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### Proclaiming Emancipation

University of Michigan Law School

William L. Clements Library

Martha S. Jones

*The University Of Michigan*

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# PROCLAIMING EMANCIPATION

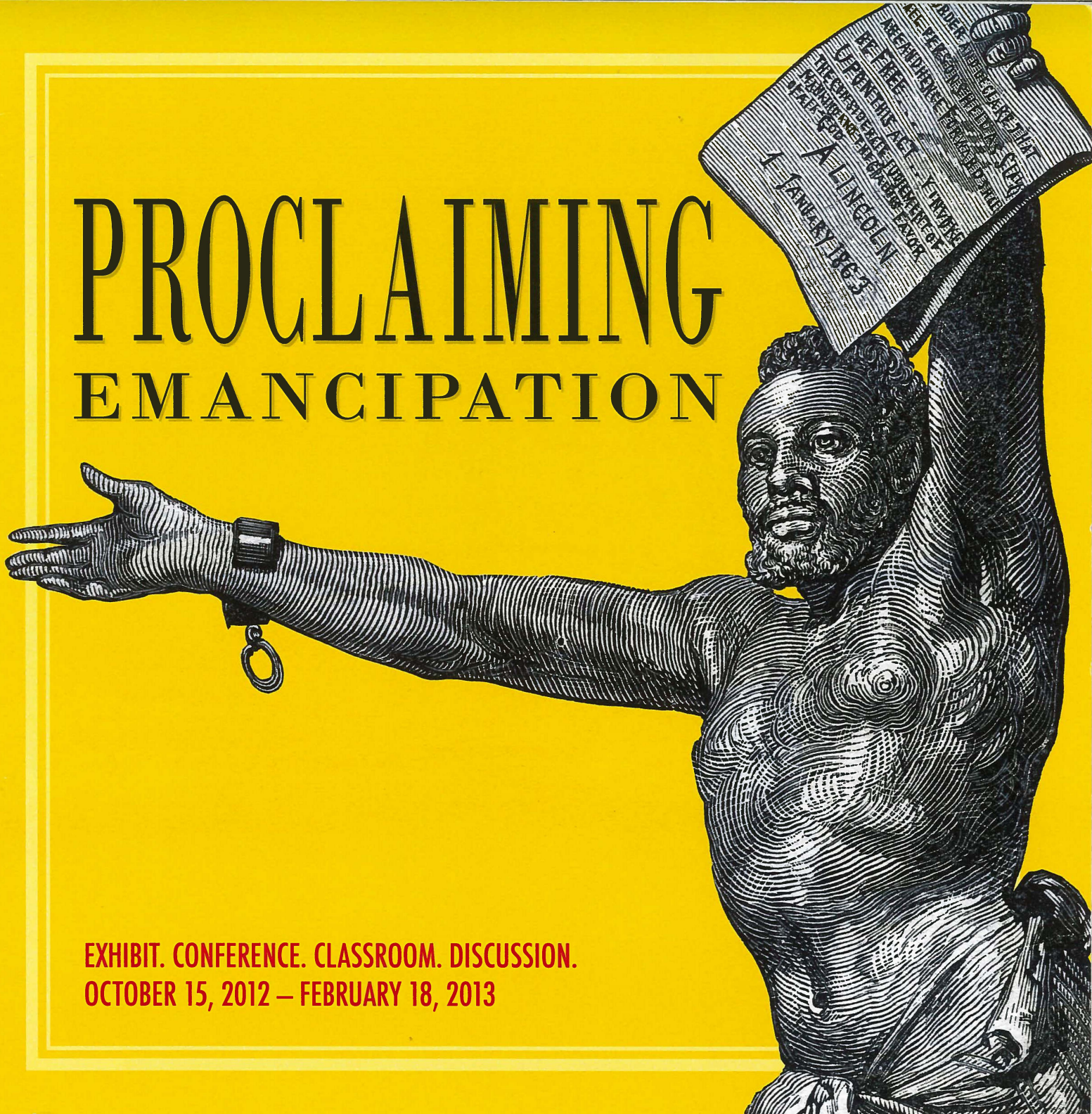


EXHIBIT. CONFERENCE. CLASSROOM. DISCUSSION.  
OCTOBER 15, 2012 – FEBRUARY 18, 2013



*William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan houses original resources for the study of American history and culture from the fifteenth to the early twentieth century. Its mission is to collect and preserve primary source materials, to make them available for research, and to create an environment that supports and encourages scholarly investigation of our nation's past.*



# PROCLAIMING EMANCIPATION

Produced by the University of Michigan  
Law School's Program in Race, Law, & History

*and*

William L. Clements Library

*in cooperation with*  
the University Library

Exhibit at the University Library  
Room 100 Gallery and Audubon Room  
October 15, 2012 - February 18, 2013

Martha S. Jones, Clayton Lewis, curators

Symposium at the University Library  
Room 100, and Aikins Common, Law School  
October 26, 2012

# History, Myth and the Emancipation Proclamation

Martha S. Jones

A grand ritual was enacted in Dearborn, Michigan, in June 2011. The Emancipation Proclamation was making the journey from its cloistered vault in Washington's National Archives to its only public appearance of the year. For a continuous 36 hours the Proclamation would be on public display, the text's first visit to Michigan since 1948. For the Proclamation's unveiling, the Henry Ford Museum assembled an array of signs that underscored the importance of the occasion. An honor guard of Civil War re-enactors served as sentinels, including "members" of Michigan's 102nd United States Colored Troops. An exhibit on Discovering the Civil War set the Proclamation among other historical artifacts. Velvet ropes guided visitors through a maze of corridors. Signs marked waiting times. Dignitaries, celebrities and ordinary citizens all took to a podium to recite the Proclamation's words. Choirs filled the museum's exhibition spaces with song.

No such ritual would be complete without pilgrims devoted enough to make the trek, endure the wait, and join with throngs of others to affirm the Proclamation's place as one of the nation's sacred texts. Two thousand souls were gathered by the time the viewing opened. Over the course of one and one half days, waiting times reached eight hours. And by the time officials promptly shut down the Proclamation at 7:00 a.m. June 22, just over 21,000 people had participated in what by all accounts was a powerful and moving collective ritual. They reported feeling "chills" during this "once in a lifetime event." Seeing the Proclamation had been "huge," "surreal" and an "amazingly transcendent experience" cloaked in "awe and gravity." Visitors remarked upon the power of the ritual itself. Hours spent waiting in a diverse gathering of thousands generated reflection, the exchange of ideas, and the forging of new friendships. As Federal District Court Judge Damon Keith told the

crowd: "This document, I can assure you, is more than a piece of paper."

Everyone had encountered a touchstone, and they spoke with one voice as they explained the power of the experience. Yet, when we listen more closely we hear how that power derived from a complex range of associations. Some were drawn by a fascination with the past and its surviving artifacts. Megan Victor was "awestruck" seeing Abraham Lincoln's signature and Thomas Gaston was similarly impressed: "I didn't realize the original document still existed." But most visitors reflected on what they understood to be the meaning of the text. For some it evoked imaginings and memories. Another visitor explained: "I am going to imagine myself as a slave who could not read, who could not write, but heard these words spoken by someone who could, and when he asked what does this mean, he was told he was free. That's what I want to try to experience." Bob O'Daniel remembered his own great, great, great grandfather who had been a southern slave holder. His family had "lost everything" after the Proclamation. But, O'Daniel reflected, emancipation also freed white southerners from lives bound to slavery. Walter Coley recalled how "people like myself were in bondage," while another patron echoed him: "My mom is from South Carolina and my ancestors were slaves ... [the Proclamation] allowed them to be free."

Visiting the Proclamation also generated judgments of the present and visions for the future. Re-enactor Jay Johnson explained that the occasion evidenced "how far we've come and how far we are together." Rod Spencer looked out ahead; gathering before the Proclamation provided an "opportunity to improve race relations in America" and a "way to release pain." Nefret Bryan agreed, hoping that the nation would "pull it together and make it right." Oakland County Circuit Judge Michael Warren wove

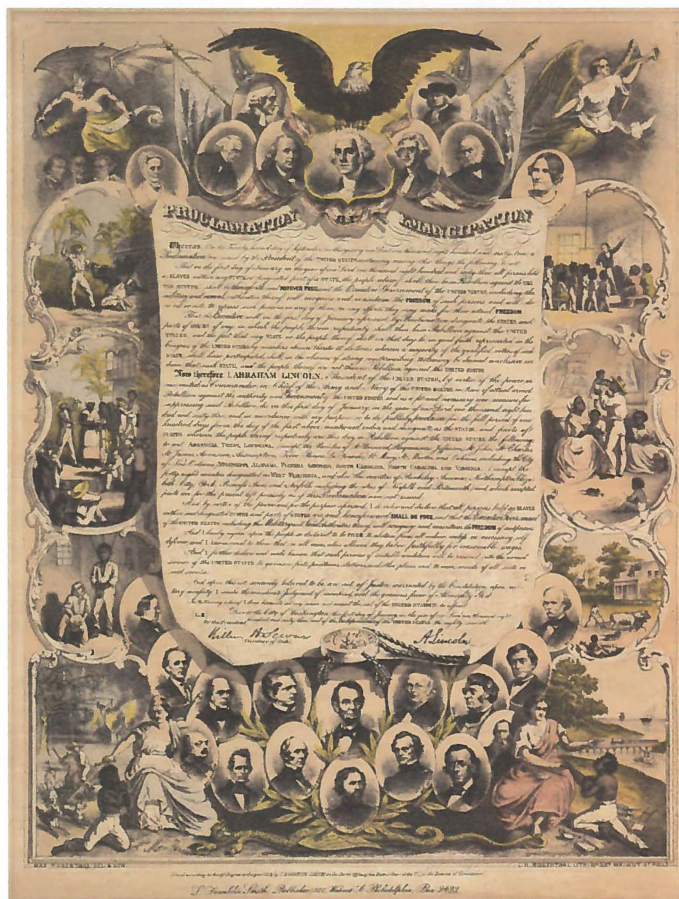
together the present and the future. “The Emancipation Proclamation is an indispensable portion of a long journey — yet to be complete — in the process of having America fulfill its first principle of equality,” he said. When Timme Mackie, an intern for a local news station remarked “I’ll have the chance to tell my children and grandchildren that I saw the second most important document in U.S. history,” in a sense she spoke for many. But how the crowds that filled the halls at the Henry Ford Museum defined the Proclamation’s importance was more complex than mere reverence could convey.

The Emancipation Proclamation was subject to varying interpretations even before it was issued. Encounters with Lincoln’s text, first in its preliminary form and then one hundred days later as a final edict, catalyzed Americans’ thinking about war, slavery, law, Union, and the meaning of freedom. Their perspectives on the Proclamation differed greatly. Some viewed it from Congress, others from the battlefield. Some read the text in home-front parlors, while others heard Lincoln’s words read aloud in cabins or at grand celebrations. Through broadsides and pamphlets, newspapers and military orders, the Proclamation

was encountered, reflected upon, and debated. Differing from the written meaning was the Proclamation’s lived meaning, produced out of the migrations of former slaves seeking family, work, refuge and something called freedom; through the enlistment of African American men as soldiers, thousands upon thousands for whom service mixed liberty, labor, and an avenue toward citizenship; and through war time encounters between races that took on a poignancy as

they were now framed by sweeping new terms and burdened with still to be answered questions about a future for black Americans in a society without slaves.

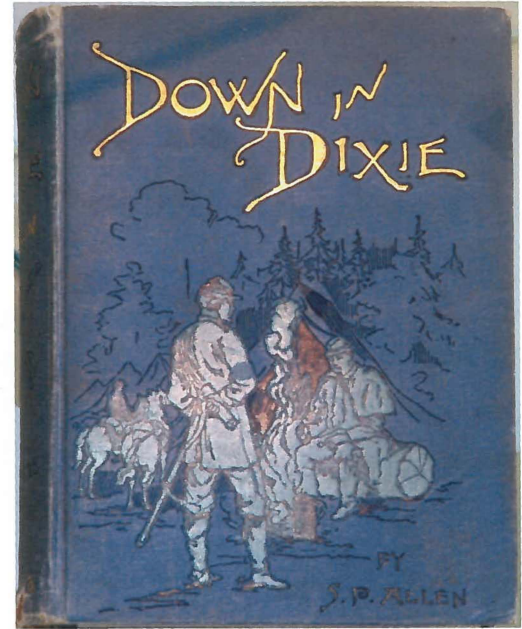
In fall 2012, we interviewed students on the University of Michigan Diag, the campus crossroads, to ask what they knew about the Emancipation Proclamation. Their answers suggested the ways that the Proclamation remains shrouded in both history and myth, and their responses established a set of interpretive challenges for the Proclaiming Emancipation exhibit. We heard many times, for example, that with the Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln had freed the slaves. How, we asked, did this myth of the Great Emancipator begin? One answer was in broadside reproductions that brought the Proclamation into



*Decorative broadside versions of the Emancipation Proclamation were highly interpretive works that expanded its meaning and provided historical context. (Exhibit No. 86)*



Stanton Allen's sketches of his wartime experiences focused on military camp life rather than glory on the battlefields. (Exhibit No. 21)



The published version of Stanton Allen's "Down in Dixie" with redacted illustrations. (Exhibit No. 23)

homes and fixed it in the nation's collective memory. Broad-sides adorned both public and private spaces such as taverns and parlors. They were highly interpretive works, each with its own point of view. How did printers express their views? Techniques ranged from emphasizing specific passages through choices of type style and size to the addition of illustrations such as patriotic embellishments, portraits and narrative scenes. We can observe how broadside iconography shifted over the course of a few short years. While Lincoln's visage was absent from early prints, his portrait moved from margin to center in these graphic interpretations after his assassination. A series of prints out of Davenport, Iowa, went so far as to use a calligraphy technique termed "letter pictures" to use the text of the Proclamation to render Lincoln's likeness. The President, the Proclamation and emancipation itself were fused and then enshrined in these images.

We also noticed what our student commentators overlooked. While Lincoln figured prominently in their memories, how the Proclamation opened the door to African American military service never came up. Proclaiming Emancipation examines the erasure of that memory through the scrapbook of Stanton Allen. From Berlin, New York, Allen enlisted at sixteen (concealing his age) and served in the Army of the Potomac in 1864 and 1865. Nearly 30 years later in the 1890s, Allen began to record his experiences. First was his column for the *Troy Daily Times*, "Down in Dixie." There Allen described his encounters with African American soldiers and civilians for his up-state New York readers. Allen then clipped his columns, carefully pasting them into a scrapbook that interwove his writings with images. He turned out to be a very good sketch artist, and Allen embellished his text with a set

of vivid drawings that featured African American figures, including Union soldiers. The scrapbook permitted Allen to expand upon and even reorder his memories. Allen's final project was an 1893 published book-length memoir. *Down in Dixie: Life in a Cavalry Regiment in the War Days, from the Wilderness to Appomattox* drew upon Allen's scrapbook. But the illustrations had changed. Gone were Allen's striking drawings. In their place were twenty-one sketches by an experienced artist, H.G. Laskey, whose reinterpretation did not include a single black figure. This erasure of African Americans from Allen's book parallels a more general forgetting of the roles black Americans played in the Civil War era. Allen's text reflects a post-war, turn-of-the-century strategy toward national reunion, one that was premised in white supremacy and minimized the significance of slavery, emancipation, and the role of African Americans in the war.

Some of our students challenged the Proclamation as myth, and many told us that it was "one step," "partial," and that it took a great deal more than the Proclamation to bring about slavery's demise in the United States. Emancipation, freedom and citizenship came about by way of a more elaborated process, and some students suggested that this process was extended into the modern Civil Rights era and even today. Proclaiming Emancipation asks where emancipation ended and freedom and citizenship began. One

poignant example comes from the sketch book of trooper Edgar H. Klemroth of the 6th Pennsylvania Cavalry. Klemroth sketched his way through Virginia, capturing scenes in camp as well as in the field. His curiously titled portrait of "An Official Character" suggests the complex demands put upon young African American men when they joined Union forces.



Edgar Klemroth's drawing of "an official character." Many young ex-slaves found a place in the Union Army as servants to officers. (Exhibit No. 62)

camp as well as in the field. His curiously titled portrait of "An Official Character" suggests the complex demands put upon young African American men when they joined Union forces.

Klemroth's figure is intended to make his friends and family chuckle. Youth is brought into relief by oversized pants, a boyish face and a lit cigar in the mouth. He is carrying a plate of food. Is it for an officer lodged in the tent just ahead? Or does his casual posture – right hand in the pocket and plate slightly upturned in the left – suggest that he's on his own time, grabbing a smoke and a meal? Klemroth's "character" walks with both knees slightly bent. It is a sort of shuffle that might suggest fatigue, subservience or ease. The young man is unselfconscious and perhaps even unaware of the artist's gaze. The setting is a Union encampment as suggested by the tents that frame the composition. In the background are two figures, fists raised for a boxing contest. Klemroth does not tell us the relationship between the figure in the foreground and the two squaring off in the distance. But an 1863 letter from Maryland, written by Union soldier Benjamin Lincoln, suggests one interpretation. Lincoln wrote: "Just after supper, two pair of boxing gloves were laid out on the parade ground . . . The wind up was a



sette between “Sardine” a negro boy, I should think about ten or eleven years old, and as poor a specimen of humanity I ever met with. His opponent was our Captain’s servant a boy about the same age small and slight built. They put on the Gloves and for five or ten minutes there was the most laughable scene I ever witnessed.” It is Klemroth, through setting and caption, who conveys to us the deep ambivalences of freedom premised upon service to the Union Army. Young men might be formally incorporated into regiment life but they would be asked not only to perform domestic duties – with deference – they would also be called upon to serve as entertainment for white men seeking to pass idle hours. It was a highly qualified and circumscribed brand of freedom – one that Klemroth suggests was “officially” sanctioned.

As we approach the 150th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, commemorations can be a site for complex and nuanced reflections. They can also sanitize a messy past, making it palatable for popular consumption. Proclaiming Emancipation confronts myths with history. Oftentimes competing voices proclaim that no longer does the

Proclamation stand as an exceptional moment from the U.S. past. Instead, we understand January 1, 1863 as being situated on a time line that stretches from the American Revolution of the 1770s to Brazil’s abolition in 1888. That Proclamation signed in Washington, D.C., is set in a geography that extends from the Rio de la Plata in the South to the Saint-Laurent River in the North.

The Emancipation Proclamation is not a sacred text with a fixed and transcendent meaning. Instead, it is a ground of contestation over core principles. Abraham Lincoln is not a great emancipator. Instead, Lincoln is but one character in an elaborate national drama. Still, to encounter the Proclamation is “awesome” as one student put it, as in awe-inspiring. Even as historians continue to layer ambiguity and complexity onto the story of slavery’s abolition in the United States, the Proclamation remains an enduring touchstone. It has the capacity to draw record-breaking crowds and stop students in their tracks as they busily cross

the campus. Proclaiming Emancipation harnesses the power of myth in the service of telling history, recognizing all the while that in the story of slavery and emancipation, the two are ever entwined.



*The historical memory of the martyred President as “The Great Emancipator” was influenced by visual renditions that fused Lincoln’s visage with the text of the Emancipation Proclamation. (Exhibit No. 87)*

## Exhibit Checklist

Unless otherwise noted, all materials are from the William L. Clements Library collections.

### Audubon Room Gallery

#### The Material Culture of Emancipation: Photographs

1. "Egbert Gilliss Handy in the arms of Sarah, a slave given to Mary Jones Purnell as a wedding gift by her father."  
ca. 1859  
Ambrotype  
Handy Family Papers
2. "Chas. Denard, about 24"  
1854  
Daguerreotype  
Crittenden Family Papers
3. "Rose, Chas. Denard's wife"  
1854  
Daguerreotype  
Crittenden Family Papers
4. "Fred' Douglas. Lowell Mason. John G. Saxe. Henry Clay. Bayard Taylor. Geo. D. Prentice. Zac Taylor. Longfellow. Dr. Kane"  
ca. 1890s  
Scrapbook page with albumen and collodion print photographs
5. [Arabella Chapman Carte-de-Visite Album]  
Compiled between 1878 and 1900  
Tintype and albumen print photographs
6. [Freedmen at] Hurricane Garden Cottage  
ca. 1865  
Albumen carte-de-visite photograph  
Eaton-Shirley Family Papers
7. Timothy H. O'Sullivan (1840–1882)  
"Execution of a colored soldier, June 1864"  
In: [Mathew Brady Civil War Photographs Album]  
Albumen print photograph  
James S. Schoff Civil War Collection
8. [Virginia schoolroom]  
In: [Civil War Veteran's Tour of Battlefields Album]  
ca. 1890s  
Gelatin print photograph
9. "Freedmens Quarters"  
Florida Views. Gem Series.  
F.N. Hutton, Publisher  
ca. 1880s  
Albumen stereo photograph
10. "The Saturnscope"  
ca. 1895  
Stereograph card viewer
11. Artists: George Bridport, Thomas Sully (1783–1872), Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), Bass Otis (1784–1861), John Singleton Copley (1738–1815)  
Declaration of Independence  
Engravers: George Murray (–1822), C.H. Palmer, James Barton Longacre (1794–1869);  
Printer: James Porter,  
Philadelphia: John Binns, 1818  
Engraved broadside
12. William Roberts (b. ca. 1829)  
Proclamation of Emancipation.  
By the President of the United States of America.  
Printer: C.A. Alvord (ca. 1812–1874)  
New York: R.A. Dimmick, 1864  
Lithograph broadside
13. George Starbird (1843–1907)  
[Manuscript letters to Marianne Starbird]  
Camp Dodge, Virginia, Oct. 14, 1862  
Oct. 10, 1862  
Oct. 14, 1862  
Dismal Swamp Canal [June 1863]



(Exhibit No. 8)

#### The Material Culture of Emancipation: Broadside

#### The Material Culture of Emancipation: Reading

[Manuscript letters to Solomon Starbird]  
Oct. 15, 1862  
Starbird Family Papers  
James S. Schoff Civil War Collection

14. Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)  
The Proclamation of Emancipation by the President of the United States, to take effect January 1st, 1863  
Boston: John Murray Forbes, ca. December 1862  
Western Reserve Historical Society
15. Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823–1911)  
Army Life in a Black Regiment  
Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co., 1870
16. H.W. Herrick  
Reading the Emancipation Proclamation  
Engraver: J.W. Watts  
Hartford, Conn.: S.A. Peters and Co., 1864  
Broadside, engraving (facsimile)  
The Library Company of Philadelphia

### The Material Culture of Emancipation: Law

17. Alexander Graydon (1752–1818)  
Obediah Fahrenstock (1770–1840)  
Jacob Boas (1786–1815)  
“Record of Slaves”  
1788–1825  
Manuscript ledger with loose documents

State of Pennsylvania  
An Act to Explain and Amend an Act, Entitled, “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery.”  
Philadelphia: Printed by T. Bradford, 1788  
Letterpress broadside, tipped in above volume

18. Étienne Polverel (1738–1794)  
Léger Félicité Sonthonax (1763–1813)  
Proclamation. Nous, Étienne Polverel & Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, Commissaires Civils que nation Française voyé dans pays-ci, pour mettre l'ordre et la tranquillité tout par-tout.  
Au Cap Français [Cap-Haïtien, Haiti], l'Imprimerie de P. Catineau, au Carénage, près la Commission Intermédiaire 1793  
Letterpress broadside
19. Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)  
“By the President of the United States of America. A Proclamation”  
[July 25, 1862]  
Manuscript document, unsigned  
The Library Company of Philadelphia

20. Francis Lieber (1800–1872)  
A Code for the Government of Armies in the Field, as Authorized by the Laws and Usages of War on Land. Printed as Manuscript for the Board appointed by the Secretary of War [Special orders, No. 399.] “To Propose Amendments or Changes in the Rules and Articles of War, and a Code of Regulations for the Government of Armies in the Field, as authorized by the Laws and Usages of War.”  
[Washington, D.C.]: United States War Department, February 1863  
Pamphlet

### The Material Culture of Emancipation: Memoirs

21. Stanton P. Allen  
“Down in Dixie,” Vol. 4  
ca. 1890s  
Scrapbook with watercolor and ink drawings and clippings

22. Stanton P. Allen  
Troy Daily Times clippings from “Down in Dixie”  
ca. 1880s  
Scrapbook page (facsimile)
23. Stanton P. Allen  
H.G. Laskey, illustrator  
Down in Dixie: Life in a Cavalry Regiment in the War Days from the Wilderness to Appomattox  
Boston: D. Lothrop Company, 1893

### The Material Culture of Emancipation: Illustrations

24. David B. Woodbury (d. 1866)  
“Arrival of negro family in the lines”  
January 1, 1863  
Photograph (facsimile)  
The Library of Congress  
LC-B811-657 [P&P]
25. Alfred R. Waud (1828–1891)  
“An arrival in Camp under the Proclamation of Emancipation.”  
[January 1863]  
Drawing, pencil on brown paper with white watercolor highlights (facsimile)  
The Library of Congress  
DRWG/US-Waud, no. 489 (A size) [P&P]
26. “Contrabands Coming into Camp in Consequence of The Proclamation.— Drawn by Mr. A.R. Waud.”  
Harper's Weekly, vol. 7, no. 318  
[January 31, 1863]  
Wood engraving
27. Milton Bradley & Co.  
The Myriopticon, A Historical Panorama of The Rebellion  
ca. 1870s–1880s  
Toy theater; scrolling lithograph

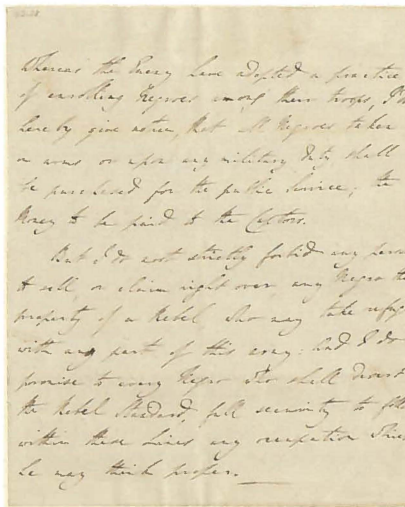
## The Material Culture of Emancipation: Memory

28. Thomas Ball (1819-1911)  
[Maquette, Lincoln Park statue]  
Ca. 1865  
Cast bronze statue  
University of Michigan Museum of Art

### Room 100 Gallery (facsimilies)

## Timeline of Emancipation

29. [Francis Rawdon-Hastings, 1st Marquis of Hastings, 2nd Earl of Moira, 1754-1826]  
[Philipsburg Proclamation]  
June 30, 1779  
Manuscript letter  
Henry Clinton Papers
30. State of Pennsylvania  
An Act to Explain and Amend an Act, Entitled, "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery."  
Philadelphia: Printed by T. Bradford, 1788  
Letterpress broadside
31. Étienne Polverel (1738-1794)  
Léger Félicité Sonthonax (1763-1813)  
Proclamation. Nous, Étienne Polverel & Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, Commissaires Civils que nation Française voyé dans pays-ci, pour mettre l'ordre et la tranquillité tout par-tout.  
Au Cap Français [Cap-Haïtien, Haïti], l'Imprimerie de P. Catoire, au Carénage, près la Commission Intermédiaire  
1793  
Letterpress broadside



Earlier acts of emancipation during wartime include the British Philipsburg Proclamation from the American Revolution. The possibility of citizenship was offered to slaves of American rebels in exchange for military service. (Exhibit No. 29)

32. Saint George Tucker (1752-1827)  
[Proposal for Gradual Emancipation]  
Nov. 30, 1796  
Manuscript letter to Virginia House of Delegates  
African American Collection
33. Stephen H. Gimber (c.1806-d.1862)  
Emancipation.  
Ca. 1834  
Mezzotint engraving
34. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)  
War Department, United States.  
General Order No. 1. By the President of the United States of America. A Proclamation.  
January 2, 1863

35. George N. Barnard (1819-1902)  
Scenes in Cuba No. 68. [Plantation Slaves and Workers during a Break at Noon]  
New York: E & H.T. Anthony & Co., 1863  
Albumen photograph (1/2 stereo pair)  
Tom Pohrt Photograph Collection.  
Cuban Heritage Collection, University of Miami Libraries, Coral Gables, Florida

36. Antonio Luiz Ferreira (?-c.1906)  
[Passing the Golden Law in Brazilian Senate]  
1888  
Photograph  
Wikipedia Commons

## Preliminary Proclamations

37. Harry A. Simmons (b. ca. 1826)  
"The Contraband's Escape.Vicksburg."  
From: [Simmons Civil War Sketchbook]  
1862  
Pencil, pen and watercolor drawing
38. Harry A. Simmons (b. ca. 1826)  
"Wash-day—Baton Rouge."  
From: [Simmons Civil War Sketchbook]  
1862  
Pencil, pen and watercolor drawings
39. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)  
"By the President of the United States of America, A Proclamation"  
[July 25, 1862]  
Manuscript document, unsigned  
The Library Company of Philadelphia
40. Ferd. Mayer & Co., Lithographers  
Fortress Monroe. February 1862.  
New York: Jacob Cohen, 1862  
Color lithograph with hand coloring

41. Orville H. Browning (1806-1881)

Speech of the Hon. O.H. Browning of Illinois on The Confiscation Bill. [Washington, D.C., L.Towers & Co., 1862]

42. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

Department of State, United States Circular. [Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation] Washington, D.C., September 22, 1862

### One Hundred Days

43. [Quincy, Alice Eugenia, and Abbie Shirley]

Ca. 1853  
Daguerreotype  
Eaton-Shirley Family Papers

44. Alice E. Shirley (1844-?)

[Diary entry, October 5, 1862]  
Eaton-Shirley Family Papers

45. Jacob van Zwaluwenburg (b. 1843)

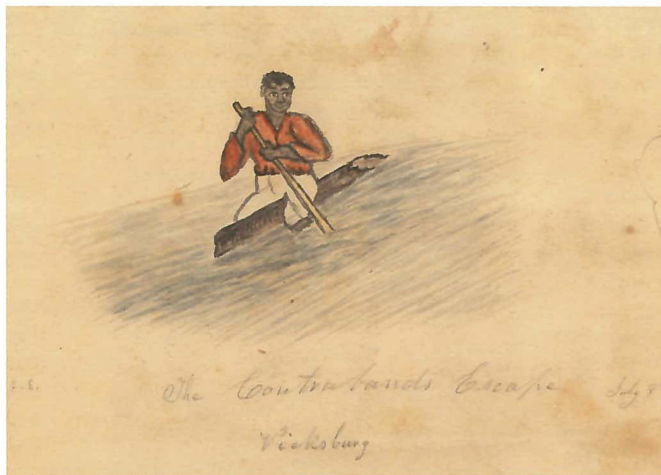
[Manuscript Autobiographical Journal]  
[Entry December 31, 1862]  
James S. Schoff Civil War Collection.

46. George Starbird

[Manuscript letter to Marianne Starbird]  
Camp Dodge, Virginia, Oct. 14, 1862  
Starbird Family Papers  
James S. Schoff Civil War Collection

47. "Fred" Douglass."

Ca. 1859  
Albumen photograph



*The self-emancipation of thousands of slaves put enormous pressure on Union Army commanders in the field to react. This confident individual was observed heading south on the Mississippi at Vicksburg. (Exhibit No. 37)*

48. G. Foster (medium)

"Emancipation! Emancipation! Emancipation!"  
Ca. 1862  
Manuscript séance document  
Forgeries Collection

49. Aaron H. Ingraham (1840-1864)

[Manuscript letter, Fort Pulaski Sunday Dec 21, 1862]  
Aaron H. Ingraham Papers  
James S. Schoff Civil War Collection.

50. Anna Ella Carroll (1815-1894)

The Relation of the National Government to the Revolted Citizens Defined. No Power to Emancipate their Slaves or Confiscate their Property Proved. The Constitution as it is, the Only Hope for The Country.  
[Washington, D.C., H. Polkinhorn, 1862]

### This First Day of January

51. E. Hergesheimer  
Henry S. Graham  
Theo. Leonhardt (1818-1877)  
Map Showing the Distribution of the Slave Population of the Southern States of the United States. Compiled from the Census of 1860.

Washington, D.C.: Henry S. Graham, 1861  
(Facsimile with added tinting showing the areas where the Emancipation Proclamation was in effect, January 1, 1863)

52. Isaac W.K. Handy (1815-1878)

[Diary entry, January 1, 1863]  
Handy Family Papers

53. "'Emancipation Day in South Carolina' – The Color Sergeant of the 1st South Carolina (colored) Volunteers Addressing the Regiment, after Having Been Presented with The Stars and Stripes, at Smith's Plantation, Port Royal Island, January 1. – From a Sketch by our Special Artist."

From: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper  
January 24, 1863  
Wood engraving

54. [Susie King Taylor]

From: Susie King Taylor (b. 1848), *A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs: Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33rd U.S. Colored Troops, Late 1st South Carolina Volunteers*. Boston: S.K. Taylor, 1902. Reprinted: New York: Markus Wiener Publishing, Inc., 1988

55. [Charlotte Forten Grimké]

Ca. 1870  
Albumen photograph  
Image courtesy Schomburg Center,  
New York Public Library

56. Charlotte Forten Grimké

*The Journals of Charlotte Forten Grimké*, ed. Brenda Gayle Stevenson (Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 428-432

57. Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823-1911)

*Army Life in a Black Regiment*  
Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co., 1870

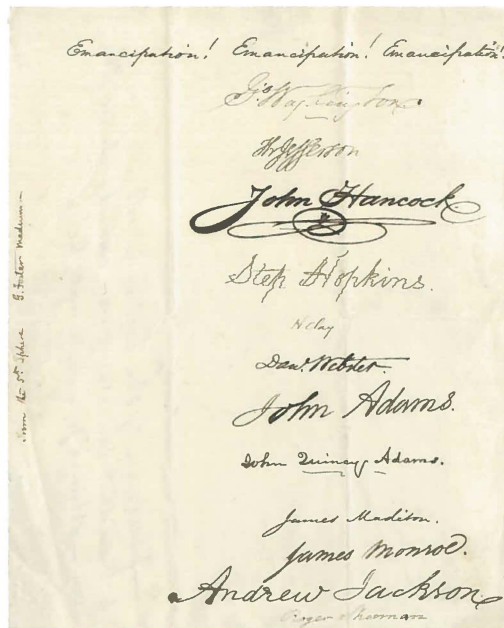
**Henceforward Shall  
be Free**

58. "The Effects of The Proclamation – Freed Negroes coming into Our Lines at Newbern, North Carolina."

From: *Harper's Weekly. A Journal of Civilization*.  
February 21, 1863  
Wood engraving

59. George Starbird.

[Manuscript letter to Marianne Starbird]  
Dismal Swamp Canal, June, 1863  
Starbird Family Papers  
James S. Schoff Civil War Collection



*To what degree was Lincoln influenced by spiritualists that claimed to be advising him? This séance document endorsing emancipation was allegedly written by a medium in communion with the spirits of the founding fathers and sent to the President. (Exhibit No. 48)*

60. Thomas Nast (1840-1902)

"Emancipation of the Negroes, January, 1863--the Past and The Future. Drawn by Mr. Thomas Nast."  
From: *Harper's Weekly. A Journal of Civilization*.  
January 24, 1863  
Wood engraving

61. [Virginia schoolroom]

From: [Civil War Veteran's Tour of Battlefields Photo Album]  
Ca. 1890s  
Gelatin print photograph

62. Edgar H. Klemroth (d.1934)  
"an official character"

From: "Very Rough Sketches, Presented to Captain R. Ellis by Edgar H. Klemroth"  
Ca. 1864  
Pencil, ink and wash drawing

63. Benjamin C. Lincoln (1840-1864)  
[Manuscript letter to Dora F. Lincoln]

March 31, 1863  
Benjamin C. Lincoln Papers

64. Annie Davis

[Manuscript letter to Abraham Lincoln]  
National Archives and Records Administration. Record Group 94: Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1762-1984. Series: Letters Received, 1863-1888

**Received into the  
Armed Services**

65. Frederick B. Schell (1838-1905)

"The War in Mississippi – The 1st Mississippi Negro Cavalry Bringing into Vicksburg Rebel Prisoners Captured at Haines Bluff. – From a Sketch by our Special Artist, Fred B. Schell."  
From: *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News*  
December 19, 1863  
Wood engraving

66. Major Martin R. Delany, U.S.A.

Cincinnati: John Smith, ca. 1865  
Hand colored lithograph

67. George Starbird (1843-1907)

[Manuscript letter to Marianne Starbird]  
Williamsburg, Virginia, November 13, 1863  
Starbird Family Papers  
James S. Schoff Civil War Collection

68. P.S. Duval & Son  
**Come and Join Us Brothers.**  
Philadelphia: Supervisory Committee  
for Recruiting Colored Regiments,  
ca. 1863  
Color lithograph

69. Stanton P. Allen (1849-1901)  
**"A Stag Dance. Four Hands 'Round"**  
From: "Down in Dixie" Vol. 4  
[scrapbook]  
ca. 1890s  
Ink and watercolor drawing

70. Harry A. Simmons (b. ca. 1826)  
**"Savage."**  
From: [Simmons Civil War Sketchbook]  
1862  
Pencil, pen and watercolor drawing

71. **The Colored Volunteers.**  
New York: Charles Magnus, ca. 1863  
Lithograph song sheet

### **By Virtue of the Power in Me Vested**

72. Benjamin R. Curtis (1809-1874)  
**Executive Power.**  
Boston: Little, Brown and Company,  
1862

73. Charles P. Kirkland (1830-1904)  
**A Letter to the Hon. Benjamin R.  
Curtis, Late Judge of the Supreme  
Court of the United States, in Review  
of His Recently Published Pamphlet on  
the "Emancipation Proclamation" of  
The President.**  
New York: Latimer Bros. & Seymour,  
Law Stationers, 1862.



*The inclusion of African American men into the Union army was one of the most significant immediate effects of Lincoln's Proclamation. This recruiting broadside purports that contrary to many reports, the "colored units" were fully equipped and armed. (Exhibit No. 68)*

74. James Brooks (1810-1873)  
**The Two Proclamations. Speech of  
the Hon. James Brooks, before the  
Democratic Union Association, Sept.  
29th, 1862.**  
New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Co.,  
[1862]

75. George H. Yeaman (1829-1908)  
**Speech of Hon. Geo. H. Yeaman,  
of Kentucky, on the President's  
Proclamation, delivered in The  
House of Representatives,  
December 18th, 1862.**  
Baltimore: J. Murphy & Co., 1863

76. Goldwin Smith (1823-1910)  
**Speech of Mr. W.E. Forster, M.P.,  
The Slaveholders' Rebellion; and  
Professor Goldwin Smith's Letter on  
The Morality of the Emancipation  
Proclamation.**  
Manchester, England: Union and  
Emancipation Society's Depot, 1863

77. Francis Lieber (1800-1872)

**A Code for the Government of Armies in the Field, as Authorized by the Laws and Usages of War on Land.** Printed as Manuscript for the Board Appointed by the Secretary of War [Special orders, no. 399] "To Propose Amendments or Changes in the Rules and Articles of War, and a Code of Regulations for the Government of Armies in the Field, as Authorized by the Laws and Usages of War."

New York(?): United States War Department, [1863]

78. "Prisoners of War. Ft. Delaware. May 1864."

Modern copy of albumen print photograph  
Handy Family Papers

79. Isaac W.K. Handy (1815-1878)

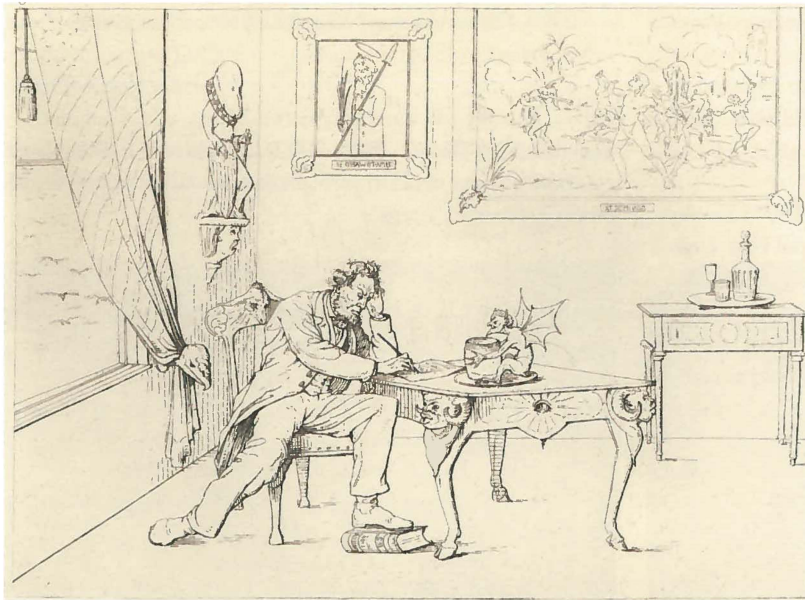
[Diary entry, July 21, 1863]  
Handy Family Papers

80. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

**Navy Department, United States General Order No. 4. By the President of the United States of America. A Proclamation.**  
January 14, 1863

81. Adalbert J. Volck (1828-1912)

**Writing the Emancipation Proclamation.**  
From: Confederate Civil War Etchings. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, ca. 1882  
from plates engraved in Baltimore ca. 1864  
Engraving



*This engraving suggests demonic forces, the spectre of violent slave rebellion, and the overstepping of Lincoln's constitutional authority during the authorship of the Proclamation as the Constitution has become a footrest under Lincoln's heel. (Exhibit No. 81)*

## Representing the Proclamation

82. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

**Proclamation of Emancipation by the President of The United States of America.**  
(Leland-Boker Edition)  
Philadelphia: Leypoldt, 1864  
Letterpress broadside

83. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

**Rufus Blanchard Emancipation Proclamation.**  
Chicago: Rufus Blanchard ca. 1864  
Color lithograph broadside

84. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

**Rufus Blanchard National Proclamation of Emancipation.**  
Chicago: Rufus Blanchard ca. 1864  
Color lithograph broadside

85. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

**A. Kidder Chas. Shober Proclamation of Emancipation**  
[Chicago: 1864]  
Lithograph broadside

86. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

**Max Rosenthal (1833-1918) L. Franklin Smith Proclamation of Emancipation**  
Philadelphia: L. Franklin Smith, 1865  
Color lithograph broadside

87. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

**W.H. Pratt (1822-1893) August Hageboeck (ca. 1836-1886), printer Proclamation of Emancipation. Abraham Lincoln.**  
Davenport, Iowa: W.H. Pratt, ca. 1865  
Lithograph broadside



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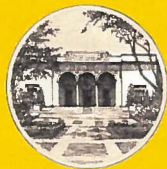
*"Proclaiming Emancipation,"* installed in the University Library Gallery, Fall 2012.

### About our cover image

In 1876 at Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition, Italian artist Francesco Pezzicar's statue *The Freed Slave* was first exhibited. The artist's interpretation of emancipation – a lone man clutching Lincoln's Proclamation and breaking his chains – stood in dramatic contrast to Thomas Ball's *Freedman's Memorial* which had been unveiled on Capitol Hill that same year. Ball interpreted emancipation as an act of a towering Lincoln, who gestures to a semi-clad, kneeling man in chains. The great interest in Pezzicar's statue on the part of African American visitors was captured in Fernando Miranda's illustration for *Frank Leslie's Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition*, "The Centennial Exposition—The statue of 'The Freed Slave' in Memorial Hall." It is Miranda's rendering of Pezzicar's statue that we have borrowed here.

The work received a gold medal. But white commentators were quick to criticize Pezzicar's work and the artist failed to secure a buyer. The statute returned to Italy and was transferred to the Curatorio del Museo Revoltella at Pezzicar's death, where it remains on display until this day. Aimee VonBokel has reinterpreted this image for *Proclaiming Emancipation*.





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