoln was a tyrant who had only contempt for the Constitution."[41] The Democrats in New York City formed a "Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge" in early 1863. As the 1864 election drew near, the opposition tracts became increasingly vicious against President Lincoln as a pamphlet battle began .

The Democratic campaign truly kicked off in December 1863 with the publication of a Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro. It was an attempt to confuse supporters and opponents of Abraham Lincoln. Journalists at the New York World concocted the pamphlet to make it appear that it had been written by an abolitionist who favored the mixing of races – and thus create a controversy. Historian Sidney Kaplan wrote: "This pamphlet, a curious hash of quarter-truths and pseudo-learned oddities, was to give a new word to the language and a refurbished issue to the Democratic Party – although its anonymous author for good reason perhaps, never came forward to claim his honors. In the welter of leaflets, brochures, cards, tracts and cartoons struck off by all parties during the Civil War, it stands out as centrally significant."[42] In late December, the booklet was mailed off to prominent abolitionists in the hope that some would endorse its thesis and thereby fuel a political bonfire. Later, they placed advertisements for the pamphlet in abolitionist periodicals in an attempt to fuel political mischief.

Given northern racism, it was a reasonable, if dishonest, political tactic. Even in President Lincoln's Illinois, anti-black prejudice was strong and animosity to any immigration of former slaves into the state was stronger. Historian Bruce Tap wrote: "Many Midwesterners believed blacks were indolent, shiftless, and incapable of surviving on their own. Inevitably they would become a burden on society. On the other hand, the common complaint of white laborers was the fear that their economic well-being would be harmed due to the presence of cheaper black labor. There was also the concern of the negative social consequences of the mingling of the two races, that an inferior' race would lower the standards of the superior race."[43] Democrats tried to harness this racism against President Lincoln and the Republicans.

Congressman Samuel C. Cox, a leading Ohio Democrat, lambasted the spurious miscegenation pamphlet in a major speech in Congress on February 17, 1864. His speech in turn received wide distribution, further fueling anti-black and therefore anti-Republican sentiment.[44] Historian Jennifer Weber wrote that "Democrats... pounced on the tract as evidence of the administration's perverse and hidden agenda. Representative Cox of Ohio gave a lengthy address on February in the House. Abolitionists and Republicans 'used to deny, whenever it was charged, that they favored black citizenship; yet now they are favoring black suffrage in the District of Columbia, and will favor it wherever in the South they need it for their purposes.' This and other evidence 'ought to convince us that that party is moving steadily forward to perfect social equality of black and white, and can only end in this detestable doctrine of – miscegenation!'"[45]

Kaplan wrote that author's new word, "miscegenation," became a real issue for Democrats and Republicans: "From January to November 1864 the Democratic press would tear this 'issue' to tatters."[46] According to Kaplan, "right up to the November allotting – although the World alone among the Democratic sheets would speak in whispers on the subject – the national press would bandy word and issue in an unending saturnalia of editorial, caricature and verse."[47]

Democratic prospects waxed and waned during 1864 as did the relative dominance of War Democrats and Peace Democrats, often known as Cop-

perheads. The Democratic battle cry was "The Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is," a paraphrase of a statement made by New York Governor Horatio Seymour.[48] "The Democrats," noted Noah Brooks, "were irreconcilably divided. Although they were noticeably quiet during the weeks preceding the assembling of the Union Republican National Convention at Baltimore that summer, it was clear that the 'Peace' and 'War' factions of the party could not possibly be made to harmonize. The two hostile camps occasionally fired a shot at each other even in the infrequent sittings of congress. S. S. Cox was one of the more talkative and vivacious representatives who led the War Democrats pledged to the cause of McClellan, and New York Congressman Fernando Wood was the acknowledged leader in Congress of the Peace faction, whose affections were fixed on New York Governor Horatio Seymour."[49]

Most Democratic hopes rested on General George B. McClellan, who had been dismissed as commander of the Army of the Potomac in November 1862 and since then had awaited a new command that never came. In the fall of 1863, General McClellan ventured into politics. "Charles Mason, the Iowa judge managing McClellan's campaign in the nation's capital, implored him to visit Pennsylvania before the critical state and congressional elections there in mid-October. Mason wrote McClellan on October 3 that his mere presence 'at some of the great political meetings which will be held next week would greatly promote their interest...'" wrote Lincoln chronicler John Waugh.[50] By endorsing an anti-war Democrat, McClellan tarnished his credentials as a War Democrat. He was uncomfortable as a politician, a discomfort that increased as his nomination neared as the Democratic candidate for President in 1864.

Historian Jennifer L. Weber wrote: "McClellan's certain nomination was predicated on the belief that he would draw thousands of votes from soldiers in the field. Even though he was politically viable and shared conservatives' opposition to emancipation, McClellan was too moderate for the peace faction. In July a splinter group of Philadelphia hard-liners tried to nominate Millard Fillmore or Franklin Pierce, both former presidents, as the party candidate. The effort went nowhere, but peace men across the North nodded in approval."[51] Navy Secretary Gideon Welles remembered: "The democratic national convention met at Chicago on the 29th of August, to nominate a candidate for president, and to lay down the programme or platform of political principles which the managers professed to believe best for the country, and by which they and their associates were governed. Until within a few days of the meeting of the convention circumstances had favored them. Scarcely a cheering ray had dawned upon the administration after the renomination of Mr. Lincoln until about the time the democratic delegates convened at Chicago. Except the success of the navy in the destruction of the rebel cruiser Alabama by the Kearsarge in June, and the passage of the forts of Mobile Bay by David Farragut in August, there had seemed a pall over the Union cause, and all efforts, civil and military, of the administration. Information of the surrender of Fort Morgan was received on the day the democratic convention assembled. That convention pronounced the war a failure. Not only did rambling party declaimers harangue crowds against the despotic and arbitrary measures of the government, which, they said, was alienating the South, but men of eminence, some of whom had enjoyed public confidence and held high official position, participated in the assaults upon the president, who, while thus attacked, was struggling against reverses and armed resistance to the Union."[52]

McClellan's campaign manager, New York financier Samuel L. M. Barlow, refused to go to Chicago to manage the party platform. New York Governor Horatio Seymour did go and was recruit-

ed as an alternative to McClellan. Historian William Frank Zornow wrote that on "Sunday evening Seymour had a long talk with the ultra peace men in an effort to convince them that he was now unavailable and that they should support McClellan. He told them that when the New York delegation met again Monday morning for its final ballot that McClellan would most likely to be chosen. The ultras, however, were still adamant, and many of them insisted that they would nominate Seymour regardless of what action the New York delegation took."[53]

The Peace Democrats then concentrated on the party platform. Worried about a possible threat by New York Governor Seymour, McClellan's allies underestimated the competence of Vallandigham who inserted language in the platform that said "justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." McClellan's allies lost a crucial subcommittee vote that would have made reunion a prerequisite for peace negotiations. They decided against contesting the platform at the level of either the full committee or full convention. It was a critical mistake. New York Republican Chauncey M. Depew observed: "The platform committee, and the convention afterwards, permitted to go into the platform a phrase proposed by Clement C. Vallandigham, of Ohio, the phrase being, 'The war is a failure.' Soon after the adjournment of the convention, to the victories of Farragut and Sherman was added the spectacular campaign and victory of Union General Philip Sheridan in the valley of the Shenandoah. The campaign at once took on a new phase."[54]

On August 31, McClellan was nominated with a clear majority on the first ballot with a strong peace Democrat, George H. Pendleton, as his running mate. For many in the North, the Democratic Party effectively demonstrated its unreadiness to lead the country by passing a party platform at odds with the opinions of its presidential nominee. He was placed in a difficult dilemma — how to accept the nomination but reject the platform's peace plank. Historian Christopher Dell wrote that "A struggle began, between the War and Peace factions, concerning the presidential candidate's traditional letter of acceptance. War Democrats supporting McClellan wanted him to say that no armistice would go into effect until the Confederate states agreed to reenter the Union. Peace Democrats wanted him to recommend an armistice as a prelude to diplomatic negotiations. McClellan wanted to go along with the Peace faction. He had been warned by Vallandigham and others that failure to do so would result in their mass desertion. Moreover, he believed that if negotiations failed, the armistice could end and the war could recommence without difficulty.'[55]

McClellan attempted to fudge the differences, but ended up rejecting the position of the Peace Democrats. Like the platform, McClellan's response was vague and imprecise. Nevertheless, McClellan's acceptance letter – and rejection of the platform – was the high point of his campaign, but it came too late to erase the image of the convention. McClellan used his pen to some advantage for the rest of the campaign but avoided personal involvement. He proved as difficult a candidate as he had been a general. "Don't send any politicians out here — I'll snub them if they come — confound them," he wrote a friend.

By comparison with the activist incumbent, McClellan was a very passive candidate. McClellan's managers based in New York City tried to mobilize the Tammany machine there and the Copperhead network around the country behind McClellan. Biographer Stephen W. Sears wrote:

"He left the direction of the campaign to August Belmont, Samuel Barlow, and newspaper editors Manton Marble and William Prime. He made just two public appearances, at rallies in Newark and in New York; as he told a supporter on October 3, 'I have made up my mind on reflection that it would be better for me not to participate in person in the canvass.' He dutifully corresponded with some political figures and met others who visited him, but it is clear from these letters that presidential politics was not to George McClellan's liking, and midway through the campaign he secluded himself and his wife for a week at the country home of his friend Joseph W. Alsop, in Connecticut."[56]

Union soldiers held the potential balance of power in the election. McClellan sought to reignite his old popularity with the troops. President Lincoln, meanwhile, encouraged the voting by soldiers, whether in the field or on furloughs – especially in the pre-presidential elections in October. Soldiers held the potential swing votes in the election. Despite their previous allegiance to General McClellan, most were believed to be Lincoln supporters. Lincoln biographer John Waugh wrote: "The soldier vote wasn't deciding the election. Only in Maryland was it making a difference, and there it didn't affect the presidential outcome....The massive soldier defection from McClellan was, as suspected, not so much a vote against him as against the company he had been forced to keep. One of Lincoln's friends put it this way: 'The soldiers are quite as dangerous to Rebels in the rear as in front.'"[57] Although the support of the Union soldiers was not the margin of victory, it did provide a cushion of comfort for the Republican ticket and was vital in Connecticut where the Republican victory was determined by the soldier vote.

Federal officials like Assistant Secretary of War Charles Dana and state officials like New York Secretary of State Chauncey M. Depew worked hard to maximize the number of soldier votes. Although Democratic strategy depended on McClellan attracting a large proportion of the votes of his former troops, the Democrat peace platform undermined that effort. Although Secretary of War Stanton was unenthusiastic about the politicization of the war effort, he acquiesced. Historian David E. Long wrote: "The general feeling in the army was that his dismissal had been wrong and politically motivated, and that McClellan had good reason to be upset. However, his consorting with prominent Copperheads disappointed the troops he had nurtured and trained so devotedly. If he had any promise as a national political candidate, he had to retain the support of his army. The Army of the Potomac represented not merely the votes of 100,000 men, but also the votes of relatives and friends who relied on these men for news from the front. The soldiers were heroes to those they left behind and any action that hindered their effort was looked upon as disloyalty. Had McClellan been as astute a politician as he was a military organizer and theorist, he would have realized that the military vote represented his best chances of being elected and could have been more circumspect in his associations."[58] Ultimately, although the soldier vote was not decisive, it boosted President Lincoln's margin substantially and may have boosted the National Union ticket to victory in Connecticut and New York. By better than 3-1, soldiers preferred the commander-in-chief to their former commander.

General Ulysses S. Grant took an active role in advocating measures that would make it easier for soldiers to vote in 1864. He sent Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton a memo that argued strongly for soldier voting: "Most of these men are not regular soldiers in the strict sense of that term; still less are they mercenaries, who give their services to the Government simply for its pay, having little understanding of the political questions or feeling little or no interest in them. On the contrary they are American citizens, having still their homes and

social and political ties binding them to the States and districts from which they come and to which they expect to return."[59]

Democrats across the North were split in their attitudes toward the war. These splits had important political ramifications in states like Indiana and Ohio where Copperheads were particularly strong. Their involvement with the Knights of the Golden Circle and Sons of Liberty as well as representatives of the Confederacy undermined the credibility of Democrats more inclined to support the war effort. Republicans in Indiana, led by Governor Oliver P. Morton, were particularly quick to exploit Copperhead actions to discredit them. "Distorting the words and misrepresenting the aims of the peace Democrats was a singularly effective device by which Republican strategists discredited the rival party," wrote historian Kenneth M. Stampp.[60] But there was reality behind the Republican complaints. Two Confederate agents, Clement C. Clay and Jacob Thompson had been sent to Canada to work with anti-war Democrats, especially in states like Indiana and Illinois.

With the help of political reports on the Democratic conspiracies as well as well-timed arrests and trials, Republicans won a surprisingly easy victory in Indiana in early October. Pennsylvania's election at the same time was another bellwether. Lincoln chronicler John Waugh wrote: "Since Indiana had no soldier voting law, the two Indianans, Schuyler Colfax and Oliver Morton, both urged the president to get their boys home to vote in the state elections in October. After the fall of Atlanta, Lincoln wrote General Sherman suggesting, but no ordering, him to permit Indiana's soldiers, 'or any part of them, to go home and vote at the State election,' if he could do it without endangering his army."[61]

Sherman's own attitudes toward the election were ambivalent. By September, 1864, Sherman was in Atlanta, reporting directly to President Lincoln: "I will keep our men to the high roads and commons, and pay for the corn and meat we need and take – I am fully conscious of the delicate nature of such assertions, but it would be a magnificent stroke of policy, if I could without wasting a foot of ground or of principle arouse the latent enmity to Jeff Davis, of Georgia."[62] His enthusiasm for the President's policies was limited, however – as Sherman indicated in a letter to his brother only weeks before the presidential election: "I got your letter about my being for McClellan, I never said so, or thought So, or gave any one the right to think so. I almost despair of a popular Government, but if we must be so inflicted I suppose Lincoln is the best choice, but I am not a voter. Even if I am north I could not vote."[63]

Sherman expanded on these sentiments in a letter to his wife: "You ask my opinion of McClellan. I have been much amused at similar inquiries of John & Others in answer to a news paragraph that I pledge 99 votes of the hundred to McClellan. Of course this is the invention of some Rumor. I never said such thing. I will vote for nobody because I am not entitled to vote. Of the two, with the inferences to be drawn at home & abroad I would prefer Lincoln, though I Know that McClellan Clement Vallandigham or even Jeff Davis if President of the U.S. would prosecute the war, and no one with more vigor than the latter. But at the time the howl was raised against McClellan I knew it was in a measure unjust, for he was charged with delinquencies that the American People are chargeable for. Thus how unjust to blame me for any misfortune now when all the Authorities & People are conspiring to break up the army till the Election is over. Our Armies vanish before our eyes and it is useless to complain because the Election is more important than war."[64]

According to McClellan biographer Stephen W. Sears, "McClellan devoted most of his campaign efforts to the army vote. Thirteen states had made some provision for their soldiers to vote, and it

was expected that the general's great popularity with the men in the ranks during his time in command would be reflected in the 1864 balloting. He sought out officers friendly to him to distribute Democratic campaign literature to the troops, and encouraged the formation of such military clubs as the McClellan Legion to rally ex-soldiers and men home on furlough and sick leave to his cause. Despite these efforts, however, no other segment of the electorate rejected his candidacy so strongly. In the final election counting Lincoln would capture 55 percent of the vote; among the soldiers the president's count was 78 percent. In spite of his acceptance letter, Northern soldiers perceived General McClellan as representing the party advocating peace at any price, and they turned against him by an overwhelming margin."[65] By a 3-1 margin, soldiers who voted in the field rejected their former commander and supported their commander-in-chief.

President Lincoln realized that the future of the war effort depended on the future of his campaign. And although he prepared for the worst, he fully intended to work for his reelection. On August 23, President Lincoln wrote a sealed memorandum which he had the members of his Cabinet sign. He had been convinced by the negative reports of Republican leaders that he would lose in November. The memo read: "This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so co-operate with the President elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he can not possibly save it afterwards."[66]

In September, President Lincoln yielded to political reality and asked for the resignation of Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, who had repeatedly infuriated more radical Republicans. Although there was no explicit quid pro quo, John C. Fremont simultaneously withdrew his presidential candidacy. The Republican Party, which seemed hopelessly splintered in August, came quickly together. Dissident Republicans and newspaper editors in New York dropped their efforts to field another candidate and fell in behind President Lincoln. Federal employees were actively solicited for campaign contributions. Only Navy Secretary Gideon Welles resisted such efforts. The President contributed his advice to the officials running the campaign from Congress such as Iowa Senator James Harlan and New York Senator Edwin D. Morgan. The party's control of patronage assured it of an army of loyal supporters. Deviators complained that they were punished, but their punishment was mitigated whenever President Lincoln learned of specific complaints. Fawn Brodie wrote that Radical Republican Congressman "Stevens then campaigned vigorously for Lincoln in Pennsylvania, telling the voters that the president had risen above 'the influence of Border State seductions and Republican cowardice.' 'Let us forget, he said, 'that he had ever erred, and support him with redoubled energy.'"[67]

"As the war news improved and the Democrats searched for identity there was a movement of disgruntled Republicans back to Lincoln's candidacy," wrote historian Larry T. Balsamo.[68] Mr. Lincoln was not passive in this process. Historian Harold M. Dudley wrote: "Though Lincoln was adamant in upholding the union cause, yet he was not unwilling to use diplomacy to bring to himself the crown of success in the November. The removal of Montgomery Blair from the cabinet to propitiate Chase, the tender of Blair's office to Horace Greeley, the proffer of the French mission to James Gordon Bennett, critical editor of the New York Herald, presidential endorsement of New York Congressman Roscoe Conkling, brother-in-law of Horatio Seymour and Lincoln's avowed enemy, together with Blair's attempt to induce McClellan to withdraw from the campaign

by offering him a military position – all indicate the policy of Lincoln and his friends to present a united front in the interest of Republican success at the November election."[69] Republican prospects brightened throughout the fall. McClellan's candidacy failed to capture the public imagination as Union military victories – such as the victory of General Philip Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley in October reignited northern faith in an eventual Union triumph. Even President Lincoln's faith in his own reelection was strengthened though he remained conservative in his estimation of the northern states he would carry.

"Denunciation of Lincoln by Democratic spellbinders was of the bitterest character," remembered New York Republican Abram J. Dittenhoefer. "Newspapers affiliated with the anti-war party criticized every act of the administration and belittled the conduct of the war by Federal generals in the field. Therefore, Republican speakers did not mince words in criticism of the Democratic Presidential candidate, Gen. George B. McClellan." Dittenhoefer himself said in a speech at Cooper Union on September 27: "The battle that will be fought in November between the Union and the Confederate forces north of the Potomac will end in the destruction or exhaustion of the Southern Confederacy. Abraham Lincoln is the commander of the Union forces. I will now prove that George B. McClellan is the leader of the Confederate forces." Dittenhoefer later admitted: "Read in the calmness of to-day my language appears unwarrantedly aggressive, but at that time it seemed conservative."[70]

The actual election seemed almost an anticlimax. "Election day was dull, gloomy and rain; and as if by common consent, the White House was deserted, only two members of the Cabinet attending the regular meeting of that body," reported California journalist Noah Brooks, a close friend of Mr. Lincoln. "The President took no pains to conceal his anxious interest in the result of the election then going on all over the country, but just before the hour for Cabinet meeting he said: 'I am just enough of a politician to know that there was not much doubt about the result of the Baltimore Convention, but about this thing I am far from being certain; I wish I were certain.'"[71]

The President and his aides went to the telegraph room of the nearby War Department to await the results. War Department official Charles Dana recalled: "November 8th, election day, I went over to the War Department about half past eight o'clock in the evening, and found the President and Mr. Stanton together in the Secretary's office. General Thomas Eckert, who then had charge of the telegraph department of the War Office, was coming in constantly with telegrams containing election returns. Mr. Stanton would read them, and the President would look at them and comment upon them. Presently there came a lull in the returns, and Mr. Lincoln called me to a place by his side.

> 'Dana,' said he, 'have you ever read any of the writings of Petroleum V. Nasby?'
>
> 'No, sir,' I said; 'I have only looked at some of them, and they seemed to be quite funny.'
>
> 'Well,' said he, 'let me read you a specimen'; and, pulling out a thin yellow-covered pamphlet from his breast pocket, he began to read aloud. Mr. Stanton viewed these proceedings with great impatience, as I could see, but Mr. Lincoln paid no attention to that. He would read a page or a story, pause to consider a new election telegram, and then open the book again and go ahead with a new passage. Finally, Mr. Chase came in, and presently somebody else, and then the reading was interrupted.[72]

Secretary Stanton was not amused. Dana recalled that "Mr. Stanton motioned to me to come with him into General Eckert's room, and when the door was shut he broke out in fury: 'God damn it to hell,' said he, was there ever such nonsense? Was there ever such inability to appreciate what is going on in an awful crisis? Here is the fate of this whole republic at stake, and here is the man around whom it all centers, on whom it all depends, turning aside from this monumental issue to read the God damned trash of a silly mountebank!" Dana wrote:

> This fiery speech of the enraged Secretary was interrupted by General Eckert, who had another telegram which he showed to him, and with which we all went back into Mr. Stanton's own office, in order that the President might see it. Hardly had he begun to read it, however, when a new occasion of irritation arose. The messenger brought in a card and handed it to the President, who said at once, as he passed the card over to the Secretary, 'Show him in!' Stanton read it, and turning to me, exclaimed in a low voice: 'God in heaven, it is Whitelaw Reid!' I understood at once the point of this explosion. Mr. Reid, who was then the correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette and a great friend of Secretary Chase in Washington, was not liked by the Secretary of War. This dislike had gone so far that the doorkeepers at the War Department had received directions that Mr. Reid was not to be admitted. But when he sent his card in to the President, they could not refuse it. Mr. Reid came in and was greeted by Mr. Lincoln, but not by the Secretary. His purpose was merely to obtain from headquarters and from the highest authority the assurance that the election had certainly gone in favor of Lincoln; and after expressions of thanks and congratulations he withdraw. Just then Judge David C. Cartter came in with two or three other gentlemen, among Mr. Gustavus V. Fox of the Navy Department, and the reading of Petroleum V. Nasby from the Confederate Cross Roads was not resumed.[73]

Aide John Hay wrote in his diary: "We went into the Secretary's room. Mr. Wells and Fox soon came in. They were especially happy over the election of Rice, regarding it as a great triumph for the Navy Department. Says Fox, 'There are two fellows that have been especially malignant to us, and retribution has come upon them both, John Hale and Henry Winter Davis.' 'You have more of that feeling of personal resentment than I,' said Lincoln. 'Perhaps I may have too little of it, but I never thought it paid. A man has not time to spend half his life in quarrels. If any man ceases to attack me. I never remember the past against him. It has seemed to me recently that Winter Davis was growing more sensible to his own true interests and has ceased wasting his time by attacking me. I hope for his own good he has. He has been very malicious against me but has only injured himself by it. His conduct has been very strange to me. I came here, his friend, wishing to continue so. I had heard nothing but good of him; he was the cousin of my intimate friend Judge Davis. But he had scarcely been elected when I began to learn of his attacking me on all possible occasions. It is very much the same with Hickman. I was much disappointed that he failed to be my friend. But my greatest disappointment of all has been with Iowa Senator James W. Grimes. Before I came here, I certainly expected to rely upon Grimes more than any other one man in the Senate. I like him very much. He is a great strong fellow. He is a valuable friend, a dangerous enemy. He carries too many guns not to be respected in any point of view. But he got wrong against me, I do not clearly know how, and has always been cool and almost hostile to me. I am glad he has always been the friend of the Navy and generally of the Administration."[74]

The news that night was almost uniformly positive. – except early reports from New York which awarded it to McClellan. Historian Larry T. Balsamo wrote that "just over four million sovereign voters went to the polls to help decide the nation's destiny. The results were an overwhelming referendum of approval and support for Lincoln, his party and the policies of his administration."[75] Eventually, the President would win about 55 percent of the vote and all but three states – Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey. Dana remembered: "The first gun came from Indiana, Indianapolis sending word about half-past six in the evening that a gain of fifteen hundred in that city had been made for Lincoln. At seven o'clock, accompanied only by a friend, the President went over the War Department to hear the telegraphic dispatches, as they brought in the returns, but it was nearly nine o'clock before anything definite came in, and then Baltimore sent up her splendid majority of ten thousand plus. The President only smiled good-naturedly and said that was a fair beginning. Next Massachusetts send word that she was good for 75,000 majority (since much increased), and hard upon her came glorious old Pennsylvania, Forney telegraphing that the State was sure for Lincoln. 'As goes Pennsylvania, so goes the Union, they say,' remarked Father Abraham, and he looked solemn, as he seemed to see another term of office looming before him. There was a long lull, and nothing heard from New York, the chosen battle ground of the Democracy, about which all were so anxious. New Jersey broke the calm by announcing a gain of one Congressman for the Union, but with a fair prospect of the State going for McClellan; then the President had to tell a story about the successful New Jersey Union Congressman, Dr. Newell, a family friend of the Lincolns, which was interrupted by a dispatch from New York City, claiming the State by 10,000. 'I don't believe that,' remarked the incredulous Chief Magistrate, and when Greeley telegraphed at midnight that we should have the state by about four thousand, he thought that more reasonable. So the night wore on, and by midnight we were sure of Pennsylvania, the New England States, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and it then appeared that we should have Delaware. Still no word came from Illinois, or Iowa, or any of the trans-Mississippi States, and the President was specially concerned to hear from his own State, which sent a dispatch from Chicago about one o'clock in the morning, claiming the State for Lincoln by 20,000 and Chicago by 2,500 majority. The wires worked badly on account of the storm, which increased, and nothing more was heard from the West until last night, the 10th, when the President received two days' dispatches from Springfield, claiming the state by 17,000 and the Capital by 20 majority, Springfield having been heretofore Democratic. By midnight the few gentlemen in the office had had the pleasure of congratulating the President on his re-election. He took it very calmly - said that he was free to confess that he felt relieved of suspense, and was glad that the verdict of the people was so likely to be clear, full and unmistakable, for it then appeared that his majority in the electoral college would be immense. About two o'clock in the morning a messenger came over from the White House with the intelligence that a crowd of Pennsylvanians were serenading his empty chamber, whereupon he went home, and in answer to repeated calls came forward and made one of the happiest and noblest little speeches of his life..."[76]

Hay recalled: "Towards midnight we had supper, provided by Eckert. The President went awkwardly and hospitably to work shoveling out the fried oysters. He was most agreeable and genial all the evening in fact. Fox was abusing the coffee for being so hot – saying quaintly, it kept hot all the way down to the bottom of the cup as a piece of ice staid cold till you finished eating it."[77]

President Lincoln told serenaders that night: "All who have labored to-day in behalf of the Union

organization, have wrought for the best interests of their country and the world, not only for the present, but for all future ages. I am thankful to God for this approval of the people."[78] Historian David E. Long wrote: "Lincoln generally fared well in the cities. Outside of New York State, where McClellan outpolled him in every major city except Rochester, the only Northern cities where the president did not poll a majority were Detroit and Milwaukee. Milwaukee, where he received the lowest percentage of votes of any Northern city, contained a large number of German Catholics. Lincoln did poorly with Catholic immigrants, among whom support for the war was weakest. They felt little attachment to a war being waged for the freedom of blacks. Almost universally he lost the Irish vote. Pundits viewing the election went to great lengths to establish that the source of Lincoln's support was in the soil, the rural areas where hard-working, honest Protestant farmers lived the same life that young Lincoln had. The facts do not necessarily bear that out. In very few places did the president not do better than he did in Cook County, Illinois, where he won more than 81 percent of the vote. In Boston, Providence, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and St. Louis, he received more than three of every five ballots. In Cincinnati, he won 56 percent; Philadelphia, 55 percent; and Rochester, 53 percent. Also, before going too far in pursuit of the idea that Lincoln's strength was with 'men of the soil,' it should be remembered that most Confederate soldiers were yeoman farmers."[79]

Historian William Frank Zornow wrote: "The President polled 339,308 more votes in 1864 than he had in his first election. He had 55.08 per cent of the vote cast, and thereby removed from his shoulders the stigma of being a minority president. He carried five more states than in his first election: Missouri, Maryland, West Virginia, Kansas, and Nevada. Delaware and Kentucky voted against him on both occasions, and in the second election they were joined by New Jersey, which had given Lincoln four of its electoral votes in 1860. In 1864, Kansas, West Virginia, and Nevada voted in the presidential race for the first time. In four states – Maine, New Hampshire, Michigan, and Wisconsin – the President polled fewer votes than in 1860, and nine states (the above four plus Connecticut, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, and Vermont) his percentage of the votes polled was diminished."[80]

The morning after the election, aide Edward D. Neill saw the President busy at work when he reported for duty and went into Mr. Lincoln's office. "Entering the room, I took a seat by his side, extended my hand, and congratulated him upon the vote, for my country's sake and for his own sake. Turning away from the papers which had been occupying his attention, he spoke kindly of his competitor...."[81] George McClellan responded to the result by writing privately: "I was fully prepared for the result and not in the slightest degree overcome by it. For my country's sake, I deplore the result but the people have decided with their eyes wide open and I feel a great weight removed from my mind."[82]

Two days later after the election, President Lincoln delivered a more considered response to a serenade gathered outside the North Portico of the White House. He had written out his remarks in advance and an aide held a candle so he could read them to the crowd:

> It has been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its own existence, in great emergencies.
>
> On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test; and a presidential election occurring united, in regular course during the rebellion added not a

little to the strain. If the loyal people, were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided, and partially paralyzed, by a political war among themselves, but the election was a necessity.

We can not have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego, or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human-nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case, must ever recur in similar cases. Human-nature will not the change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak, and as a strong; as silly and as wise; as bad and good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this, as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged.

But the election, along with its incidental, and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election, in the midst of a great civil war. Until now it has not been known to the world that this was possibile. It shows also how sound, and how strong we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union, and most opposed to treason, can receive most of the people's votes. It shows also, to the extent yet known, that we have more men now, than we had when the war began. Gold is good in its place; but living, brave, patriotic men, are better than gold.

But the rebellion continues; and now that the election is over, may not all, having a common interest, re-unite in a common effort, to save our common country? For my own part I have striven, and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election; and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result.

May I ask those who have not differed with me, to join with me, in this same spirit towards those who have?
And now, let me close by asking three hearty cheers for our brave soldiers and seamen and their gallant and skilful commanders.[83]

Review
Fred Barnes, The Weekly Standard: "Weber's highly readable account of the short life span of the Copperheads is especially valuable because it redresses a historical oversight, and also points intriguingly to a current political struggle. The oversight was to give Copperheads short shrift by minimizing their role in the Civil War and the trouble they caused Lincoln."

More on the Author
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10. Herbert Mitgang, editor, *Washington, D.C., in Lincoln's Time: A Memoir of the Civil War Era by the Newspaperman Who Knew Lincoln Best, Noah Brooks*, p. 142.
11. Roy P. Basler, editor, *COllected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Volume VII, P. 376. (Endorsement Concerning Leonard Swett and Joseph Holt, June 6, 1864)*.
12. David Herbert Donald and Harold Holzer, editors, Lincoln in the Times; *The Life of Abraham Lincoln as Originally Reported in The New York Times,(New York Times)*, June 9, 1864, p. 209.
13. David Herbert Donald and Harold Holzer, editors, *Lincoln in the Times; The Life of Abraham Lincoln as Originally Reported in The New York Times,(New York Times)*, June 9, 1864, p. 209.
14. James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years in Congress*, Volume II, pp. 43-44.
15. Hans L. Trefousse, *Benjamin Franklin Wade*, p. 227.
16. *Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress. Transcribed and Annotated by the Lincoln Studies Center, Knox College. Galesburg, Illinois (Letter from Henry J. Raymond to Abraham Lincoln, Monday, August 22, 1864)*.
17. Allan Nevins and Irving Stone, editors, *Lincoln: A Contemporary Portrait (Fawn Brodie, "Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens")*, p. 30.
18. Sidney Kaplan, *"The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," The Journal of Negro History*, July 1949, p. 277.
19. Herbert Mitgang, editor, *Washington, D.C., in Lincoln's Time: A Memoir of the Civil War Era by the Newspaperman Who Knew Lincoln Best, Noah Brooks*, p.141.
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21. Rufus Rockwell Wilson, editor, *Intimate Memories of Lincoln, (Chauncey M. Depew, Scribners' Magazine),* November 1921, p. 506.
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24. Brooks D. Simpson and Jean V. Berlin, editors, *Sherman's Civil War: Selected Correspondence of William T. Sherman (Letter of William T. Sherman to Ellen Sherman, October 27 1864*), 1860-1865, p. 740-741.
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31. Frederick J. Blue, *Salmon P. Chase: A Life in Politics*, p. 223.
32. Mark Scroggins, *Hannibal: The Life of Abraham Lincoln's First Vice President*, p. 204.
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44. Sidney Kaplan, "*The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," The Journal of Negro History,* July 1949, p. 276.
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49. William Frank Zornow, *"McClellan and Seymour in the Chicago Convention of 1864," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Winter 1950, p. 291.
50. Christopher Dell, *Lincoln and the War democrats: The Grand Erosion of Conservative Tradition.*
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53. Bruce Catton, *"Grant and the Politicians," American Heritage, from Bruce Catton, Grant Takes Command*, October 1968.
54. Kenneth M. Stampp, "*The Milligan Case and the Election of 1864 in Indiana," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* June 1944, p. 43.
55. Brooks D. Simpson and Jean V. Berlin, editors, *Sherman's Civil War: Selected Correspondence of William T. Sherman (Letter of William T. Sherman to Abraham Lincoln, September 17, 1864)*, 1860-1865, p. 716.

Post-Visit Activity #3 (suggested)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN RESOURCES

1. Stephen W. Sears, editor, *Civil War Papers of George B. McClellan*, pp. 588-589.
2. Roy P. Basler, editor, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,(Memorandum Concerning His Probable Failure of Re-election, August 23, 1864)*, Volume VII, p. 514.
3. Allan Nevins and Irving Stone, editors, *Lincoln: A Contemporary Portrait (Fawn Brodie, "Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens")*, p. 30.
4. Larry T. Balsamo, *"'We Cannot Have Free Government Without Elections': Abraham Lincoln and the Election of 1864," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Summer 2001,
5. Michael Burlingame, editor, *Lincoln Observed: Civil War Dispatches of Noah Brooks*, November 11, 1864, pp. 142-143.
6. Michael Burlingame and John R. Turner Ettlinger, editors, *Inside Lincoln's White House: The Complete Civil War Diary of John Hay*, November 8, 1864, pp. 244-245.
7. Roy P. Basler, editor, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, (Reply to Committee Notifying Lincoln Of His Renomination)*, Volume VII, pp. 381-2.
8. Harold M. Dudley, *"The Election of 1864," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,(Letter from Millard Fillmore to Mrs. George B. McClellan, March 24, 1864)*, March 1932, p. 506.
9. Harold M. Dudley, *"The Election of 1864," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* March 1932, p. 510.
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13. Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North*, p. 159.
14. Sidney Kaplan, *"The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," The Journal of Negro History*, July 1949, p. 276.
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17. Abram J. Dittenhoefer, *How We Elected Lincoln*, p. 88.
18. Rufus Rockwell Wilson, editor, I*ntimate Memories of Lincoln, (Charles Dana, New York Sun, 1884)*, p. 578.
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20. William Frank Zornow, *Lincoln & the Party Divided*, pp. 215-216.
21. Theodore C. Blegen, editor, *Abraham Lincoln and His Mailbag: Two Documents by Edward D. Neill, One of Lincoln's Secretaries*, p. 28.
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24. Michael Burlingame, editor, *Lincoln Observed: Civil War Dispatches of Noah Brooks,* October 6, 1863, pp. 66-67.
25. Josiah G, Holland, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 467.
26. Harold M. Dudley, *"The Election of 1864," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* March 1932, p. 501.
27. Benjamin Rush Cowen, *Abraham Lincoln: An Appreciation by One Who Knew Him,* p. 34-35.
28. Michael Burlingame, editor, *Lincoln Observed: Civil War Dispatches of Noah Brooks,* October 6, 1863, p. 67.

Link to article: http://bit.ly/cqMHK4

CHARACTER EDUCATION

Trustworthiness

Students who are trustworthy do what they have said they will do. They are honest, and reliable. They only make promises if they know they can keep them and they really plan to keep them. They live using the rules they know about right and wrong.

5 Minute Focus

Imagine you are living on a homestead and through a disaster you become the head of the household. You have younger brothers and sisters to care for.

- What will you do?
- How will being a trustworthy person help you and your family?

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Reset Form

Written Document Analysis Worksheet

Print Form

1. TYPE OF DOCUMENT (Check one):

- ◯ Newspaper
- ◯ Letter
- ◯ Patent
- ◯ Memorandum
- ◯ Map
- ◯ Telegram
- ◯ Press Release
- ◯ Report
- ◯ Advertisement
- ◯ Congressional Record
- ◯ Census Report
- ◯ Other

2. UNIQUE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DOCUMENT (Check one or more):

- ☐ Interesting Letterhead
- ☐ Handwritten
- ☐ Typed
- ☐ Seals
- ☐ Notations
- ☐ "RECEIVED" stamp
- ☐ Other

3. DATE(S) OF DOCUMENT:

4. AUTHOR (OR CREATOR) OF THE DOCUMENT:

POSITION (TITLE):

5. FOR WHAT AUDIENCE WAS THE DOCUMENT WRITTEN?

6. DOCUMENT INFORMATION (There are many possible ways to answer A-E.) Limit response for each question to 3 lines of text

A. List three things the author said that you think are important:

B. Why do you think this document was written?

C. What evidence in the document helps you know why it was written? Quote from the document.

D. List two things the document tells you about life in the United States at the time it was written.

E. Write a question to the author that is left unanswered by the document:

Reset Form

Designed and developed by the
Education Staff, National Archives and Records Administration,
Washington, DC 20408

Print Form

Source: www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/document.html

Transcript of Homestead Act (1862)

CHAP. LXXV. —*An Act to secure Homesteads to actual Settlers on the Public Domain.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and who has never borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall, from and after the first January, eighteen hundred and. sixty-three, be entitled to enter one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a preemption claim, or which may, at the time the application is made, be subject to preemption at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres or less of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, to be located in a body, in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and after the same shall have been surveyed: Provided, That any person owning and residing on land may, under the provisions of this act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land, which shall not, with the land so already owned and occupied, exceed in the aggregate one hundred and sixty acres.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the person applying for the benefit of this act shall, upon application to the register of the land office in which he or she is about to make such entry, make affidavit before the said register or receiver that he or she is the head of a family, or is twenty-one years or more of age, or shall have performed service in the army or navy of the United States, and that he has never borne arms against the Government of the United States or given aid and comfort to its enemies, and that such application is made for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and that said entry is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation, and not either directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever; and upon filing the said affidavit with the register or receiver, and on payment of ten dollars, he or she shall thereupon be permitted to enter the quantity of land specified: Provided, however, That no certificate shall be given or patent issued therefor until the expiration of five years from the date of such entry ; and if, at the expiration of such time, or at any time within two years thereafter, the person making such entry ; or, if he be dead, his widow; or in case of her death, his heirs or devisee; or in case of a widow making such entry, her heirs or devisee, in case of her death ; shall. prove by two credible witnesses that he, she, or they have resided upon or cultivated the same for the term of five years immediately succeeding the time of filing the affidavit aforesaid, and shall make affidavit that no part of said land has been alienated, and that he has borne true allegiance to the Government of the United States ; then, in such case, he, she, or they, if at that time a citizen of the United States, shall be entitled to a patent, as in other cases provided for by law: And provided, further, That in case of the death of both father and mother, leaving an Infant child, or children, under twenty-one years of age, the right and fee shall ensure to the benefit of said infant child or children ; and the executor, administrator, or guardian may, at any time within two years after the death of the surviving parent, and in accordance with the laws of the State in which such children for the time being have their domicil, sell said land for the benefit of said infants, but for no other purpose; and the purchaser shall acquire the absolute title by the purchase, and be en- titled to a patent from the United States, on payment of the office fees and sum of money herein specified.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That the register of the land office shall note all such applications on the tract books and plats of, his office, and keep a register of all such entries, and make return thereof to the General Land Office, together with the proof upon which they have been founded.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That no lands acquired under the provisions of this act shall in any event become liable to the satisfaction of any debt or debts contracted prior to the issuing of the patent therefor.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That if, at any time after the filing of the affidavit, as required in the second section of this act, and before the expiration of the five years aforesaid, it shall be proven, after due notice to the settler, to the satisfaction of the register of the land office, that the person having filed such affidavit shall have actually changed his or her residence, or abandoned the said land for more than six months at any time, then and in that event the land so entered shall revert to the government.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That no individual shall be permit- ted to acquire title to more than one quarter section under the provisions of this act; and that the Commissioner of the General Land Office is hereby required to prepare and issue such rules and regulations, consis- tent with this act, as shall be necessary and proper to carry its provisions into effect; and that the registers and receivers of the several land offices shall be entitled to receive the same compensation for any lands entered under the provisions of this act that they are now entitled to receive when the same quantity of land is entered with money, one half to be paid by the person making the application at the time of so doing, and the other half on the issue of the certificate by the person to whom it may be issued; but this shall not be construed to enlarge the maximum of compensation now prescribed by law for any register or receiver: Pro- vided, That nothing contained in this act shall be so construed as to im- pair or interfere in any manner whatever with existing preemption rights : And provided, further, That all persons who may have filed their applications for a preemption right prior to the passage of this act, shall be entitled to all privileges of this act: Provided, further, That no person who has served, or may hereafter serve, for a period of not less than fourteen days in the army or navy of the United States, either regular or volun- teer, under the laws thereof, during the existence of an actual war, do- mestic or foreign, shall be deprived of the benefits of this act on account of not having attained the age of twenty-one years.

SEC. 7. And be it further enacted, That the fifth section of the act en- titled" An act in addition to an act more effectually to provide for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States, and for other purposes," approved the third of March, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-seven, shall extend to all oaths, affirmations, and affidavits, re- quired or authorized by this act.

SEC. 8. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent any person who has availed him or herself of the benefits of the first section of this act, from paying the minimum price, or the price to which the same may have graduated, for the quantity of land so entered at any time before the expiration of the five years, and obtain- ing a patent therefor from the government, as in other cases provided by law, on making proof of settlement and cultivation as provided by exist- ing laws granting pre-emption rights.

APPROVED, May 20, 1862.

Source: http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=31&page=transcript

Neve Affidavit

(4—089.)

HOMESTEAD AFFIDAVIT

Under Section 2294, Revised Statutes, for settlers who cannot appear at the District Land Office.

Office of the Clerk of the Court

For Custer County,

, 188

I, James Neve Sr., of Cuthbert Nebr.

having filed my Homestead Application No. 7783, do solemnly swear that I am a citizen of the United States and the head of a family

that said application No. 7783 is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation; that said entry is made for my exclusive use and benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever; that I am now residing on the land I desire to enter, and that I have made a *bona fide* improvement and settlement thereon; that said settlement was commenced February 16" 1885 that my improvements consist of a house etc.

and that the value of the same is $ 75.00; that owing to great distance

I am unable to appear at the District Land Office to make this affidavit, and that I have never before made a homestead entry ~~except~~

Attest Oscar W. Drefren

James Neve Sr.
his
mark

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23" day of April, 1885.

Milton Trescott
District Clerk of the Court for Custer Co. Nebr.
By Oscar W. Drefren
Deputy

NOTE.—The claimant must fill up the blank places above, showing whether he is the head of a family or over twenty-one years of age; whether a native citizen, or has declared his intention to become a citizen; whether he and his family, or some member thereof, is residing on the land, giving the date of actual settlement, describing the dwelling-house and improvements, and stating the value of the same, and stating reason for not appearing at the District Land Office. If claimant ever before made a homestead entry, describe the same; if not, draw a line over the word "except."

[12617—100 M.]

Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/nevelandrecords.htm

Neve Final Affidavit

(4—196.)

HOMESTEAD.

Land Office at Broken Bow Neb.

August 2 ", 1890.

FINAL CERTIFICATE, No. 7

APPLICATION, No. 7283

It is hereby certified That, pursuant to the provisions of Section No. 2291, Revised Statutes of the United States, Elizabeth Neve widow of James Neve has made payment in full for E½ N E¼, E½ S E¼

of Section No. 35, in Township No. 18 north, of Range No. 24 west, of the fifth Principal Meridian and, containing 160 acres.

Now, therefore, be it known, That on presentation of this Certificate to the COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE, the said Elizabeth Neve shall be entitled to a Patent for the Tract of Land above described.

John Reese
Register.

19303 b—25 m

Issue patent to Elizabeth Neve widow of James Neve. G.M.D.

Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/nevelandrecords.htm

Neve Testimony, Page 1

(99.)

Homestead, Pre-Emption & Commutation Proof.

TESTIMONY OF CLAIMANT.

Full and Specific Answers must be given to each Question. Evasive Answers will be Fatal to the Proof.

Elizabeth Neve Widow of James Neve Dec'd claimant, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

Question 1.—What is your correct name, your age, and occupation? If employed by any person, state by whom.

Ans. Elizabeth Neve Widow of James Neve Deceased. age 78 years. Farmer

Ques. 2.—What is your post-office address.

Ans. Cliff Nebraska

Ques. 3.—Are you the identical person who made pre-emption filing No ..... (or homestead entry No 7284) at the North Platte land office on the 1st day of May, 1885; and what is the true description of the land now claimed by you?

Ans. I am. E½ NE¼ E½ SE¼ 35-18-24 W.

Ques. 4.—Where did you live before settling upon this land, and what was your occupation?

Ans. Wisconsin — Farming

Ques. 5.—Are you a citizen of the United States, or have you declared your intention to become such?

Ans. No I have Naturalization Papers of my husband.

(In case the party is of foreign birth, a copy of his declaration of intention to become a citizen, or full naturalization certificate, officially certified, must be filed with the case. The latter is only required in final homestead entries.)

Ques. 6.—Are you interested in any other entry or filing than the one upon which you now seek to make proof?

Ans. No

Ques. 7.—Have you ever made a pre-emption filing for any other tract of land, or made any other homestead entry or filing or entry of any kind? (Answer each question separately, describe the land, and state what disposition you made of your claim.)

Ans. No

Ques. 8.—Is your present claim within the limits of an incorporated town or selected site of a city or town, or used in any way for trade and business.

Ans. no. no

Ques. 9.—What is the character of the land? Is it timber, mountainous, prairie, grazing, or ordinary agricultural land? State its kind and quality, and for what purpose it is most valuable.

Ans. Prairie land. agricultural land. Good. Farming

Ques. 10.—Is the land valuable for coal, iron, stone, or minerals of any kind? Has any coal or other minerals been discovered thereon or is any coal or mineral known to be contained therein? Are there any indications of coal, salines, or minerals of any kind on the land? If so, describe what they are.

Ans. No. no

Ques. 11.—If the land is timber land, state the kind, quality, and amount of timber thereon at date of initiating your claim, the amount still standing, how much has been cut and removed, and by whom, and whether the same has been disposed of, and to whom; also whether any other person than yourself has any interest in the timber, and if so, what kind of interest.

Ans. Not timber land

Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/nevelandrecords.htm

Neve Testimony, Page 2

Ques. 12.—If the land is used for grazing purposes, state how and by whom it is so used, and whether it is within any stock range or fence or other enclosure, and who owns or controls the range or enclosure.

Ans. Not so used & not so enclosed

Ques. 13.—When did you first make an actual personal settlement on this land? State what you did to make such settlement, and the character and value of the improvements you then placed upon the land.

Ans. April 1st 1885. built house. broke 20 acres etc $300

Ques. 14.—Was the land occupied by any other person when you made such settlement? If so, state who lived there, and how you obtained possession.

Ans. No

Ques. 15.—When did you actually move on this land and commence living permanently thereon?

Ans. April 13th 1885.

Ques. 16.—Where has been your actual personal residence and home during the whole time since the date of this filing or entry?

Ans. On my Present claim

Ques. 17.—Has your residence on the land now claimed been actual or constructive, continuous or at intervals? Explain what you mean by actual continuous residence.

Ans. actual and continuous living there most of the time

Ques. 18.—Have you resided or boarded elsewhere than on this land since commencing your residence thereon? If so, state when and where, how often, and for how long?

Ans. Since last Oct. 89 I have boarded with my Grandson at intervals being to feeble to stay nights alone

Ques. 19.—Where have you voted since establishing residence on this land, and where did you last vote, and how long have you voted there?

Ans. I have no vote

Ques. 20.—How many times have you been absent from said tract since you commenced actual residence thereon? Give the dates when each absence commenced and terminated, and the cause therefor.

Ans. Not been absent except as stated above

Ques. 21.—Have you a family, and of whom does your family consist?

Ans. I have no Family

Ques. 22.—Has your family resided with you on this claim? If so, state when they moved on the land, and how long they have lived there, and whether they actually reside there still.

Ans. My husband lived with me until death March 1st 1887. April 13th 1888. lived there until death

Ques. 23.—If your family has been absent any part of the time since moving on the land, state the causes for and the dates when each absence commenced and terminated.

Ans. My husband was not absent until death March 1st 1885.

Ques. 24.—When and by whom was your house built? Is it habitable at all seasons of the year?

Ans. April 1st 1885. My Son It is

Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/nevelandrecords.htm

Neve Testimony, Page 3

Ques. 25.—Did you and your family live in said house during all of each or any winter since the date of your filing or entry? If not, state the duration and causes of each absence.

Ans. My husband did until death March 1st 1887 I have except last winter. To feeble to stay alone

Ques. 26.—If your family has not lived with you on this claim since the date of your filing or entry, state the causes therefor, where they did reside, and where they are now living.

Ans. My husband did until death March 1st 1881

Ques. 27.—Do you own any other *residence house* than the one now on your claim? If so, state where, and who occupies the same.

Ans. No

Ques. 28.—Describe fully the house on this claim, giving value thereof; also describe fully all other improvements thereon, of whatever kind, giving the value of each and total value of all improvements.

Ans. Sod house 14x30. 3 windows. 2 doors boarded & Sod roof. $150. Sod stable 14x14. $75. Chicken house $20 Cave $40 Cistern $50.
25 broke Same in cultivation $100
Total $415

Ques. 29.—What farm implements do you own and use on this claim? State kind and number, and how long you have owned the same.

Ans. Sixing Plow cultivator wagon

Ques. 30.—What domestic animals and live stock do you own and keep on this claim? State kind and number of each kind.

Ans. one cow & chickens

Ques. 31.—State what articles of furniture of every kind you keep and use in your residence on this claim, and how long have you had them there.

Ans. 2 beds & bedding. Cooking stove & utensils chairs. Table

Ques. 32.—Have you any personal property or live stock of any kind elsewhere than on this claim? If so, describe the same, and state where the same is kept.

Ans. No

Ques. 33.—How many seasons have you raised crops on this land, and what kind of crops have you raised each season.

Ans. 5 seasons. Corn wheat and oats

Ques. 34.—How many acres have you put in crops each year, and how much did you raise? State the amount in bushels of each kind. 85. 5 acres. 50 bu 86. 6 A. wheat. 101 bu. oats 5 A. 50 bu corn 15 bu

Ans. 87. wheat & corn. 2 ac. 300 bu. 88. 25 acres corn 600 bu.
89. 25 acres. corn 1000 bu

Ques. 35.—Have you the land in crop this year, or is it prepared for cropping the coming season? How much of the land is so cropped or prepared?

Ans. Yes in crops

Ques. 36.—Do you carry on any trade, profession, or business elsewhere than on this land? If so, state what business you have been engaged in while claiming this land, where it was carried on, and the distance from your claim.

Ans. No

Ques. 37.—If you have been employed in working for others away from this claim since you established residence thereon, state when, where, and for whom, in what occupation or capacity, how long have you so worked, and where you stayed and lived during that time.

Ans. Not been so employed

Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/nevelandrecords.htm

Neve Testimony, Page 4

Ques. 38.—Where are you assessed for taxes, personal, real estate, or license, and when and where have you paid taxes since claiming this land?

Ans. Cliff P. where due. Same place

Ques. 39.—Are the improvements on this land assessed for taxes; if so, at what valuation? Have such taxes been paid, if so, when and by whom?

Ans. No

Ques. 40.—What use is made of this land, and who, besides yourself ~~and family~~, uses it or causes it to be used?

Ans. Farming No one

Ques. 41.—Have you sold, transferred, or mortgaged this land, or offered or agreed to sell or dispose of it, and at what price?

Ans. No

Ques. 42.—Do you make this entry in the interest of or for the benefit of some one else, or has any person other than yourself and family any interest, immediate or prospective, in this entry? If so, state for whom the entry is made.

Ans. No No

Ques. 43.—Has any person paid your expenses for making this entry, or paid you wages or a salary on condition that you make said entry, or agreed to do either, or agreed to pay the entry money for you, or to pay the fees or commissions, with the agreement or understanding that you will deed the land after entry is made?

Ans. No

Ques. 44.—Do you make this entry in good faith, for the exclusive purpose of a home and farm for yourself and ~~family~~?

Ans. I do

Ques. 45.—Did you leave or abandon a residence on your own land to reside on the land herein described, and claimed by you.

Ans. No

Witness Geo. W. Simpson

[Signature of Claimant.] her Elizabeth, Neve widow of James Neve Deceased mark

I, ~~J. J. DOUGLASS, Clerk District Court~~ N. J. Shinn County Judge, Custer County, hereby certify that each question in the foregoing deposition was orally propounded to the said Elizabeth Neve and the foregoing answers severally given by him thereto before he signed the same and after being sworn according to law; that the said Elizabeth Neve is to me personally known (~~or satisfactorily identified~~ by) as the person he represents himself to be in making this proof; that I have called his attention to the laws and penalties against false swearing, and that the foregoing deposition was sworn to and subscribed before me this 24 day of July A. D. 1890

N. J. Shinn

Clerk District Court.

By County Judge

Deputy.

Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/nevelandrecords.htm

Neve Witness Testimony, Page 1

(100.)

Homestead, Pre-Emption & Commutation Proof

TESTIMONY OF WITNESS.

Question 1.—What is your true name, (christian and surname,) given in full, your age, residence, and present post office address? (Give description of land on which you reside, quarter-section, township and range.)

Answer William H. Vanhorn age 32 years Bliff Nebraska

S E¼ 32-18-24

Ques. 2.—What is your present occupation, and where and by whom have you been employed since April 1st 1885 the date of claimant's alleged settlement on said tract?

Ans. Farming for myself

Ques. 3.—Are you related to claimant or in any way interested in this claim, or are you connected with him in business of any kind?

Ans. No no

Ques. 4.—How far from the residence of claimant on said tract, do you reside, and how long have you lived there?

Ans 2 miles 5 year

Ques. 5.—Give the names and residences of two or more persons living nearer to the claimant of this tract than yourself. If none are nearer than you, give the names of two or more next nearest, and state the land on which they reside.

Ans Mat Wolniczek sec 35-18-24 W.

John Mader. sec-1-17-24W

Ques. 6.—How long have you known Elizabeth Neve widow of James Neve deceased the claimant, for whom you appear as a witness, where has she been living since you first knew her up to the present time, and is she the identical person she represents himself to be?

Ans 10 years on the claim described. Yes

Ques. 7.—Are you well acquainted with the land embraced in this claim? Give correct description thereof; also state the extent of your knowledge, and how you know what you affirm.

Ans Yes. E½ N E¼ & E½ S E¼ 35-18-24 W.

Know by personal Knowledge

Ques. 8.—How often have you been on this tract of land since claimant's alleged settlement thereon, at what time or times, and when did you last see him on the land?

Ans Average once every Two weeks. various times yesterday

Ques. 9.—Is said tract within the limits of an incorporated town or selected site of a city or town, or used in any way for trade or business?

Ans No no

Ques. 10.—State specifically the character of this land—whether it is timber, prairie, grazing, farming, coal, or mineral land.

Ans Prairie land Farming

Ques. 11.—Are there any indications of coal, minerals, or salines on this land?

Ans No

Ques. 12.—Is it within any stock range or fence or other inclosure? If so, give the names of the parties owning or in any manner controlling such inclosure or range.

Ans not so enclosed

Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/nevelandrecords.htm

Neve Witness Testimony, Page 2

Ques. 13.—If the land is timber land, state whether the timber, or any portion thereof, and what portion, if any, has been cut or removed, and by whom.

Ans. not timber land

Ques. 14.—What is this land used for, and who (if any one) besides the claimant is in any manner interested in or uses or controls the land or claims the timber thereon?

Ans. Farming no one

Ques. 15.—What has been claimant's occupation since you first know her and where has she been employed, and by whom?

Ans. Farming & housekeeper for herself on her claim

Ques. 16.—Has he had any other living or boarding place than on this land during the existence of his present claim? If so, state where he has been living or stopping.

Ans. not until last fall. she has been staying with her grandson the most of the time on account of being to feeble to stay alone being on her claim often

Ques. 17.—Does claimant's family reside on said land? When did they move thereon? How long have they lived there, and do they still reside thereon? If not, where do they reside?

Ans. She has no family her husband died march 1st 1887.

Ques. 18.—Has claimant's family been absent from said land since moving thereon? If so, state how often, how long each time, and the cause of said absence or absences.

Ans. Since death as stated above

Ques. 19.—State in full and in detail all the facts within your knowledge as to the claimant's actual residence upon this claim; when and how often you have seen him upon the land; what were the evidences that he actually lived on the tract; how long he has lived there, and whether he lives there now.

Ans. I have saw her often saw her stock there know she has lived there since april 13th 1888. & lives there now

Ques. 20.—If claimant has been absent from said land since his alleged settlement, state fully how often, when, how long each time, and for what purpose.

Ans. not been absent except as stated above

Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/nevelandrecords.htm

Neve Witness Testimony, Page 3

Ques. 21.—State in detail the character of the improvements; what they consist of, and when they were made; the value of each distinct improvement, fully describing the same; also whether they were made by the claimant or by some other person.

Ans. Sod house 14x30. 3 windows 2 doors
Sod roof. $150. Sod stable. 75. Hen house $20
Cave $25 Cistern $45.
25 in cultivation $100
Made by claimant

Ques. 22.—Give the size, construction, and material of claimant's house on said tract; also state whether the same is habitable during all seasons of the year.

Ans. 14 x 30. 3 windows. 2 doors Sod roof
It is

Ques. 23.—What is this land worth, and was it ever offered for sale?

Ans. $1500 not to my Knowledge

Ques. 24.—When did claimant commence living upon this land?

Ans. april 13" 1885

Ques. 25.—How much of said land has been broken, how much plowed since being broken, and how much put into crop each season? State kind of crops raised, their value, and number of seasons crops were raised.

Ans. 30 acres broken Same Ploughed
I do not Know. but Know fair crops
were raised each Seasons since 1885 dont Know
value corn wheat & oats — 5 Seasons

Ques. 26.—Is said land in crops this season, or has it been prepared for cropping the coming season?

Ans. yes in crops

Ques. 27.—a. Is claimant the owner of 320 acres in this or any other State or Territory? b. Did claimant leave or abandon a residence on her own land, ~~in this state,~~ to reside on the land herein described?

Ans. a. not to my Knowledge b. not to my Knowledge

Ques. 28.—Do you believe that claimant intends to continue her residence on this land after making final proof, or does he intend to remove therefrom?

Ans. I believe She intends to remain

Ques. 29.—Does claimant, with his family, reside on said land at the present time? You will explain how you know whether she resided there, as you have heretofore stated.

Ans. She does Has no Family
by living near, Seeing her there often
Know She lives there

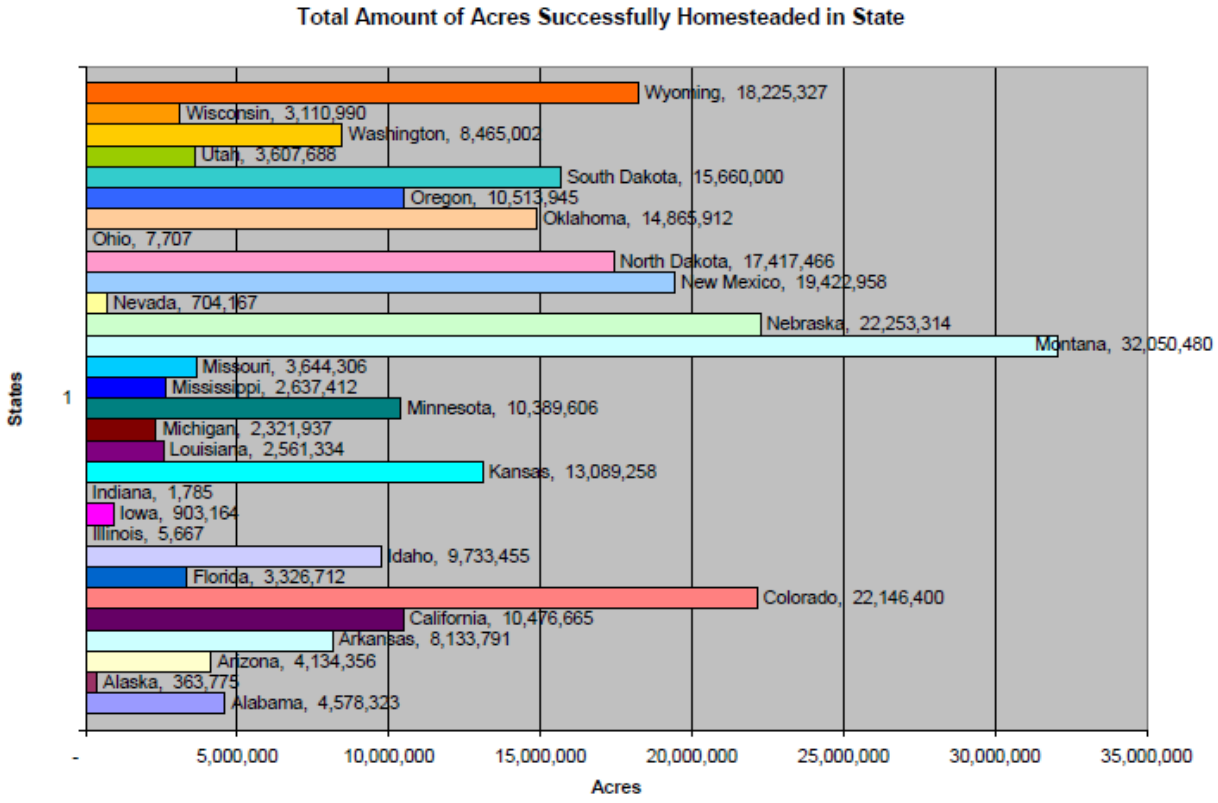
William H. Kaufman
[Signature of Witness.]

Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/nevelandrecords.htm

Homestead Statistics Worksheet

Name: _____

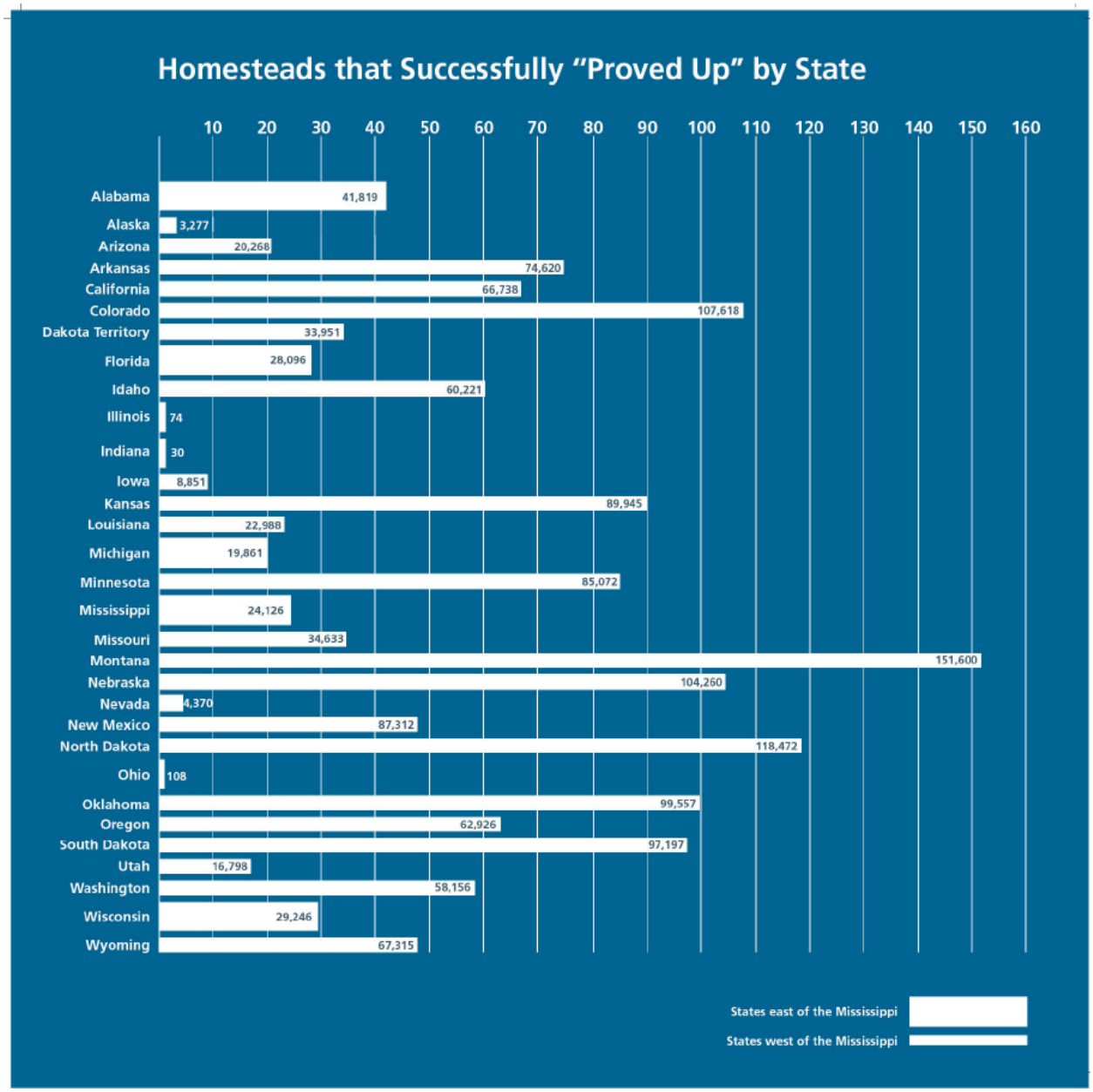
Instructions: Review each of the charts and answer the questions that are found below each.



Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/

1. List the five states where the most acres were claimed.

2. List the five states where the fewest acres were claimed.

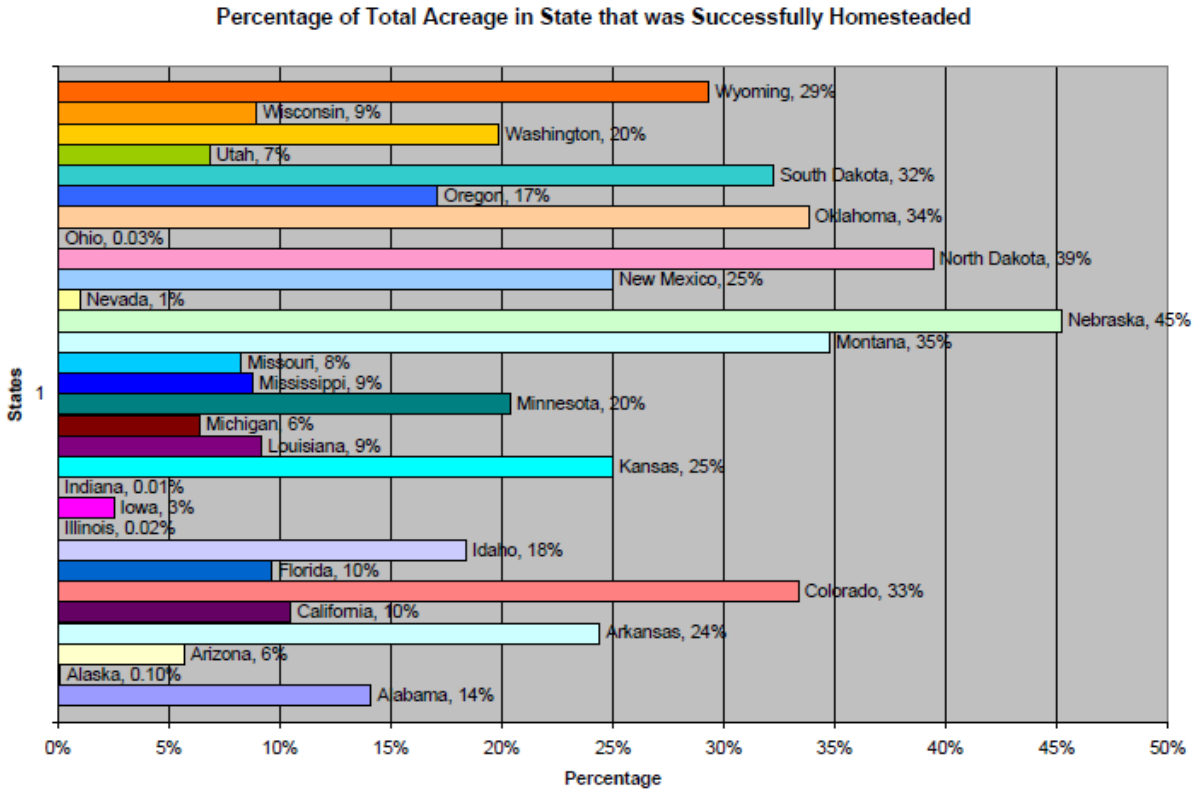


Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/

1. In how many states did successful Homestead claims occur?

2. In how many states west of the Mississippi River were successful claims made?

3. In how many states east of the Mississippi River were successful claims made?



Source: http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/

1. Which state had the highest percentage of its land claimed under the Homestead Act?

2. Which states had less than 5 percent of their land claimed under the Homestead Act?

3. List the states west of the Mississippi River that had less than 10 percent of their land homesteaded.

4. Why do you think the states in question #3 had less land homesteaded than the other states west of the Mississippi River?