HONORING CONNECTICUT'S ROLE IN ABOLISHING SLAVERY, 150 YEARS LATER

RESOURCE GUIDE TO ACCOMPANY THE 2012 MOVIE, "LINCOLN"

FROM THE OFFICE OF
CONGRESSMAN JOE COURTNEY
SECOND DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT
JANUARY, 2015

HONORING CONNECTICUT'S ROLE IN ABOLISHING SLAVERY, 150 YEARS LATER

On January 31st, 2015, the United States of America will celebrate the 150th anniversary of one of its greatest contributions to the cause of human rights: passage of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution abolishing human slavery within its borders. The 13th Amendment resolved forever a hotly-contested moral defect in the founding of the nation, which permitted the ownership of African slaves by American citizens. Passage occurred on the cusp of the end of the most violent conflict in American history—the Civil War—which most historians agree was primarily fought over this very issue.

No doubt, the 150th observance will be a time of great reflection and celebration that—despite the horrible reality of the War, America was able to eliminate the "peculiar institution" of slavery, preserve the Union, and adopt the slavery prohibition into the bedrock foundation of the nation's legal system: the U.S. Constitution.

In Connecticut, we have much to commemorate on this important milestone. Our state contributed greatly to the cause of abolition. The literary work of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Horace Greeley, and David Ruggles, an African-American abolitionist printer and writer who also played a role in the Underground Railroad; and the outspoken leadership of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the United States Navy under President Lincoln, and Prudence Crandall, who boldly opened the doors of her classroom to African American girls, lent power and clarity to the arguments opposed to slavery. The military service of thousands of men and boys to the Union cause was spectacular, from the highest rank of officers to enlisted infantrymen. More than 4,000 Connecticut soldiers lost their lives to the horrors of combat, disease, and imprisonment in Confederate camps during the course of the War. Connecticut soldiers saw action in all of the major battles that caused massive loss of life.

By the time President Abraham Lincoln decided to press Congress for passage of the 13th Amendment, a majority of Connecticut citizens had cast their votes to elect him twice, in 1860 and 1864. At the same time, opposition candidates amassed a substantial minority in the contest, and elected a Democratic House member from New Haven as part of the state's four-member House delegation.

When the yeas and nays were counted during the roll call vote on the 13th Amendment on January 31st, 1865, Connecticut's House and Senate delegates stood firm in their support for abolition. Their principled votes reflected President Lincoln's support among Connecticut citizens and the sacrifice of thousands of their state's sons for the Union effort.

As the 150th anniversary approaches, it is important to share the accurate record of the role of the Connecticut House delegation in adopting the 13th Amendment, particularly because much of the public discourse around this period of our history will be influenced by the 2012 movie, "Lincoln."

CORRECTING THE RECORD ON CONNECTICUT'S 13TH AMENDMENT VOTES IN *"LINCOLN"*

Steven Spielberg's 2012 movie "Lincoln" was a great cinematic achievement that earned numerous awards, and its success has brought the dramatic story of the abolition of slavery in America to life for a new generation. As an educational tool for teachers to illustrate that period of United States political history to students, the movie is an important contribution to the historical record, and will shape the perceptions of young Americans who learn from it. In particular, by focusing on the struggle to pass the 13th Amendment to the Constitution by a 2/3 "super-majority," the movie brought to life the legislative process in Congress, the arena of American democracy. The plot of the movie focuses on President Lincoln's efforts to persuade, cajole, and horse-trade with a divided House of Representatives to win passage on January 31, 1865 by a vote of 119 to 56.

As the movie demonstrates, the motivation of Members of Congress is a mix of high-minded principle, personal loyalty (and jealousy), and—inevitably—personal ambitions and gains. President Lincoln and his team are shown to be both committed abolitionists and pragmatic head-counters. The stakes could not have been higher – victory would abolish America's "original sin" of slavery, which corrupted the democratic foundation of our country; defeat would have undermined Lincoln's presidency and the cause of the Union.

In portraying the events leading up to the vote, the movie went to great lengths to accurately depict this epic Congressional struggle. As such, it is crucial that one glaring inaccuracy in the film—which stands in stark contrast to the countless historical details rendered with painstaking precision—be corrected. According to the movie, two members of Connecticut's delegation, during a climactic scene in which passage of the 13th Amendment was anything but certain, vote against the amendment. Two fictitious Connecticut legislators—unlike most of the historically accurate names of the other congressmen portrayed in the movie—are shown casting their votes against the amendment, drawing out the suspense of the roll call vote. This portrayal, which explicitly identifies "members" from Connecticut, is utterly false.

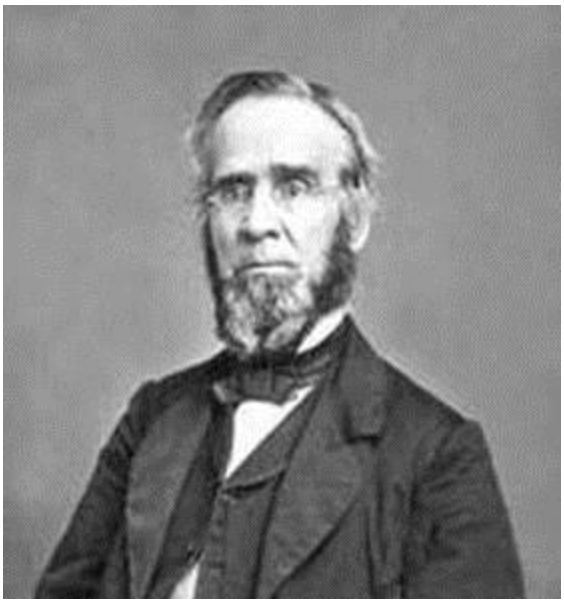
In fact, all four of Connecticut's representatives voted for the 13th Amendment, supporting the abolition of slavery in the United States. For history students and other viewers in Connecticut, who will undoubtedly wonder how their state's record on the 13th Amendment could be so incongruous with its position in the Civil War, setting the record straight is a matter of honor to those from Connecticut who sacrificed so much for the cause of abolition. They should be proud of the courageous votes cast by Connecticut's delegation at this most uncertain time in the history of our great nation.

To further that end, this resource guide contains short biographies of the four Connecticut congressmen who served in the 38th Congress in Washington.

CONNECTICUT'S CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION
38TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Biographies of
John Henry Hubbard (1804-1872)
James E. English (1812-1890)
Henry Champion Deming (1815-1872)
Augustus Brandegee (1828-1904)

Connecticut Map reflecting 1864 Congressional District Borders



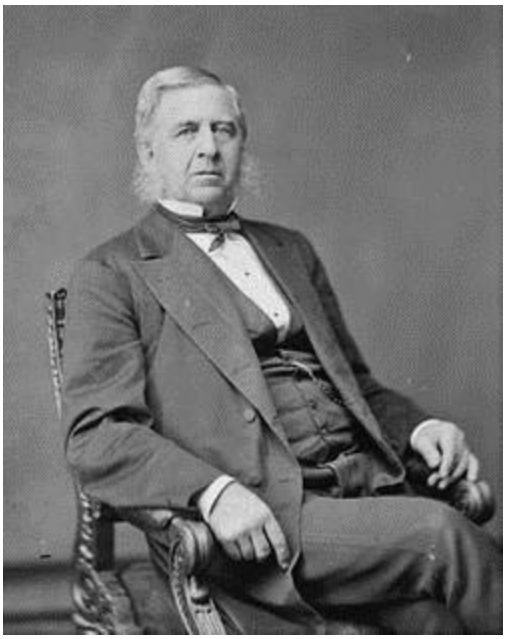
JOHN HENRY HUBBARD (1804-1872)

John Henry Hubbard was born in 1804 in Salisbury, Connecticut. A lawyer by trade, he served in the Connecticut state senate from 1847 to 1849. In 1863, he was elected to Congress to represent the Fourth Congressional District, encompassing the western end of Connecticut. Hubbard served two terms, and cast an historic vote in support of the 13th Amendment. President Lincoln nicknamed Hubbard "Old Connecticut."

In addition to his support of the 13th amendment, Hubbard was a staunch supporter of the Freedmen's Bureau, established by Congress in 1865 to help former black slaves and poor whites in the South in the aftermath of the Civil War.

In a passionate speech given on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives on February 4, 1866, Hubbard declared:

> *Another object is to give them an opportunity to learn to read and to protect them reasonably in their civil rights. They ought not to be left to perish by the wayside in poverty and by starvation when the country so much needs their work. It is not their crime nor their fault that they are so miserable. From the beginning to the present time they have been robbed of their wages, to say nothing of the scourging they have received. I think that the nation will be a great gainer by encouraging the policy of the Freedmen's Bureau, in the cultivation of its wild lands, in the increased wealth which industry brings, and in the restoration of law and order in the insurgent States.*
>
> *I feel proud of my country when I behold it stretching out its strong arm of power to protect the poor, the ignorant, the weak, and the oppressed. I see in it the prosecution of a righteous purpose which cannot fail to secure the favor of Heaven. I see in it that which will bring my country a richer revenue of honor than all the eloquence of her forums or the glory of her battle-fields. I see in it infallible evidence that the nation is fast becoming what it was intended to be by the fathers- the home of liberty and an asylum for the oppressed of all the races and nations of men.*



JAMES E. ENGLISH (1812-1890)

James E. English rose from humble beginnings in Connecticut. From working on a Bethlehem farm at age 11, to becoming a master carpenter by age 21, English's work ethic propelled him to success in business and in political life.

English served on the Board of Selectmen in New Haven from 1847-1861 and was a member of the Common Council 1848-1849. In 1855 English was elected to the Connecticut state legislature, and the following year he was elected to the State Senate where he served three terms. In 1860, English was nominated by the Democratic Party to serve as Lieutenant Governor, but was not elected. The following year, however, he successfully campaigned for the Second Congressional District seat, representing south central Connecticut—including the city of New Haven—in the 37th Congress. During his four years in Congress as a member of Lincoln's opposition party, he served on the Committee of Naval Affairs and the Committee on Public Lands. Despite their party differences, English also became close friends with President Lincoln, and on the day of the vote, English left the side of his seriously ill wife to cast a critical 'yes' vote for the abolition of slavery.

After English cast his vote in support of the 13th Amendment, he said, "I suppose I am politically ruined, but that day was the happiest of my life." Fortunately, his worries were short-lived, and he went on to be elected governor of Connecticut twice, and also served two years in the U.S. Senate.

After leaving office, English enjoyed a successful career in the lumber business. He later became involved with the Goodyear Metallic Rubber Shoe Company of Naugatuck- a partnership that lasted for 39 years.

HENRY CHAMPION DEMING (1815-1872)

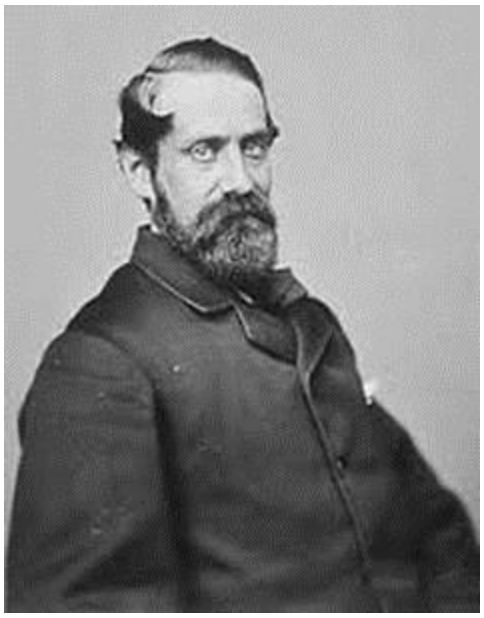
Henry Champion Deming was born in Colchester, Connecticut in 1815. He was an outspoken opponent of slavery in his public life, and enlisted as a colonel in Connecticut's 12th Regiment during the Civil War. He began the first of his two terms in Congress in March of 1863, elected as a Republican representing the First District, including central Connecticut and Hartford. The same month Deming was elected, he authored an indictment of the South's secession—and its embrace of slavery—in The Hartford Daily Courant:

> *Slavery I have always hated morally. I have deemed it my duty, in the course of my political career, to defend what I regarded as its political rights under the Constitution. But when the rebels themselves took slavery from beneath the wings of the constitutional compromise, and immediately placed it outside of the Constitution, they absolved me from being any longer its apologist or defender. They have themselves destroyed their cherished institution by their own act, and I have no tears to shed over its grave.*

During his time in the House of Representatives, Deming was an active member of the Committee on Military Affairs and served as the Chairman of the Committee of expenditures in the War Department. Deming was on 'intimate terms with Lincoln" and an outspoken opponent of slavery.

Following the assassination of President Lincoln, Congressman Deming was elected as a representative of fellow members of Congress at the funeral. He gave Lincoln's eulogy at a service at Allyn Hall in Hartford, Connecticut.

After serving his second term in Congress, he held the position of Collector of the Internal Revenue.



AUGUSTUS BRANDEGEE (1828-1904)

Augustus Brandegee was born in New London on July 12, 1828 into "an old Connecticut family". His grandfather, Daniel Deshon, was a prominent figure in the Revolutionary War, commanding the armed vessel *Defense*. Augustus' son, Frank Brandegee went on to became a U.S. Senator in 1905.

A lawyer by trade, Augustus Brandegee was admitted to the bar of New London County in 1851. He gained a reputation of being "fair to his opponents… [and] honest with the court." He was elected to represent the State Legislature in 1854 where he served until 1858. In his final term Brandegee was the Speaker of the House.

Brandegee, a Republican, was elected to the U.S. House of Representative for the 3rd Congressional district in 1863—encompassing eastern Connecticut, including New London and Windham counties—and became one of the most popular orators of the Republican party as well as a close friend of President Lincoln. He served two terms in the House, and was a member of the House Committee on Naval Affairs. On March 2, 1867—during Brandegee's final year in Congress—he succeeded in attaching a rider to the Naval Appropriations Act, which established SUBASE New London by authorizing the secretary of the Navy to take receipt of the land for the installation.

Brandegee was a staunch supporter of anti-slavery efforts. According to David Collins of The New London Day:

> Brandegee was said to be a close friend of Lincoln's and spent a lot of time with the president during his time in Washington. He was hailed as a great civic leader at his large funeral in 1904 and remembered in newspaper editorials around the state as "a star of the first magnitude" and "one of the great leaders of the Republican party."
>
> Brandegee is still remembered today on a plaque in New London that recalls his role in freeing a slave who was a stowaway on the 103-foot schooner Eliza S. Potter, on an 1858 voyage from Wilmington, N.C., to Noank. Discovered on the ship en route, the slave was turned over to customs authorities in New London and, under the federal Fugitive Slave

Act, which required slaves be returned to their owners, was expected to be sent back South. Instead, Brandegee, then a police judge, interceded in the case and cited Connecticut's "Personal Liberty Law," a state law he helped enact, and one at odds with the federal slave act.

Judge Brandegee emancipated the stowaway. "Do you want to be a slave or free?" Brandegee was said to ask the man in some accounts from the time. "Free," the man was said to reply, before fleeing down New London's Bank Street. It is believed the freed slave eventually made his way to Canada via the Underground Railroad.

CONCLUSION

As the record plainly shows, each of these members of Congress were principled, longstanding opponents of slavery, whose votes in favor of the 13th Amendment were acts of conviction. While the question of whether to expand slavery to new territories tore the country in two, and generated debate and opposition even within Union states, Connecticut's record of political support for Lincoln, as well as the sacrifice the state made in blood and treasure during the Civil War, show that these men acted as true representatives of a state committed to the Union cause.

Members and Votes of the Connecticut Congressional Delegation on the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

Joint Resolution of Congress – Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Senate			
	Member	**Party**	**Vote**
	James Dixon	Republican	Yea
	Lafayette S. Foster	Opposition	Yea
House of Representatives			
	Augustus Brandegee	Republican	Yea
	Henry C. Deming	Republican	Yea
	James E. English	Democrat	Yea
	John H. Hubbard	Republican	Yea

Source: *The Congressional Globe: Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the First Session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress*. City of Washington, 1864; *The Congressional Globe: Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the Second Session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress*. City of Washington, 1865; and the *Official Congressional Directory,* 38th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions (1864-1865).

U. S. Congress

THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE:

CONTAINING

THE DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE FIRST SESSION

OF

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

BY JOHN C. RIVES.

CITY OF WASHINGTON:
PRINTED AT THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE OFFICE.
1864.

U.S. Senate

trines when they may become convenient to them. That has not been my course of policy or my habit of conduct from my youth upward in the various States in which I have lived. I say this much, and there are men of the Republican party high in office to-day who might not have been well in health at this time had it not been for my maintaining them in their young manhood when it happened to be my opportunity. Therefore I shall not be set down in any place by any man as a person who does not love freedom in all its forms.

I have protested, as I did a few days since, against these controversies that are not germane to the business of the Federal Congress or to the Government as it is to-day with the legitimate offices on its hands. I do not believe that from Maine, or Vermont, or New Hampshire, or Massachusetts, or Connecticut, or Rhode Island, or from any northern or eastern State there comes a man who is more attached to the establishment and maintenance of free institutions than I am myself. But I was told in my youth that it was the duty of a lad to speak the truth, and it grew into my manhood, and I dare maintain it here as I have maintained it always, as far as my best judgment and my highest conscience permitted.

I think with regard to these movements that we are by them doing our country a great wrong. I say it not because I please to say it, for I say it with a sense of pain. We are doing our country and our people a great wrong, and then we are doing to another people a great wrong. The evening after we passed the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, I went to my lodgings, quite late in the evening. A colored man who was the dining-room servant, and a very polite man, waited upon me alone at the dinner table. He was evidently enjoying what he seemed to regard a triumph for his people. I said to him, "Frederick, do not be rejoiced; it may happen as a consequence of this act and other things that will follow this present action that they might as well take you to the Potomac and drown you." I look upon this policy as being a policy for sacrificing the whole of the colored people now occupying parts of this Republic. It has fallen within my own experience to see a beautiful valley, I think the most beautiful in the world, the valley of Napa. It is from ten to three miles in width; it is about thirty miles long. In the valley of Napa grow up the tallest oaks that I have ever seen or witnessed in my time, beautiful groves, a country such as is not in my judgment (and I am so told by men who have traveled throughout the world, which I have not done) paralleled in Spain, or Italy, or France. About the time that I first found myself on the western shores of this continent, there were twenty-five thousand native population; they may be called in one sense free American citizens. When I left my home to come here into the Federal Senate, there were not two hundred of them. They had been destroyed by our own people, by our vices, our luxuries, and our violence.

I have no doubt the Senator from Indiana was correct when he stated yesterday that two hundred and fifty thousand of the people of African descent in this country had been prematurely destroyed. This policy will ingulf them. It is as simple a truth as has ever been taught by any history. The slaves of ancient time were not the slaves of a different race. The Romans compelled the Gaul and the Celt, brought them to their own country, and some of them became great poets, and some eloquent orators, and some accomplished wits, and they became citizens of the republic of Greece, and of the republic of Rome, and of the empire. This is not the condition of these persons with whom we are now associated and about whose affairs we undertake to establish administration. They can never commingle with us. It may not be within the reading of some learned Senators, and yet it belongs to demonstrated science, that the African race and the Europeans are different, and I here now say it as a fact established by science that the eighth generation of the mixed race formed by the union of the African and European cannot continue their species. Quadroons have few children; with octoroons reproduction is impossible. It establishes as a law of nature that the African has no proper relation to the European, Caucasian blood. I would have them kindly treated. In the experience of my life and in my practices, I will not allow any person to say that he has been more kind to the people of that race than have I been myself, and I have seen much of them.

But we are undertaking now here to antagonize them, and with what? To antagonize them with immediately the ascendant white race of the South where they belong; and what must be the result? We hear what is said now with regard to their present position. It comes from those persons who go as missionaries and who go as agents by the employment of the Government into the South for the purpose of taking care of these people. Along the shores of the Mississippi they are wanderers without a roof under which to rest, without food to support their animal system, lost people, men, women, and infants. These are facts that have thrust themselves upon the country, and with which every man in the Senate is conversant. It may be within our pleasure to make these evils more complete. It may be within the pleasure of our ignorance to say these things are true and just and right; but nature revolts at the affirmation; truth gives it a firm denial. I will not admit that I am less the friend of the people of the African race than any other gentleman on this floor, even the champion from Massachusetts. I would be their friend, I would protect and preserve them, as I would the men who occupied our groves and fields and hills before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock; but it must be done by just and wise policy, and not by any of these extravagant measures not asked for or demanded by the day, but sought for by a greedy appetite which, maddened with a present sense of power, seeks to accomplish to-day what they fear may not be within their grasp to-morrow. Against all such policy and all such conduct I shall protest as a man, in the name of humanity and of law and of truth and of religion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution, upon which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HENDRICKS, (when Mr. BUCKALEW's name was called.) I desire to say that Mr. BUCKALEW is not able to be in his seat to-day, and he expressed a wish that I should say that if he were present he would vote against the proposition.

The call of the roll having concluded, the result was announced—yeas 38, nays 6; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Conness, Cowan, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harding, Harlan, Harris, Henderson, Howard, Howe, Johnson, Lane of Indiana, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Nesmith, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Van Winkle, Wade, Wilkinson, Willey, and Wilson—38.

NAYS—Messrs. Davis, Hendricks, McDougall, Powell, Riddle, and Saulsbury—6.

The VICE PRESIDENT announced that the joint resolution, having received the concurrence of two thirds of the Senators present, was passed. Its title was amended to read: A joint resolution submitting to the Legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I rise simply to say that I now bid farewell to any hope of the reconstruction of the American Union.

Mr. McDOUGALL. I desire to ask a question for the purpose of understanding a ruling of the Chair. The ruling, I understand, is that the vote as it stands now has no relation to the States not represented on the floor. I think our vote now being a final vote should have relation to all the States as recognized under the Constitution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair rules that a majority of all the Senators is a quorum, and two thirds of the number voting, provided a quorum votes, is sufficient to pass any resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. McDOUGALL. I only desire the privilege of saying that such is not the opinion I entertain.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

On motion of Mr. GRIMES, it was

Ordered, That when the Senate adjourns to-day, it be to meet on Monday next.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. LLOYD, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House of Representatives had passed the following bills and joint resolutions; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (No. 383) to incorporate the "Home for Friendless Women and Children;"

A bill (No. 388) for the relief of Jesse Williams;

A joint resolution (No. 60) to refer the case of James H. McCulloch to the Court of Claims;

A joint resolution (No. 61) referring the case of Charles Wilkes to the Court of Claims; and

A joint resolution (No. 62) for the relief of A. S. Clark, postmaster at Harrison, Ohio.

The message further announced that the House of Representatives had passed the bill of the Senate (No. 12) extending the time within which the States and Territories may accept the grant of lands made by the act entitled "An act donating public lands to the several States and Territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts," approved July 2, 1862.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House of Representatives had signed the following enrolled bills; which thereupon received the signature of the Vice President:

A bill (S. No. 79) to incorporate Providence hospital in the city of Washington, District of Columbia;

A bill (S. No. 82) concerning notaries public for the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. No. 155) to incorporate the Union Gas-Light Company of the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. No. 163) to authorize the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind to confer degrees;

A bill (H. R. C. C. No. 114) for the relief of Daniel Wormer;

A bill (H. R. C. C. No. 115) for the relief of Darius S. Cole;

A bill (H. R. C. C. No. 116) for the relief of William G. Brown;

A bill (H. R. No. 302) to amend section nine of the act approved July 17, 1862, entitled "An act to define the pay and emoluments of certain officers of the Army, and for other purposes;" and

A bill (H. R. No. 373) to appoint an appraiser and assistant appraiser for the port of Portland, and for other purposes.

On motion of Mr. LANE, of Indiana, the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *April* 8, 1864.

The House met at twelve o'clock, m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. CHANNING.

The Journal of yesterday was read and approved.

MISSOURI CONTESTED ELECTION.

Mr. GANSON. I rise to a question of privilege. I submit a report from the Committee of Elections in the case of contest between John P. Brooks and Benjamin F. Loan, from the seventh congressional district of Missouri, and ask that the resolutions be read, and that the report be laid upon the table and ordered to be printed.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That Benjamin F. Loan is not entitled to a seat in this House as a Representative from the seventh congressional district of Missouri.

Resolved, That John P. Brooks is not entitled to a seat in this House as a Representative from the seventh congressional district of Missouri.

Mr. UPSON. I submit the views of the minority of the committee, and ask that the resolution which accompanies them be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That Benjamin F. Loan is entitled to retain his seat in this House as a Representative in Congress from the seventh congressional district of Missouri.

The several reports were laid upon the table and ordered to be printed.

Mr. GANSON. I ask that this case be set down for Wednesday of next week.

The SPEAKER. It is a question of privilege, and the gentleman can call it up at any time.

TAXATION OF STOCK SALES, ETC.

Mr. ODELL, by unanimous consent, submitted the following resolution; which was read, considered, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee of Ways and Means be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bil

U. S. Congress.

THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE:

CONTAINING

THE DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS:

ALSO, OF THE

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE.

BY F. & J. RIVES.

CITY OF WASHINGTON:
PRINTED AT THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE OFFICE.
1865.

January 31, 1865. U.S. House of Representatives

son, Noble, John O'Neill, Pendleton, Perry, Pruyn, Samuel J. Randall, Robinson, Ross, Scott, William G. Steele, Stiles, Strouse, Stuart, Sweat, Townsend, Wadsworth, Ward, Chilton A. White, Joseph W. White, Winfield, Benjamin Wood, and Fernando Wood—57.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Augustus C. Baldwin, Hutchins, Lazear, Le Blond, Marcy, McDowell, McKinney, Middleton, Nelson, Radford, Rogers, John B. Steele, and Voorhees—13.

So the motion to reconsider was agreed to.

The question recurred on the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. ASHLEY. I demand the previous question.

Mr. MALLORY. I rise to a question of order. My point of order is that a vote to reconsider the vote by which the subject now before the House was disposed of in June last requires two thirds of this body. That two-thirds vote has not been obtained.

The SPEAKER. The Chair overrules the point of order. The rules of the House authorize every bill and joint resolution to pass by a majority vote. The Constitution of the United States, however, declares that no constitutional amendment shall pass except by a two-thirds vote. On the question of the passage of the joint resolution the constitutional provision will operate, and not till that time. All other questions are governed by the rules of the House.

The Chair will state that this has been the uniform usage of the House in regard to bills vetoed by the President. In such cases all votes up to the time of taking the question on the passage of the bill over the President's veto are decided by a majority vote; but on the final vote a two-thirds vote is necessary.

Mr. MALLORY. My action upon this question of order will depend a good deal on the response to a proposition which I am about to make to the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. ASHLEY.] There are gentlemen belonging to this side of the House who can be here to-morrow, but who are not here to-day, who are anxious to vote upon this question. If the gentleman from Ohio will agree that the vote shall be taken at a fixed hour to-morrow, all action upon this side of the House for delay will cease.

Mr. ASHLEY. It has been the universal understanding that we were to have a vote to-day. Gentlemen upon the other side of the House will bear me witness that I have prolonged this debate against the protest of gentlemen upon this side of the House and of leading friends of the measure in the country; and I think it does not come with a very good grace from the gentleman from Kentucky, in view of the time which has been extended to his friends on that side of the House, that he should demand now, when notice was given again and again that a vote would be taken to-day, that it shall be postponed until to-morrow. It seems to me that if gentlemen choose to absent themselves from the House their action ought not to operate either to keep us in session here or justify members in resorting to the usual parliamentary rules to procrastinate and put off the vote.

Mr. MALLORY. I was not aware that any understanding had been arrived at as to a vote on this question to-day. It was postponed till to-day, but at that time there was certainly no understanding that there should be a vote to-day.

Mr. ASHLEY. In reply to a question by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. STILES,] I gave notice last week that the vote would be taken to-day; and at the beginning of the discussion this morning I fixed three o'clock as the time the vote would be taken, instead of which we have procrastinated it almost an hour to accommodate gentlemen upon the other side of the House.

Mr. MALLORY. Did that understanding exist upon this side of the House? If it did and if gentlemen will say so, I shall take no action in this matter.

Several MEMBERS. It was so understood.

Mr. ASHLEY. I cannot yield any further. I desired this morning to be heard on this question, and came into the House intending to close the debate, as under the rules I had a right to do. The time, the subject, and the occasion, all united to make it desirable; but I yielded the time to gentlemen on the other side, until it is now nearly four o'clock, and members on all sides of the House demand a vote. I therefore decline to take up the time of the House, and demand that the main question shall now be put.

Mr. BROWN, of Wisconsin. I ask the gentleman from Ohio to yield to me to offer a substitute for the joint resolution.

Mr. ASHLEY. I cannot yield for that purpose. I have a substitute myself, which I should much prefer to the original joint resolution, but I do not offer it.

The SPEAKER. No motion to amend would be in order at this stage. The joint resolution has passed its third reading, and is now on its passage.

Mr. ELDRIDGE. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio says that he has a substitute which he himself prefers to this joint resolution. If so, why does he not offer it to the House? There certainly will be no objection on this side.

Mr. ASHLEY. I do not offer it, because I would not procrastinate this discussion or hazard the passage of the measure.

Mr. ELDRIDGE. It seems to me that if the gentleman has a better substitute, he should propose it. [Calls to order.]

The previous question was seconded, and the main question ordered; which was on the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. DAWSON called for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken, and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 119, nays 56, not voting 8; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Alley, Allison, Ames, Anderson, Arnold, Ashley, Baily, Augustus C. Baldwin, John D. Baldwin, Baxter, Beaman, Blaine, Blair, Blow, Boutwell, Boyd, Brandegee, Broomall, William G. Brown, Ambrose W. Clark, Freeman Clarke, Cobb, Coffroth, Cole, Colfax, Creswell, Henry Winter Davis, Thomas T. Davis, Dawes, Deming, Dixon, Donnelly, Driggs, Dumont, Eckley, Eliot, English, Farnsworth, Frank, Ganson, Garfield, Gooch, Grinnell, Griswold, Hale, Herrick, Higby, Hooper, Hotchkiss, Asahel W. Hubbard, John H. Hubbard, Hulburd, Hutchins, Ingersoll, Jenckes, Julian, Kasson, Kelley, Francis W. Kellogg, Orlando Kellogg, King, Knox, Littlejohn, Loan, Longyear, Marvin, McAllister, McBride, McClurg, McIndoe, Samuel F. Miller, Moorhead, Morrill, Daniel Morris, Amos Myers, Leonard Myers, Nelson, Norton, Odell, Charles O'Neill, Orth, Patterson, Perham, Pike, Pomeroy, Price, Radford, William H. Randall, Alexander H. Rice, John H. Rice, Edward H. Rollins, James S. Rollins, Schenck, Scofield, Shannon, Sloan, Smith, Smithers, Spalding, Starr, John B. Steele, Stevens, Thayer, Thomas, Tracy, Upson, Van Valkenburgh, Elihu B. Washburne, William B. Washburn, Webster, Whaley, Wheeler, Williams, Wilder, Wilson, Windom, Woodbridge, Worthington, and Yeaman—119.

NAYS—Messrs. James C. Allen, William J. Allen, Ancona, Bliss, Brooks, James S. Brown, Chanler, Clay, Cox, Cravens, Dawson, Denison, Eden, Edgerton, Eldridge, Finck, Grider, Hall, Harding, Harrington, Benjamin G. Harris, Charles M. Harris, Holman, Philip Johnson, William Johnson, Kalbfleisch, Kernan, Knapp, Law, Long, Mallory, William H. Miller, James R. Morris, Morrison, Noble, John O'Neill, Pendleton, Perry, Pruyn, Samuel J. Randall, Robinson, Ross, Scott, William G. Steele, Stiles, Strouse, Stuart, Sweat, Townsend, Wadsworth, Ward, Chilton A. White, Joseph W. White, Winfield, Benjamin Wood, and Fernando Wood—56.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Lazear, Le Blond, Marcy, McDowell, McKinney, Middleton, Rogers, and Voorhees—8.

So, the two thirds required by the Constitution of the United States having voted in favor thereof, the joint resolution was passed.

During the roll-call,

On Mr. ENGLISH and Mr. GANSON voting "ay," there was considerable applause by members on the Republican side of the House.

The SPEAKER called repeatedly to order, and asked that members should set a better example to spectators in the gallery.

Mr. KALBFLEISCH and other Democratic members remarked that the applause came, not from the spectators in the gallery, but from members on the floor.

The SPEAKER. Members will take their seats and observe order.

The SPEAKER directed the Clerk to call his name as a member of the House.

The Clerk called the name of SCHUYLER COLFAX, of Indiana, and Mr. COLFAX voted "ay."

[This incident was greeted with renewed applause.]

The SPEAKER. The constitutional majority of two thirds having voted in the affirmative, the joint resolution is passed.

[The announcement was received by the House and by the spectators with an outburst of enthusiasm. The members on the Republican side of the House instantly sprung to their feet, and, regardless of parliamentary rules, applauded with cheers and clapping of hands. The example was followed by the male spectators in the galleries, which were crowded to excess, who waved their hats and cheered loud and long, while the ladies, hundreds of whom were present, rose in their seats and waved their handkerchiefs, participating in and adding to the general excitement and intense interest of the scene. This lasted for several minutes.]

Mr. INGERSOLL. Mr. Speaker, in honor of this immortal and sublime event I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER declared the motion carried, and again the cheering and demonstrations of applause were renewed.

Mr. HARRIS, of Maryland. I demand the yeas and nays on the motion to adjourn.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 121, nays 24, not voting 37; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Alley, Allison, Ames, Ancona, Anderson, Arnold, Ashley, Baily, Augustus C. Baldwin, John D. Baldwin, Baxter, Beaman, Blaine, Blair, Blow, Boutwell, Boyd, Brandegee, Broomall, William G. Brown, Chanler, Ambrose W. Clark, Freeman Clarke, Cobb, Cole, Cox, Creswell, Henry Winter Davis, Thomas T. Davis, Dawes, Dawson, Deming, Dixon, Donnelly, Driggs, Eckley, Eliot, English, Farnsworth, Frank, Garfield, Gooch, Grinnell, Griswold, Hale, Herrick, Higby, Hotchkiss, Asahel W. Hubbard, John H. Hubbard, Hulburd, Hutchins, Ingersoll, Jenckes, Julian, Kasson, Kelley, Francis W. Kellogg, Orlando Kellogg, Kernan, King, Knox, Littlejohn, Loan, Longyear, Mallory, Marvin, McAllister, McBride, McClurg, McIndoe, Samuel F. Miller, Moorhead, Morrill, Daniel Morris, Amos Myers, Leonard Myers, Nelson, Norton, Odell, Charles O'Neill, Patterson, Pendleton, Perham, Pike, Pomeroy, Price, William H. Randall, Alexander H. Rice, John H. Rice, Edward H. Rollins, James S. Rollins, Schenck, Scofield, Scott, Shannon, Sloan, Smithers, Spalding, Starr, Stevens, Strouse, Stuart, Thayer, Thomas, Tracy, Upson, Van Valkenburgh, Wadsworth, Ward, Elihu B. Washburne, William B. Washburn, Whaley, Wheeler, Williams, Wilder, Wilson, Windom, Winfield, Benjamin Wood, and Woodbridge—121.

NAYS—Messrs. James C. Allen, William J. Allen, Coffroth, Denison, Eden, Edgerton, Eldridge, Grider, Harrington, Benjamin G. Harris, Charles M. Harris, Holman, Kalbfleisch, Knapp, Law, Long, Morrison, Noble, Radford, Samuel J. Randall, Ross, Stiles, Townsend, and Joseph W. White—24.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Bliss, Brooks, James S. Brown, Clay, Cravens, Dumont, Finck, Ganson, Hall, Harding, Hooper, Philip Johnson, William Johnson, Lazear, Le Blond, Marcy, McDowell, McKinney, Middleton, William H. Miller, James R. Morris, John O'Neill, Orth, Perry, Pruyn, Robinson, Rogers, Smith, John B. Steele, William G. Steele, Sweat, Voorhees, Webster, Chilton A. White, Fernando Wood, Worthington, and Yeaman—37.

The House thereupon (at twenty minutes past four o'clock, p. m.,) adjourned.

IN SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *February* 1, 1865.

Prayer by Rev. B. H. NADAL, D. D.

On motion of Mr. WILSON, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal was dispensed with.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. RAMSEY presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, for an additional grant of lands to aid in the completion of the several lines of railroad and branches in that State mentioned in the act of Congress approved March 3, 1857, and for an extension of the time limited therein for the completion of the railroads; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. DIXON presented the petition of Hillard Gladding, praying for an amendment of the Constitution of the United States forever prohibiting slavery; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CHANDLER presented resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, in favor of a grant of land in aid of the construction of a harbor at the mouth of Ontonagon river, on the south shore of Lake Superior; which were referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and ordered to be printed.

He also presented resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, in favor of a grant of land in aid of the construction of a ship-canal from Portage Lake to Lake Superior; which were referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. SUMNER presented the petition of William Croswell, formerly in the naval service, for a pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MORGAN presented a resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, concurring in the resolutions of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, recommending an amendment to the Constitution of the United States imposing

COMMITTEES:

ARMED SERVICES
SUBCOMMITTEES:
READINESS
SEAPOWER AND PROJECTION FORCES

AGRICULTURE
SUBCOMMITTEES:
GENERAL FARM COMMODITIES AND RISK MANAGEMENT
LIVESTOCK, DAIRY, AND POULTRY

ETHICS

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2nd District, Connecticut

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February 5, 2013

Mr. Steven Spielberg
DreamWorks Studios
100 Universal Plaza
Building 5121
University City, CA 91608

Dear Mr. Spielberg,

After finally sitting down to watch your Academy Award-nominated film, *Lincoln*, I can say unequivocally that the rave reviews are justified: Daniel Day-Lewis is tremendous, the story is compelling and consuming, and the cinematography is beautiful.

The historical accuracy of the film's moving conclusion, however? Well, that is a different story.

As a Member of Congress from Connecticut, I was on the edge of my seat during the roll call vote on the ratification of the 13th Amendment outlawing slavery. But when two of three members of the Nutmeg State's House delegation voted to *uphold* slavery, I could not believe my own eyes and ears. How could Congressmen from Connecticut—a state that supported President Lincoln and lost thousands of her sons fighting against slavery on the Union side of the Civil War—have been on the wrong side of history?

After some digging and a check of the Congressional Record from January 31, 1865, I learned that in fact, Connecticut's entire Congressional delegation, including *four* members of the House of Representatives—Augustus Brandegee of New London, James English of New Haven, Henry Deming of Colchester and John Henry Hubbard of Salisbury—all voted to abolish slavery. Even in a delegation that included both Democrats and Republicans, Connecticut provided a unified front against slavery.

In many movies, including your own *E.T.* and *Gremlins,* for example, suspending disbelief is part of the cinematic experience and is critical to enjoying the film. But in a movie based on significant real-life events—particularly a movie about a seminal moment in American history so closely associated with Doris Kearns Goodwin and her book, *Team of Rivals*—accuracy is paramount.

I understand that artistic license will be taken and that some facts may be blurred to make a story more compelling on the big screen, but placing the State of Connecticut on the wrong side of the historic and divisive fight over slavery is a distortion of easily verifiable facts and an inaccuracy that should be acknowledged, and if possible, corrected before *Lincoln* is released on DVD.

Sincerely,

Joe Courtney

JOE COURTNEY
Member of Congress

Congressman misrepresented in “Lincoln” was a New London judge who freed a slave

By David Collins
Publication: The Day
Published February 13. 2013

I was impressed when U.S. Rep. Joe Courtney took director Steven Spielberg to task for misrepresenting the votes by Connecticut's congressmen on whether to abolish slavery.

"Placing Connecticut on the wrong side of the historic and divisive fight over slavery is a distortion of easily verifiable facts and an inaccuracy that should be acknowledged," the Second District congressman wrote this month to the famous director.

I was sorry to see the woeful response from "Lincoln" screenwriter Tony Kushner, who did indeed acknowledge the mistake but then directed a snide comment to our congressman, who is anything but a grandstander in matters like this.

"I hope no one is shocked to learn that I also made up dialogue," Kushner said in his testy reply to Courtney.

People do expect dialogue to be made up in historical dramas. But they also expect the general facts to be correct.

Indeed, I learned, after browsing a bit through The Day's archives, that the man whose vote to abolish slavery Kushner got wrong, was, in fact, a respected abolitionist from New London.

Augustus Brandegee, who was serving his second term in Congress when the historic vote depicted in Spielberg's move took place, was a Yale-educated lawyer and a former speaker of the House in the Connecticut General Assembly.

He was said to be a close friend of Lincoln's and spent a lot of time with the president during his time in Washington.

After returning to Connecticut, Brandegee served for a short term as mayor of New London, his native city, and then practiced law.

He was hailed as a great civic leader at his large funeral in 1904 and remembered in newspaper editorials around the state as "a star of the first magnitude" and "one of the great leaders of the Republican party."

Brandegee is still remembered today on a plaque in New London that recalls his role in freeing a slave who was a stowaway on the 103-foot schooner Eliza S. Potter, on an 1858 voyage from Wilmington, N.C., to Noank.

Discovered on the ship en route, the slave was turned over to customs authorities in New London and, given the federal Fugitive Slave Act, which required slaves be returned to their owners, was expected to be sent back South.

Instead, Brandegee, then a police judge, interceded in the case and cited Connecticut's "Personal Liberty Law," a state law he helped enact, and one at odds with the federal slave act.

Judge Brandegee freed the stowaway. "Do you want to be a slave or free?" Brandegee was said to ask the man in some accounts from the time.

"Free" the man was said to reply, before fleeing down New London's Bank Street.

It is believed the freed slave eventually made his way to Canada via the underground railroad.

So screenwriter Kushner not only got the abolition vote of the Connecticut delegation wrong in "Lincoln," he maligned one of the heroes of Connecticut's abolition movement.

One can imagine Brandegee spinning under the big stone monument in New London's Cedar Grove Cemetery, where he is buried.

As long as Kushner was going to change important facts, one wonders why he didn't just go big and write, for instance, that the South won or that Lincoln lived to a ripe old age.

This is the opinion of David Collins

The New York Times

The Oscar for Best Fabrication

By Maureen Dowd
February 16, 2013

I SAW "Argo" with Jerry Rafshoon, who was a top aide to President Carter during the Iranian hostage crisis, when six Americans escaped and were given sanctuary for three months by courageous Canadian diplomats.

We were watching a scene where a C.I.A. guy can't get through to Hamilton Jordan, Carter's chief of staff, to sign off on plane tickets for the escaping hostages, so he pretends to be calling from the school where Jordan's kids go.

"Hamilton wasn't married then and didn't have any kids," Jerry whispered, inflaming my pet peeve about filmmakers who make up facts in stories about real people to add "drama," rather than just writing the real facts better. It makes viewers think that realism is just another style in art, so that no movie, no matter how realistic it looks, is believable.

The affable and talented Ben Affleck has admitted that his film's climax, with Iranian Revolutionary Guard officers jumping in a jeep, chasing the plane down the runway and shooting at it, was fabricated for excitement.

Hollywood always wants it both ways, of course, but this Oscar season is rife with contenders who bank on the authenticity of their films until it's challenged, and then fall back on the "Hey, it's just a movie" defense.

"Zero Dark Thirty," "based on firsthand accounts of actual events," has been faulted for leaving the impression that torture was instrumental in the capture of Osama. It celebrates Jessica Chastain's loner character, "Maya," when it could have more accurately and theatrically highlighted "The Sisterhood," a team of female C.I.A. analysts who were part of the long effort.

And then there's the kerfuffle over "Lincoln," which had three historical advisers but still managed to make some historical bloopers. Joe Courtney, a Democratic congressman from Connecticut, recently wrote to Steven Spielberg to complain that "Lincoln" falsely showed two of Connecticut's House members voting "Nay" against the 13th Amendment for the abolition of slavery.

"They were trying to be meticulously accurate even down to recording the ticking of Abraham Lincoln's actual pocket watch," Courtney told me. "So why get a climactic scene so off base?"

Courtney is pushing for Spielberg to acknowledge the falsity in the DVD, a quest that takes on more urgency now that Spielberg has agreed to provide a DVD to every middle and high school that requests it.

Tony Kushner, the acclaimed playwright who wrote the screenplay, told me he was outraged that Courtney was getting his 15 minutes by complaining about a 15-second bit of film on a project that Kushner worked on for seven years.

The writer completely rejects the idea that he has defamed Connecticut, or the real lawmakers who voted "Aye." He said that in historical movies, as opposed to history books where you go

for “a blow-by-blow account,” it is completely acceptable to “manipulate a small detail in the service of a greater historical truth. History doesn’t always organize itself according to the rules of drama. It’s ridiculous. It’s like saying that Lincoln didn’t have green socks, he had blue socks.”

He feels that if he had changed the margin of the vote, or made someone a villain who was not in real life, that would have been inappropriate. (He’s one-up on Shakespeare there.) But he wants “wiggle room” on some things.

Spielberg’s production people called the National Archives in 2011 to get a copy of the original voting roll and to plumb deeply into the details of the vote on one of America’s most searing moral battles, even asking whether the vote was recorded in a bound volume or on loose ledger forms. That roll shows that the first two votes cast were “Nays” by Democratic congressmen from Illinois, Lincoln’s own state. Wasn’t that enough to show the tension?

Kushner explained that in his original script he thought, as in the musical “1776” or the Continental Congress or conventions, the lawmakers voted by state, so Connecticut would have been one of the first Union states to vote.

Harold Holzer, a Lincoln historian attached to the film, pointed out the mistake to Spielberg and Kushner, telling them that voting in those days was done alphabetically by lawmaker. But Kushner said the director left the scene unchanged because it gave the audience “place holders,” and it was “a rhythmic device” that was easier to follow than “a sea of names.” They gave fake names to the Connecticut legislators, who were, he said, “not significant players.”

Yet The Wall Street Journal noted, “The actual Connecticut representatives at the time braved political attacks and personal hardships to support the 13th Amendment.” One, the New London Republican Augustus Brandegee, was a respected abolitionist and a friend of Lincoln. The other, the New Haven Democrat James English, considered slavery “a monstrous injustice” and left his ill wife to vote. When he said “Aye,” applause began and the tide turned.

I’m a princess-and-the-pea on this issue, but I think Spielberg should refilm the scene or dub in “Illinois” for “Connecticut” before he sends out his DVDs and leaves students everywhere thinking the Nutmeg State is nutty.

Kushner says that won’t happen, because this is a “made-up issue” and a matter of “principle.” But as Congressman Courtney notes: “It was Lincoln who said. ‘Truth is generally the best vindication against slander.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Congressman Says 'Lincoln' Got Connecticut's Slavery Vote Wrong

By Lyneka Little
February 7, 2013

Rep. Joe Courtney of Connecticut says a key part of "Lincoln" is wrong and he wants the film fixed. The film shows two of three lawmakers from his state voting against the 13th Amendment, the landmark measure that prohibited slavery in the U.S.; but Courtney says that according to the Congressional Record, all four representatives from his state actually voted in favor of the 13th amendment (This is confirmed by historical records from the time).

"I could not believe my own eyes and ears," Courtney wrote in a letter to "Lincoln" director Steven Spielberg. "How could Congressmen from Connecticut –a state that supported President Lincoln and lost thousands of her sons fighting against slavery on the Union side of the civil war– have been on the wrong side of history?"

The congressman goes on to call accuracy "paramount," and asks that Spielberg acknowledge and correct the inaccuracies before "Lincoln" is released on DVD. A representative for "Lincoln" didn't return a request for comment.

Speakeasy found in a check of the historical record that one of Connecticut's representatives at the time, Augustus Brandegee of New London, was a fierce abolitionist, and according to an obituary in the Connecticut State Library database "He zealously supported the anti-slavery movement when its supporters met contumely and contempt."

Another, James English of New Haven, considered slavery "a monstrous injustice" and left his sick wife to vote for the 13th amendment. "I suppose I am politically ruined, but that day was the happiest day of my life," English said afterwards.

A third Connecticut representative, Henry Deming of Colchester, once railed against "the infamy of buying, selling and owning human beings."

And the fourth, John Henry Hubbard of Salisbury, not only voted for the 13th amendment, he also supported funds to help freed slaves after the war saying "from the beginning to the present time they have been robbed of their wages, to say nothing of the scourgings they have received."