

For the People

A Newsletter of the Abraham Lincoln Association
Volume 6, Number 2 Summer 2004 Springfield, Illinois

Money and Campaigns in the Lincoln Era

By Thomas F. Schwartz

Every presidential campaign cycle brings with it warnings of unprecedented amounts of money that will be raised and spent by the candidates and political parties. Reporters have estimated that both the George Bush and John Kerry campaigns have raised well over \$100 million. Moreover, it is claimed that if fund-raising efforts continue at current levels, the Bush campaign may well exceed the \$200 million threshold. Reformers often appeal to the past as an example of simpler and better days when money was less of a factor in the campaign process. This school of thought posits that issues rather than money drove campaigns. While it is a truism that mid-nineteenth-century politics was different than twentieth- and certainly twenty-first-century campaigns, one can find examples of the same complaint with regard to the role that money played in the process.

During the Illinois senatorial campaign of 1858, highlighted by the famed Lincoln-Douglas Debates, there was a noted disparity of campaign expenditures by Republican Abraham Lincoln and Democrat Stephen A. Douglas. Lincoln claimed to have spent no more than \$500 throughout the campaign, whereas Robert W. Johannsen, the preeminent biographer of Stephen A. Douglas, claims “it was estimated that Douglas spent over \$50,000 on his campaign, a large amount for that time, and some of this probably found its way into the railroad coffers.” The reference to “railroad coffers” was a sideshow of the campaign as the leading Republican

newspaper, the *Illinois State Journal*, accused Democratic leaders in managerial positions at the Illinois Central and the Chicago, Alton, and St. Louis railroads of partisan treatment toward the candidates.

Railroad expansion exploded in the 1850s. As numerous scholars have indicated, without the rapid expansion of the railroads during that decade, the Lincoln-Douglas Debates would not have been possible as both candidates used the Iron Horse to travel from one debate site to the next with speed and ease. Douglas traveled in a private car and benefited from the railroads printing and distributing promotional literature about his speaking schedules and providing special excursion trains at reduced fares for those who wished to hear him. Virgil Hickox, a strong Douglas Democrat, was also the general agent for the Chicago, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad and the frequent target of the *Illinois State Journal*. George Brinton McClellan, as vice president of the Illinois Central Railroad, placed the railroad at the disposal of Douglas. Given their positions of influence within the railroad industry and their unabashed support of Douglas, it is not surprising that the opposition would cry foul.

The *Illinois State Journal* objected less to the “special accommodations” provided to excursionists than to “the Railroads themselves, by flaming advertisement, bill and poster, went out of their legitimate business to enter the political arena in behalf of Mr. Douglas. Such a course is not usual; we believe it is unprecedented.” Hickox replied to the charges stating that the

special accommodations provided to Douglas supporters were no different than those extended to the “Republican Convention here [Bloomington, Illinois], about the middle of June. Was there really anything wrong in that?” To the main complaint about the railroad providing additional “provisions, substantial and superfluities . . . furnished gratis,” Hickox declared: “I am authorized to say that there is not a shadow of foundation for the truth of it, so far as the St. L., A. & C. R.R. is concerned.” And on that point he may have been technically correct if the Douglas campaign provided funds to the railroads for those services. Whether the funds provided actually covered the costs is a question that may never be answered.

If Lincoln ran a frugal campaign in 1858, the presidential campaign of 1864 was a different matter. More than three decades of largely Democratic rule and patronage appointments at the federal level were dismantled by the Lincoln administration. The most visible sign of loyalty toward an administration was contributing to the campaign coffers. Three documents obtained by the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library illustrate how federal departments contributed to Lincoln’s reelection in 1864. The first is a printed form summarizing the platform passed on June 7, 1864, in Baltimore by the National Union Party, a term adopted by the Republicans for the 1864 campaign. At the end of the form sixteen employees of the Indian Bureau of the Interior Department signed their names, each contributing

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Two New Images

One of the more bizarre events following Lincoln's assassination was the fight over where to inter his remains. A group of leading Springfield citizens quickly convened and established themselves as the National Lincoln Monument Association, assuming responsibility for creating an appropriate burial site for the martyred president. Richard J. Oglesby, the man who is credited with making Lincoln the rail candidate in 1860, led the group comprised of James C. Conkling, John Todd Stuart, Ozias Mather Hatch, Jesse K. DuBois, Jacob Bunn, Newton Bateman, Samuel Treat, and others. The Mather lot, a piece of property next to the Ninian Wirt Edwards home, was donated to the Association and construction of a temporary receiving vault was immediately begun. A recently acquired photograph shows the Mather lot, which is now the site of the Illinois State Capitol.

Mrs. Lincoln, upon hearing of the National Lincoln Monument Association's decision and without any prior consultation, indicated through the good offices of Dr. Anson G. Henry that the location was unacceptable to her. Rather, Mrs. Lincoln preferred Oak Ridge Cemetery as the final burial place for her husband. As was fashionable at that time, the Lincolns took carriage rides through Oak Ridge before leaving Springfield in February 1861. The peaceful, bucolic setting was set apart from the noise and bustle of downtown Springfield. The Association saw the Mather lot as an advantage with the train station only a few blocks away. But Mary Lincoln was unmoved and threatened to place Abraham's remains either in Washington's crypt at the United States Capitol or to Chicago.

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The Mather Lot



The temporary Lincoln vault at Oak Ridge Cemetery

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Member News

David Hullinger received this year's Abraham Lincoln Association Student Award for his essay, "The Lincoln-Douglas Debates and Their Effect on the 1860 Presidential Election." He is a student at Grace Lutheran School in Chicago. The five-hundred-dollar award is presented annually at the Illinois History Fair.

Author Daniel Mark Epstein is working on a new Lincoln book.

Ted Sky has just published a book on the history of federal spending power entitled, *To Provide for the General Welfare* (University of Delaware Press, 2004). Two chapters deal with Lincoln.

It was incorrectly reported that James M. McPherson is working on a Lincoln biography. He is, in fact, working on a book about Lincoln and his generals.

The Tallman House Museum in Janesville, Wisconsin, is seeking contri-

butions as part of its sesquicentennial anniversary. In October 1859 Abraham Lincoln stayed as a guest of William Morrison Tallman for two evenings. For information call 608.756.4509.

Three lectures on consecutive Thursdays in October will comprise the "Lincoln Legacy" series at the University of Illinois at Springfield. The speakers include Mark E. Neely, "Civil Liberties in Lincoln's Presidency," on October 7, Mark Summers, "The Politics of Patronage in Lincoln's Era," on October 14, and William Lee Miller, "Lincoln's Presidential Virtues," on October 21. For additional information contact Barbara Ferrara at Ferrara.Barbara@uis.edu.

Mario Delotto passed away on January 9. Paul Barker died in Buenos Aires on April 9.

Springfield's Lincoln beat reporter Doug Pokorski died of a heart attack on April 30.

February Symposium Set

The theme for the 2005 Abraham Lincoln Symposium is "Abraham Lincoln and the Constitution." Featured speakers include Daniel Farber of the University of Chicago, author of *Lincoln's Constitution* (2003); Phillip S. Paludan

of the University of Illinois at Springfield, author of *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln* (1994); and Herman Belz of the University of Maryland at College Park, author of *Abraham Lincoln, Constitutionalism and Equal Rights in the Civil War Era* (1998).

Federal Bicentennial Commission
News

A draft report was sent to Congress in June outlining the proposed national events and activities to commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth. The interim report, along with additional information on the commission, can be found at www.lincolnbicentennial.gov.

According to Providence *Journal* reporter Mark Arsenaault, commission

member and Rhode Island Supreme Court Chief Justice Frank J. Williams apologized to the *Journal* for "inadvertently" using words from a 1957 newspaper column without attribution in a 1993 article published in *Rhode Island History*. Williams, however, denied a similar allegation made by the History News Network for a chapter he published in 1994. For the full story, go to <http://hnn.us/articles/4556.html>.

Remembering Another President

By Thomas F. Schwartz

Ronald Wilson Reagan died peacefully at the age of ninety-three on Saturday, June 5. While Illinois boasts of three presidents—Lincoln, Grant, and Reagan—only the latter was actually born and reared in the “Land of Lincoln.” Tampico, Dixon, and Eureka College all reflect the indelible mark left by the fortieth president.

The late James T. Hickey attempted to secure the services of Reagan as banquet speaker for the 1983 Abraham Lincoln Association dinner. Hickey was instrumental in the restoration of Reagan’s Dixon, Illinois, boyhood home and became friends with the president and Mrs. Reagan in the process. While the president’s scheduler was encouraging, no senior public official can provide guarantees for public appearances. As such, the Association’s advance announcements contained the cryptic wording “the name of the dinner speaker cannot be announced at this time but the speaker will be ‘a personage of national renown.’” Another clue to the president’s probable appearance was the increased cost of the dinner: forty dollars versus twenty dollars the previous year. The cost increase reflected the price of security and staff that come with any presidential visit.

Word soon spread that the mysterious banquet speaker was indeed President Reagan. Tickets quickly sold out. As February 12 approached, word came from the White House on February 3 that the president would be unable to attend. Instead, a letter signed by President Reagan was sent to the gathering and is reproduced in full:

The White House
Washington
February 8, 1983

I appreciate the opportunity to extend

my warm greetings and best wishes to members and guests of the Abraham Lincoln Association as you gather for your annual banquet.

On this special occasion, we pay homage to Abraham Lincoln, a man who possessed a nobility of character which symbolized the deepest values and concepts of American democracy.

Lincoln fervently believed in the sanctity of individual freedom and government by the will of the people. He knew that—as a people and as a nation—we could not escape history, that we must rise to the challenges that threatened our cherished values and institutions. He was a good and gentle man who loved peace, but was caught

in the terrible storm of war. And throughout that fiery trial he gave us thoughts and words which so eloquently defined the American purpose.

Lincoln’s most enduring memorial lies in the deep recesses of the hearts of all Americans who love freedom and understand that it is earned and preserved only by those willing to struggle and to sacrifice for it.

Today let us rejoice in celebrating the birth of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party. As the Party of Lincoln, we Republicans can take great pride in the legacy he has bestowed on our nation. As students of history, particularly the Lincoln era, you will be
continued on page 8

Books for the Beach

A wide range of topics await readers looking for some summer fare. William C. Harris offers an engaging and detailed look into *Lincoln’s Last Months*. Harold Holzer examines an important Lincoln speech in *Lincoln at Cooper Union*. Geoffrey Perret explores Lincoln as Commander-in-Chief in *Lincoln’s War*. Finally, Wayne C. Temple offers a tasty description of Lincoln and food in “*The Taste Is In My Mouth A Little...*” *Lincoln’s Victuals and Potables*. Please make your checks out to “IHPA” and Illinois residents must now add 7.75 percent sales tax beginning July 1, 2004.

William C. Harris, *Lincoln’s Last Months*

Retail: \$27.95 / ALA Price: \$22.35

Harold Holzer, *Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech that Made Abraham Lincoln President*

Retail: \$25.00 / ALA Price: \$20.00

Geoffrey Perret, *Lincoln’s War: The Untold Story of America’s Greatest President and Commander-in-Chief*

Retail: \$35.00 / ALA Price: \$28.00

Wayne C. Temple, “*The Taste Is In My Mouth A Little...*” *Lincoln’s Victuals and Potables*

Retail: \$39.95 / ALA Price: \$31.95

Shipping/handling costs: Orders \$15.00 to \$49.95—\$5.95
\$49.95 to \$75.00—\$7.95
\$75.01 to \$99.99—\$9.95

U.S. dollars only

Endowment Donor List

The accompanying list of sixty-three donors displays those who have made gifts during the last four years to establish the Abraham Lincoln Association Endowment. This fund will enable the Association to meet additional challenges and needs as the new Presidential Library and Museum open and as the bicentennial of Lincoln's birth approaches in 2009. The Association has celebrated Lincoln's birth with banquets since 1909 and has fostered the publication and updating of the *Collected Works* among many other activities to broaden the understanding of his life and contributions to American society.

Join us in these efforts with a gift or series of gifts over the next five years to the Abraham Lincoln Association, 1 Old State Capitol Plaza, Springfield, IL 62701-1507. Additional information or brochures are available from the Endowment Chairman, Robert S. Eckley, 20 Walker Dr., Bloomington, IL 61701, and from our Treasurer, Robert Stuart Jr., 610 Williams Blvd., Springfield, IL 62704.

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University Park, Md.
Douglas L. Wilson, Galesburg

Two New Images

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Ignoring the wishes of a grieving widow was the last thing the Association wanted, especially since their favored location suggested their main interest was placing it in a high traffic area with all of the attendant economic benefits. Property was secured at Oak Ridge. The remains of Abraham and William Wallace Lincoln were placed in the temporary receiving vault at the base of the hill where the permanent tomb would be built. Since the cemetery's temporary vault would be needed for other remains, the Association began to construct another temporary vault simply to house the Lincoln family remains while the competition for the tomb design began. The photograph is a new view of the temporary Lincoln vault erected somewhere northeast of the current Lincoln Tomb.

Profiles of New Board Members

Lee McTurnan is a lawyer reared in central Illinois and practicing in Indiana. He and his wife Susan live in Carmel, Indiana, and have two children, a daughter who is a lawyer in Chicago and a son in graduate business school.

McTurnan is a graduate of Harvard College and of the University of Chicago Law School. He is a Phi Beta Kappa and in the Order of the Coif and was editor-in-chief of the Law Review at the University of Chicago. He has a diploma in law from Oxford University (Lincoln College), England, and was a law clerk to United States Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg.



Lee McTurnan

In 1989 he co-founded McTurnan & Turner, a firm of fourteen lawyers in Indianapolis that concentrates on relatively complex business or commercial litigation. His interest in Abraham Lincoln was stimulated by discussions with the Abraham Lincoln Association's past-president Dr. Robert Eckley and reading Lincoln's letters and speeches.

Kenneth L. Anderson is an attorney in Highland, Indiana, where he heads his own practice. His marriage to Joy Howell Anderson has last over three decades. Through this happy union, two daughters and a son have been born.



Kenneth L. Anderson

Graduating from Indiana University with a degree in sociology, Anderson completed graduate work at the University of Kansas in sociology. He taught the same at the University of Kansas and later at Simpson College. In 1978 Anderson received the Juris Doctor at Valparaiso University. He began his career at the firm of Cohen, Cohen, and Bullard, eventually leaving in 1981 to begin a private practice. Since then he has argued cases before the Indiana Supreme Court, the Indiana Court of Appeals, and the United States Appellate Court.

Anderson's interest in Lincoln is longstanding. He has written two screenplays, "Honest Abe," and "Lincoln at Gettysburg." He is currently exploring a Hollywood film contract on one of his screenplays.

When Myron Marty moved to Monticello, Illinois, upon reaching emeritus status at Drake University, a student who had been enrolled in his courses centered on Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson remarked: "You have it made, Mr. Marty: Living in the Land of Lincoln, in a city named for Jefferson, and spending your days with Frank Lloyd Wright."



Myron Marty

The road to the Land of Lincoln: After graduating from Concordia College in River Forest, Illinois, Marty taught elementary school for three years in Fort Wayne, Indiana, where the Lincoln Museum nourished his interest in Lincoln, traceable to his schoolboy years in Nebraska. Next came an eight-year stint at Lutheran High School in St. Louis. The last five coincided with the centennial of the Civil War, so his American history courses gave Lincoln a great deal of attention. Washington University and Saint Louis University awarded him master's degrees during those years.

While teaching at Florissant Valley Community College in suburban St.

Louis, with his Saint Louis University Ph.D. in hand, he began reviewing books for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. He is now in his thirty-fifth year as a reviewer. In 1980 he became deputy director of education programs at the National Endowment for the Humanities and in 1984 he moved to Drake University to serve as dean of arts and sciences. After a decade as dean he was named the Ann G. and Sigurd E. Anderson University Professor and returned to the classroom for eight years, concluding his career at Drake.

Through an accreditation assignment by the North Central Association in 1992, Marty and his wife Shirley established a relationship with the Taliesin Fellowship, founded by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1932. That relationship gave them the opportunity to coauthor a book on the Fellowship, published in 1999. He is now working on a comprehensive study of all of Wright's communities. Among his other books are, *Your Family History: A Handbook for Research and Writing* (1978), *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You* (1982 and 2000), coauthored with David Kyvig, and *Daily Life in the United States, 1960 to 1990* (1997). In addition to membership on the board of directors of the Abraham Lincoln Association, he serves on the governing boards of the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, Taliesin Preservation Incorporated, and the Piatt County Museum.

Update on Lincoln Papers Projects

The Presidential Papers of Abraham Lincoln Online, a project that proposed to place as many transcriptions of Lincoln's presidential papers on line by February 12, 2009, ceased operations on December 31, 2003. The project was announced in the winter 2001 issue of this newsletter. With the departure, the Papers of Abraham Lincoln remains the only documentary editing project to provide a comprehensive revision of the Abraham Lincoln Association's 1953 publication, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*.

Richard Norton Smith announced that the Papers of Abraham Lincoln is now an official program of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM). The ALPLM is a division of the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, which championed the Lincoln Legal Papers. The Lincoln Legal Papers comprises series one of the larger Papers of Abraham Lincoln project; series two will consist of the pre-presidential papers and series three the presidential papers. The National Historical Publications and Records Commission recently awarded the Lincoln Legal Papers \$93,432 for

the year beginning July 1, 2004, toward the completion of the book edition. The National Endowment for the Humanities awarded the Papers of Abraham Lincoln \$150,000, with the stipulation that an additional outside match of \$20,000 for the three year period 2004–2007 be secured. When completed, this project will place online and without charge all of the correspondence to and from Abraham Lincoln, along with color images, transcriptions, and editorial matter.

For the People (ISSN 1527–2710) is published four times a year and is a benefit of membership of the Abraham Lincoln Association
1 Old State Capitol Plaza
Springfield, Illinois
62701

Newsletter design and layout by
William B. Tubbs
wbt60@ameritech.net

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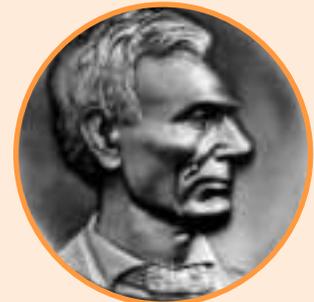
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Postmaster _____ \$75
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Congressman _____ \$500
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Members residing outside the U.S. add \$3.00.

Mail this application (or a photocopy) and a check to:

The Abraham Lincoln Association
1 Old State Capitol Plaza
Springfield, Illinois
62701

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Web site: www.alincolnassoc.com

Money and Campaigns in the Lincoln Era

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one dollar toward Lincoln's reelection. Among the more notable subscribers was William P. Dole, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A second subscription list by the "employees under the Commissioner of Public Buildings," has sixteen signatures pledging money to the Lincoln and Johnson Club of the City of Washington. All contributed one dollar, save for James Nokes, who gave ten dollars.

The most interesting subscription list is dated September 27, 1864, signed by ten employees at the Executive Mansion. Unlike the previous lists that openly supported the reelection of Lincoln and Johnson and "contribute the sums set against our respective names to the Lincoln and Johnson Club of the City of Washington, and desire to be enrolled as members thereof, and authorize the Commissioner to subscribe our names to the Constitution, for, and in our behalf," the White House employees

were more circumspect. Rather, their form read: "The within names employees at the executive Mansion, Contribute the sums set against our respective names, as Unconditional Union Men but most respectfully withhold the right of joining any Club, or Political Association whatever." By distancing themselves from openly partisan activity, those employees advanced the impression that they sought to serve regardless of the party in power. Later reform efforts such as the Civil Service Act and the Pendleton Act embraced merit over partisan affiliation. It was not until 1939, however, that the Hatch Act was passed to prevent "pernicious political activities" in federal government agencies. Among the provisions, the legislation attempted to curb the use of federal workers and money to advance political campaigns. It also sought to prevent the shake-down of federal employees for contributions to campaigns as a condition of employment.

Remembering Another President

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fascinated, I'm sure, with the remarks of William Safire, your guest speaker, as he discusses "Lincoln Pundits: If Lincoln Columnists Were Writings Today."

Nancy joins me in sending every wish for a most successful and enjoyable evening.

Ronald Reagan.

It should be noted that *New York Times* columnist William Safire never made it to the banquet. An ice storm along the eastern seaboard shut down major airports, preventing Safire from flying to Springfield. The best solution on short notice was for Safire to read his comments over a poor long-distance telephone connection while a tape recorder at the other end captured his remarks. Regardless, the evening was memorable, perhaps for the wrong reasons.

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