PREFACE

Frank L. Klement once jokingly told an audience that there were only two important central figures in the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln was number one. Clement L. Vallandigham, Lincoln's most notable critic, was number two—"mainly because I did a book about him," Klement chuckled.¹ Although he could occasionally intersperse a bit of humor into his lectures about the Copperheads, Klement saw it as no laughing matter the way Vallandigham and other outspoken northern critics of the Lincoln administration were treated by the Northern government during the conflict, and by historians afterward.

The Marquette University professor was recognized in historical circles for almost four decades as the champion of the Copperheads through his historical investigations, which often focused on Lincoln's Northern adversaries and subversive organizations active during the Civil War. Nearly 62 percent of the 221 items listed in his bibliography (minus book reviews) address anti-Lincoln themes.² Four of his seven books discuss Lincoln's Northern carpers, and the thirty essays he wrote about a variety of Copperhead activities comprise over half the total number of articles he composed in fifty years as an author. His last essay, "Catholics as Copperheads During the Civil War," appeared in print mere months before he died on July 29, 1994, at age eighty-six.

To the very end of his career, Klement remained firmly entrenched in his belief that the alleged Copperhead threat in the North during the Civil War was little more than a Republican smear campaign, a smoke screen that the Northern government used to discredit harmless civilians who strongly opposed the Lincoln administration's seemingly blatant disregard for civil liberties. He took aim at those

¹ Frank L. Klement, "Vallandigham and the Civil War," address before the Civil War Round Table of Chicago, Dec. 8, 1966.

² The author has compiled Klement's complete bibliography in Frank L. Klement, *Lincoln's Critics: The Copperheads of the North* (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Books, 1999).

historians who for years had spat venom at any critic of the Lincoln administration, and saw himself as the leading revisionist who needed to redress the balance. He repeatedly told readers and audiences that his field of study did not receive much glory because the academic world clung too tightly to the work of scholars who chose to further inflate the Lincoln legend. In 1952 Klement told the historical community that “nationalism as a force and apotheosis as a process have tempted writers to laud Abraham Lincoln and to denounce his enemies.” In a reflective mood forty-two years later, his message remained unchanged as he sermonized for an interviewer the problems associated with being a student of Copperheadism: “Nationalist historians really praise that which has happened and glorify that which has happened. When you deal with Lincoln’s critics and the Copperheads and Democratic politicians, you’re going down a road that is not appreciated by nationalist historians.”³

Many scholars, however—even those who were often critical of his conclusions—praised him for re-evaluating the causes and consequences of civil protest during wartime. His meticulously researched and lucidly argued studies about Civil War dissenters and dark-lantern societies were so persuasive that a generation of Civil War scholars became convinced that Copperhead societies were little more than paper organizations with little or no central philosophy or direction. Mark E. Neely, Jr., wrote in his own study of Abraham Lincoln and civil liberties that “the shrewd and painstaking work of historian Frank L. Klement over the last thirty years has proved, beyond any reasonable doubt, that no systematic, organized disloyal opposition to the war existed in the North.”⁴ Even James McPherson, who has often disagreed with Klement’s uncompromising stance that Copperheads were not a danger to the North, has confessed that he has still found Klement’s interpretations unfailingly stimulating. “His books and articles are invaluable for anyone working in the Civil War field.”⁵ John Y. Simon summed up Klement’s contributions by writ-

³ Frank L. Klement, “Middle Western Copperheadism and the Genesis of the Granger Movement,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 38.4 (March, 1952): 679. Reprinted in *Lincoln’s Critics*, p. 53. Steven K. Rogstad interviews Frank L. Klement, audio cassette, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, May 15, 1988. Cassette in possession of author. Cited hereafter as Frank L. Klement interview.

⁴ Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. xii.

⁵ *The Lincoln Ledger*, 2.4 (November, 1994): 8.

ing: "Without Frank Klement wild Copperheads would continue to run rampant through the Civil War Midwest."⁶

Frank Ludwig Klement was born on a dairy farm near the sleepy little farming community of Leopolis in Shawano County, Wisconsin, on August 19, 1908, the third oldest of eight children born to Jacob and Barbara (Kutil) Klement.⁷ His paternal grandparents emigrated to America from Taus, Czechoslovakia—then under Austrian control—in 1883 with their three sons. They became dairy farmers in northern Wisconsin, where there were communities of other Bohemian and Czechoslovakian immigrants laboring in agricultural trades.

His early education was modest. After successfully passing the small rural school's eighth grade in Leopolis, most of the county's boys and girls returned to the family farm, but those students with higher aspirations entered a two-year high school program offered by public schools in either Clintonville or Shawano, larger farming communities about thirteen miles in opposite directions from the Klement homestead. Young Frank decided to make the journey east to Shawano High School and follow in his older brother George's footsteps by becoming a schoolteacher.

He quickly distinguished himself as being one of the most ambitious students at the school, and demonstrated a remarkable talent for studying history. "I was very much interested in history," he recalled in an interview, "maybe because I had a good history teacher, but then I was interested in every subject. I was enamored with Algebra and English and all of the High School studies, and I read voraciously in those days." The books that fascinated him the most

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ A more comprehensive biography of Frank L. Klement may be found in the author's introduction to Klement, *Lincoln's Critics*, pp. ix–xxxv. Klement joined Marquette University in 1948 and remained there until he retired to part-time teaching in 1975. He continued to offer at least one course each semester until he quit teaching altogether in 1988. In 1965 Marquette presented him with its prestigious "Award of Teaching Excellence." The university bestowed on him the title of Emeritus Professor of History in 1980. In 1992 Marquette created a lecture series in his honor, only the third such series to be established since the institution's founding in 1881. His name was linked with Father Jacques Marquette and Thomas Aquinas when the "Frank L. Klement Lectures: Alternative Views of the Sectional Conflict" was inaugurated on October 19, 1992. It has established an endowment fund to support the lecture series. Inquiries about contributions should be made to the College of Arts and Sciences at 414-288-5968. Marquette's archives officially dedicated the "Frank L. Klement Papers" collection in 1996.

were biographies of great leaders like Napoleon Bonaparte, Otto von Bismark, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln.⁸

After graduating with excellent marks on June 4, 1927, he enrolled in a one-year rural teachers' training program at the high school. He completed its curriculum in June 1928 and taught for three years at the Pella District Number 2 School just south of Leopolis before accepting another offer to become the principal and upper grade instructor at a two-teacher school near Angelica, at the far eastern part of Shawano County. He was teaching at Pella when a friend showed up at the Klement farmhouse one day in the summer of 1931 and simply said to him, "Let's go to college!" The suggestion instantly appealed to Frank, who had grown tired of the long days of farm work each summer and the limited opportunities afforded to a country school teacher. The two ambitious young men started taking classes at Central State Teachers College—today he University of Wisconsin—Stevens Point—that fall.

At Stevens Point, Klement declared himself a history major and studied in earnest under the direction of Professor Herbert R. Steiner, a native Wisconsinite and Harvard University graduate who also served as Dean of Men. Steiner called his students to moral reflection and inspired them to work for the benefit of mankind—not simply for a career that could provide an accumulation of worldly wealth. To the pious and serious-minded young man, Dr. Steiner embodied all that was good and honorable—a superb model after which he would fashion his own academic dreams. Over fifty years later Frank would recall the professor's courses as "a most pleasant experience." Steiner brought history alive in a way that Frank hoped to emulate in his own classroom someday. "He was a marvelous lecturer, and I became his favorite student. I took every course he offered. After his death, his son brought over boxes of books, and said, 'My father, I know, would like you to have these because he thought so highly of you.'" Beneath one of the history tests he had pasted into a scrapbook, Klement had penned: "Mr Steiner was my History teacher. What a teacher!"

The United States was experiencing one of the worst economic depressions in its history as Frank approached graduation in early 1935. By Christmas he had still not received a single interview for a

⁸ Frank L. Klement interview, May 15, 1988.

teaching position, and reluctantly accepted the principalship at a four-teacher country school in Shawano, a position which had been kept open for him by a director for the local school board in the event no other job opportunities came his way. Keeping in mind advice he had received from Dr. Steiner—"The time to leave is when you're appreciated most"—Frank resigned two years later to obtain a master's degree at the University of Wisconsin.

In the autumn of 1937 he entered the graduate program at Madison and studied for the next several years under the mentorship of William Best Hesseltine, who was best known on campus for what he called his "seminary," the graduate seminar he taught weekday afternoons in rooms at the Wisconsin State Historical Society.⁹ Each new arrival to the seminar was required to attend special indoctrination lectures before he could join the existing group around an ancient T-shaped table, which Hesseltine stated had been used by students of Frederick Jackson Turner. "The assertion achieved its purpose of challenging us with the tradition of the university," Frank L. Byrne later wrote. "He continued by assuring us that we were there because we knew historical research was more important, in fact more fun, than anything else. . . . He then told us that we were not in an educational institution but in a trade school."¹⁰

Klement had become a prominent member of Hesseltine's seminar by the time it reconvened in the summer of 1940. He was seated at the T-shaped table with eleven other students on the first day of class, when Hesseltine passed around a sheet of paper with twelve topics on it. "Each of us were supposed to sign up for one of those topics as a seminar topic for the year," Klement later reminisced. He had deliberately positioned himself at the professor's immediate left because Hesseltine always started passing out assignments on that side, and he wanted first choice. To his amazement and dismay, however, Hesseltine began at the other end of the table, "so by the time that list got to me, I got the last topic, and the last topic was, 'The

⁹ Thirty-two students earned Ph.D.s under Hesseltine, including T. Harry Williams (1937), Richard N. Current (1940), Benjamin A. Quarles (1940), Frank Freidel (1942), Kenneth M. Stampp (1942), Frank L. Klement (1946), and Stephen E. Ambrose (1963). For a complete roster see Richard N. Current, ed., *Sections and Politics: Selected Essays by William Best Hesseltine* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1968), pp. 149–50.

¹⁰ Frank L. Byrne, "The Trainer of Historians," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 66.2 (Winter 1982–1983): 115.

Democratic Party in the Civil War.' So, thus, I became, by chance, a student of the Democratic party during the Civil War."¹¹

The topic was initially entitled "Seymour and Lincoln," and called for him to interpret Governor Horatio Seymour of New York as a representative of Northern Democracy, to analyze the position of the Democrats, and to discuss Lincoln's relations with Democratic-ruled states. The paper was retitled "Lincoln and the Border States" in his preliminary report to the seminar on July 16, and subsequently changed again to "The Democratic Party vs. the Administration in the Civil War." It is unfortunate that the paper has not survived, for it represented Klement's earliest work on northern opposition to Lincoln's policies. Those first readings on the subject from books Hesseltine recommended in his seminar did nothing to dissuade him from accepting the traditional interpretation that northern dissenters were a motley group of pro-Southern ingrates who affiliated with subversive secret societies, organized conspiracies, and criticized a president whose policies were proper and who deserved sainthood. By the end of the summer term, however, he had some doubts and suppositions, "but not enough to change the equation. Lincoln, however, no longer walked on water."¹²

The following year he focused his attention on his native state. Under the direction of T. Harry Williams, who was substituting for Hesseltine, he wrote a succinct study of the "Democratic Party in Wisconsin During the Civil War." He approached Hesseltine somewhat cautiously at the beginning of his third year, seeking permission to write a doctoral thesis entitled "Copperheadism in the Upper Midwest." The professor smiled and said, "I've been waiting for someone to take hold of that topic and chew on it."¹³

Klement's early explorations into the lives of prominent Midwestern "malcontents"—a term he preferred using to depict Lincoln's Midwestern democratic critics—soon convinced him that those individuals who menaced supporters of the Union's cause had been labeled traitors chiefly by religious leaders who backed the administration and by Republican propagandists, whose writings would influence over a hundred years of scholarship about the Civil War. What he learned after years of trampling through the vineyards

¹¹ Frank L. Klement interview, May 15, 1988.

¹² Klement, *Lincoln's Critics*, p. xx.

¹³ *Ibid.*

of dissent would compel him to challenge even the accepted definition of the word "Copperhead," the meaning of which he believed was composed by Republican political propaganda, and gained popular acceptance afterward. Even the term itself, he complained, was a smear term devised by the Radical Republicans. Rather than that of a Northerner who sympathized with the South during the Civil War, the definition of a Copperhead should, he believed, be changed to simply "a Democratic critic of the Lincoln administration," which supported his contention that Copperheads were sectionalists by nature, not necessarily pro-Southern.¹⁴

By 1960 Klement had become the leading authority on Copperheadism with the publication of numerous articles and his first book, *The Copperheads in the Middle West*, an expansion of his doctoral dissertation.¹⁵ In its pages he argued that political, sectional, and socioeconomic causes underwrote Midwestern opposition to the Lincoln administration, and he successfully debunked the secret society and conspiracy stories featured so prominently in other histories and novels picturing Northern dissent, especially those contained in the works by Wood Gray and George Fort Milton.¹⁶ Inaccurately labeled "agrarian radicals," Copperheads were no more than Midwestern conservative Democrats who put themselves on record as critics of change because of sectional economic grievances. "Truly," he had written early in his career, "middle western Copperheadism makes sense only when it is viewed as a prowestern rather than a prosouthern movement."¹⁷

Many reviewers sharply disagreed with Klement's strong argument that Copperheadism was not a seditious, pro-Southern movement, but rather a loosely organized effort on the part of ardently conservative Northern Democrats who feared black equality, hated Lincoln's deliberate infringement on civil liberties, voiced opposition to the draft, and chose to look out for their own section's interests. Although admitting that Klement performed an important service by

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 17, 82.

¹⁵ Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960).

¹⁶ Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads* (New York: Viking Press, 1942); George Fort Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1942).

¹⁷ Klement, "Middle Western Copperheadism and the Genesis of the Granger Movement," 683. Reprinted in Klement, *Lincoln's Critics*, p. 55.

exposing distortions in commonly held beliefs regarding Midwestern Copperheadism, one writer noted that he limited himself to the Copperhead side of the story. "The tone of his book suggests that in many instances he should have shown more awareness of the difficulties that Copperhead recalcitrance brought to the nation when it was fighting for its life at a time of great crisis." A few historians concurred with his conclusions, however. Former classmate Richard N. Current, another of Hesseltine's graduate students, recommended the book to the scholar "who finds the truth more satisfying, even if less strange, than fiction." Wayne C. Temple applauded *The Copperheads in the Middle West* as "the definitive treatment of the Copperhead story. For the first time a picture of the actual operations of the Copperheads is presented."¹⁸

During his research for the book Klement began receiving inquiries about the most notorious Copperhead, Clement L. Vallandigham, who had been arrested, imprisoned, and exiled for actions deemed treasonous. "I wondered long ago," Klement confessed later, "why Vallandigham lay buried, untouched by historians or researchers," but felt obliged to refer each inquirer to Charles H. Coleman, Professor of History at Eastern Illinois University, who had laid claim to the subject by writing and speaking about Copperheadism and Vallandigham since the 1930s. Coleman had announced to fellow historians in 1955 that he planned to write the first comprehensive biography of the Ohio politician. Once the well-known episodes of Vallandigham's life took center stage in Coleman's lectures, Klement always dutifully referred questions about Vallandigham to him because "in this profession we honor each other's pre-emptions." When he was notified a few years later by a colleague that Coleman was in declining health and could never finish his investigations, he wrote to him and received his blessing to continue the work.¹⁹

¹⁸ Kenneth Carley, rev. of *The Copperheads in the Middle West*, by Frank L. Klement, *Minnesota History* (September 1960): 127; Richard N. Current, rev. of *The Copperheads in the Middle West*, by Frank L. Klement, *New York Herald-Tribune Book Review*, 25 Sept. 1960; Wayne C. Temple, rev. of *The Copperheads in the Middle West*, by Frank L. Klement, *Lincoln Herald* (Winter 1960): 190.

¹⁹ Klement, "Vallandigham and the Civil War," Dec. 8, 1966. Charles Hubert Coleman (1900–1972) is most remembered for his *The Election of 1868: The Deliberate Effort to Regain Control* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933) and *Abraham Lincoln and Coles County, Illinois* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1955). Two of his earliest Copperhead essays were "The Use of the Term 'Copperhead' During the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 25.2 (Sept. 1938): 263–64, and "The Middle Western Peace Democracy, 1861–1865," *Mississippi Val-*

Klement had been led to believe that Coleman had done a tremendous amount of research about Vallandigham, and expected to find a large supply of records and copies of manuscripts from which to work from. However, he discovered during a visit to Coleman's home in Charleston that the professor had acquired only a very small quantity of primary source material, which he kept in a trunk. Klement described the extent of Coleman's cache as "a case full of notes," and nothing more. In fact, he had "never really put pen to paper" on the subject, Klement recalled later.²⁰

Another reason why Klement believed no other historian—including Coleman—had arduously worked on Vallandigham as a subject for biography was due to the paucity of readily available primary source material. A majority of Vallandigham's papers and other valuable records were destroyed in 1913 during a flood at Dayton, Ohio, where Vallandigham lived during most of his life. The few letters that remained in the family were withheld or dispersed by sensitive descendants, so that not a single substantive collection of material was available at any archive or library. Most of Vallandigham's correspondence, as Klement soon learned, lay in dusty files at museums and libraries across America and Canada, which required long absences from his family and teaching duties. "It has been a tiring, long, slow, research project," he told the Chicago Civil War Round Table four years before he finished the project, "and I can understand why some would turn away from it when they once expressed an interest in it."²¹

The research was not without its interesting moments, however. After days of closely scrutinizing newspapers in the Dayton Public Library, Klement decided to take a break one Friday and examine the probate file for Vallandigham's estate in the local courthouse basement. The busy clerk at the front desk directed him to browse around by himself in the catacombs below until he found what he needed. Roaming from one room to another, where he encountered a seemingly endless number of drawers piled almost to the ceiling, he had to employ a stepladder to get to a drawer near the top of a

ley Historical Review, 28.2 (Sept. 1941): 209–10. Interestingly, although Klement credited Coleman for performing some of the earliest research on Vallandigham, he never referred to anything that Coleman wrote about the subject in his books or articles.

²⁰ Frank L. Klement interview, May 15, 1988.

²¹ Klement, "Vallandigham and the Civil War," Dec. 8, 1966.

column to lay his hands on the probate packet, which was numbered in the 102,000s. To his dismay, the Vallandigham packet was missing. Disappointed, he proceeded to another room and located the drawer that housed the probate file for Mrs. Louisa Vallandigham. It also was missing. All the other probate records, numbered consecutively, were accounted for. Only those for the Vallandigham family were conspicuously absent.

The following morning Klement returned to his newspaper research at the library when he received a telephone call from John Drake, president of the Montgomery County Historical Society, who identified himself as another aspiring biographer of Vallandigham. Drake invited him to lunch and called for him in the newspaper room at the library, where he turned a shopping bag he was carrying upside down on a table, littering papers all over. "Have you seen these?" he inquired of Klement. Frank replied, "No, but I would have *yesterday* when I was in the basement of the courthouse *looking* for those records if they had been in their proper place." Drake hushed him, saying "Shhh. Not so loud! I am an abstractor and they give me the run of the place, and I just borrowed these. I occasionally borrow things." He offered to have Klement examine them over the weekend. Recalling the incident before a group of historians, Klement said with merriment: "My conscience troubled me of course—had a great struggle with my conscience—'hot stuff' here—I don't want to take records that had been, I thought, stolen or borrowed. But, I won out over my conscience, and I took them with me."²²

Klement knew he had written an important addition to Civil War literature when *The Limits of Dissent: Clement L. Vallandigham and the Civil War* first appeared in 1970. The only other biography of the famous dissenter had been written in 1872 by his brother James L. Vallandigham, who saw his exiled relative as a courageous and heroic figure, a man of high moral character and extraordinary intelligence, persecuted for his principles by a powerful national government and later wrongfully portrayed by extremists and illiberals. Although more critical and comprehensive, Klement's portrait of Vallandigham was still, not surprisingly, favorable. It presented the story of a man who symbolized the purist of Copperhead ideologies. Preaching for the preservation of the pre-war federal system with slavery intact,

²² Ibid.

"Valiant Val" was not the miserable radical plotting to overthrow the federal government, but the voice of thousands of Western Democrats calling for "The Constitution as it is, the Union as it was."

The Limits of Dissent remains the first scholarly appraisal of the most famous Union critic, and reviewers lavished it with praise when it first appeared. Klement "displays the careful research and meticulous attention to detail that marks all of his work; it is unlikely that a more thorough study of Vollandigham's Civil War activities could be written," noted one reviewer. Wayne C. Temple was so impressed with the author's ability to piece together such a splendid biography from fragmentary evidence and a thorough examination of period newspapers that he exclaimed, "This book should win an award."²³

Although Frank Klement sympathized with the plight of dissenters like Vollandigham, whom he believed posed no direct threat to the Union, he rarely applauded their activities and sometimes admitted that their rhetoric often times bordered on being treasonous. In Klement's estimation, the outrageous and self-righteous Copperhead newspaper editor Marcus "Brick" Pomeroy—who called for an American patriot to murder President Lincoln—received more attention than he deserved, but Vollandigham was modest, religious, a devoted family man, a gifted orator, and committed to principle. Klement urged scholars to evaluate Vollandigham within his historical setting while reconsidering General Burnside's controversial "General Orders, No. 38" and General Hascall's "General Order, No. 9." Paraphrasing William Shakespeare, he prefaced his remarks about Vollandigham to an audience in 1966 by saying, "I come to talk about Vollandigham, not to praise him. The evil that men do lives after them, and the good is often interred in their bones. So let it be with Vollandigham."²⁴

In the nearly thirty years since the book was first published, scholars continue to contemplate Klement's conclusions about wartime disloyalty. A few have argued that he took his revisionist deliberations to an opposite and often inaccurate extreme; that he somehow overlooked or purposefully ignored overt acts which enemies of the

²³ Michael Les Benedict, rev. of *The Limits of Dissent: Clement L. Vollandigham and the Civil War*, by Frank L. Klement, *American Historical Review* (Spring 1972): 211; Wayne C. Temple, rev. of *The Limits of Dissent: Clement L. Vollandigham and the Civil War*, by Frank L. Klement, *Lincoln Herald* (Spring 1972): 70.

²⁴ Klement, *Lincoln's Critics*, p. 92; Klement, "Vollandigham and the Civil War," Dec, 8, 1966.

Lincoln administration took to undermine the federal government during the Civil War. James McPherson has written that Klement often protested too much in his attempt to exonerate the Copperheads from all such calumnies. That is an argument shared by William Hanchett, who has said that although calls for Lincoln's murder by many Copperheads did not meet the Constitutional criteria for treason, "many other Copperhead activities, about which Klement had little to say, did." David E. Long, who has studied the 1864 presidential election, worries that "many contemporary historians seem willing to accept the work of Klement implicitly" and may be misled by his view that clandestine secret societies and conspiracies were merely fairy tales and figments of Republican imagination. Long maintains that the threat of treasonable action in the North was anything but imaginary, insisting that Klement's blantly biased views need to be shown for what they are. "[W]ithout Klement and the generation of revisionist historians that followed in the wake he created, there was an abundance of contemporary literature which supported the existence of a sizeable and dangerous opposition to the war."²⁵

Critics of the Klement thesis should be mindful that he performed his earliest research in the 1940s and 1950s, at the conclusion of World War II and at the beginning of the Cold War, when threats to the United States were still a fresh memory and politicians like Wisconsin Senator Joe McCarthy were accusing citizens of being Communists during televised investigations. The chilling, almost paranoid, national climate unquestionably fostered skepticism in Klement as he read Republican propaganda, Civil War recollections, period newspapers, and popular histories about the conflict. As Americans became more disillusioned with the Vietnam War in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Klement's opinions about wartime dissent gained better credibility. He told an interviewer in 1964: "You can't separate an historian's philosophy of life or the era in which he lives

²⁵ McPherson, quoted in James McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 878. Hanchett quoted in *The Lincoln Ledger*, 2.4 (November 1994): 12–13. David E. Long, "Frank L. Klement Revisited: Disloyalty and Treason in the American Civil War," *Lincoln Herald* 97.3 (Fall, 1995): 99. Long makes similar arguments in his book *The Jewel of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln's Re-Election and the End of Slavery* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1994).

from his scholarship. That is why each generation reinterprets for itself.”²⁶

Mark E. Neely, Jr., summarized Klement’s legacy best in 1991 when he wrote that his works in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s demolished the myth of a large, secret, well-organized disloyal Northern opposition of the Lincoln administration. Yet, he recently prophesied that the reigning interpretations of the Civil War years are on the verge of breaking down “or at least of very considerable revision. . . .”²⁷ The new wave of revisionism, as is evidenced by David E. Long and others, also extends into the areas relating to Lincoln’s Democratic critics. Klement anticipated this trend in 1984 when he alluded to himself in the third person by writing that “revisionists have challenged the contentions of earlier historians who believed the Civil War to be ordained, inevitable, and irrepressible. They have been challenged in turn by those who would revise the revisionists.”²⁸

It appears, however, that for all of the attention Klement brought to the Copperheads, interest in the subject is waning. In Eugene C. Murdock’s 1987 Civil War bibliography, Klement’s name is listed twenty-seven times—surpassed only by Bruce Catton and Edwin C. Bearss—and topics addressing disloyalty and dissent were given appropriate coverage. A short nine years later, Steven E. Woodworth’s mammoth 754-page annotated work, *The American Civil War: A Handbook of Literature and Research*, identified only five entries for Klement, a mere four for the Copperheads, and a scant two for Vallandigham.²⁹ Keeping in mind the fact that Klement preached incessantly about nationalist historians who disapprove of reconsidering the case against Copperheads like Clement L. Vallandigham, the numbers would make him smile.

Racine, Wisconsin

STEVEN K. ROGSTAD

²⁶ “Our War and its Historians,” *Marquette University Magazine* 5.4 (Summer 1964): 2.

²⁷ Neely, *The Fate of Liberty*, p. 229; Steven E. Woodworth, ed., *The American Civil War: A Handbook of Literature and Research* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 196.

²⁸ Frank L. Klement, *Dark Lanterns: Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies, and Treason Trials in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), p. 6.

²⁹ Eugene C. Murdock, *The Civil War in the North: A Selective Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), pp. 724, 726, 733. The book lists fifty-three items for Bearss, thirty for Catton, and twenty-seven for Klement. Woodworth, *The American Civil War*, pp. 694, 714, 746.