Lincoln Genealogy

Samuel Lincoln came Hingham England, and settled in New Hingham, 1637, living some time at Salem. He booked passage to settle in 1637 as Samuel Lincorne, age 18. He had 2 bros, Thomas (the weaver) and Daniel (the tinplateman). Daniel died in 1644 leaving considerable property to Samuel. Thomas died in 1675 and left property to Samuel but more to Samuel's children.

Samuel Lincoln owned property near the Hingham South Shore Railroad Station.

Samuel came as a servant
to Francis Lawe in 1635
and settled at Salem.
Removed to Hingham in
1637.

Samuel Lincoln Sr. d
26 May 1690 age 71 years.
Martha, his wife, died 10 Apr
1693. He was a weaver and (Ropes
also a mariner. They had
11 children. The 4th son, named
Mordecai is of interest.

Mordecai Lincoln b in Hingham, Mass
14 Jan 1659 d. 8 Nov 1727 in his
71st year
m twice - first to Sarah Jones,
dau of Abraham and Sarah
(Whitman) Jones of Hull

His son
Mordecai Lincoln b 24 Apr 1686,
removed to Monmouth County, N.J.
and afterward to the Province of Pa
m first to Hannah, dau of
Richard and Sarah Browne
Salter. m 2nd to Mary ?

Other children of Samuel

were Samuel 25th Aug 1650
Daniel 2 Jan 1652
Thomas b 1659

His will, proved 7 Jan 1736, he gave to son John 300 acres of land in Jersey.

John - moved to Va and settled in Augusta County.

His son Abraham lived first in N. Ca but about 1782 moved to Scaggass Ft Ky.

His sons were Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas.

"History of the Town of Hingham Mass", published by the town, 1893.

N Colonial Library

Boston Athenaeum
10½ Beacon
Social Law Library - Court House

Ashburton Place BU Law School
Genealogy - ?

The Lincoln family in America which has gained greatest fame is that of Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, Mass. The Massachusetts branch of his family has furnished governors, generals, and many leaders of that commonwealth. A separate branch of his family moved south and eventually produced the sixteenth president, Abraham Lincoln. The genealogy of the Lincoln family has been thoroughly researched because of the sixteenth president, which makes it quite easy for any descendant of the Lincolns to find his generation and lineage.

Some of the books on the subject, in order of credibility, are:

Lincoln, Waldo,
1. History of the Lincoln Family. Massachusetts Commonwealth Press, Worcester Mass. 1923.

2. Barton, William E. The Lineage of Lincoln, The Bobbs Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Ind, 1929.
3. Tarbell, Ida M., In the Footsteps of the Lincolns, Harper & Bros, New York and London, 1924

4. Lea and Hutchinson, The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. 1909.

In all the books there are partly fictionalized family legends about various members of the family. Mr Barton, the most recent genealogist and in some ways the most thorough,

tried to correct some of the legends but may have introduced some of his own. The points of controversy are numerous, however, the one on the paternity of Nancy Hanks, the president's mother, does not concern us. The name of the president's grandmother, the wife of Abraham Lincoln of Virginia and Kentucky, may be of concern.

The lineage to the president is clearly established as follows: 1. Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, England, and Hingham, Mass; 2. Mordecai Lincoln of Hull and Scituate, Mass; 3. Mordecai Lincoln of

Freehold, New Jersey and Berks County Penna;
4. John Lincoln of Berks County, Penna
and Rockingham County, Virginia, 5. Abraham
Lincoln of Rockingham County, Virginia, and
Hughes Station, Ky; 6. Thomas Lincoln

of Kentucky, Indiana, and
Illinois; and 7. Abraham Lincoln, the president.
John Henry Lincoln of Henryetta, Okla
stems by family legend from Abraham Lincoln
of Va. and Ky. He could also come from
one of the earlier points of the lineage,
particularly John of Penna and Va. The
exact point remains to be determined.

Samuel Lincoln

baptized in Hingham, England

Samuel Lincoln came to America in 1637 as an indentured servant to a Francis Lawes of Norwich, England and Salem, Mass. He gave his age as 18, establishing his probable birth date as 1619. He lived for a time at Salem but secured his freedom and moved to Hingham where he had two brothers, Thomas Lincoln (a weaver) and Daniel Lincoln (a husbandman). Samuel Lincoln lived the remainder of his life in Hingham and his property was a few blocks from the Old Ship Church, which he attended as a member.

(7)

His brother Daniel died in 1644, leaving his property to Samuel. His brother Thomas died in 1665 and left his property to Samuel and Samuel's children. Samuel was unlettered, but was known as a weaver and as a mariner (and sometimes as a carpenter).

He died 26 May 1690, age 71 years. His wife Martha, (maiden name and age unknown) died 10 Apr 1693. They had 11 children, including two sons named Mordecai. The first Mordecai died in infancy and the next and fourth child was named Mordecai also. //

Mordecai Lincoln was born 14 Jun 1657 in Hingham, Mass, and died 8 Nov 1727 in his 71st year at [illegible] Scituate, Mass. Mordecai married Sarah Jones of Hull, Mass and lived there for a time

but later set up a mill on Bound Brook between Cohasset (then part of Hingham Plantations) and Scituate (then part of Plymouth Plantations). He was a resourceful man who built three mill ponds and mills to conserve water on the small Bound Brook. On Mondays and Tuesdays he used the water at the upper mill. On Wednesdays and Thursdays he used the same water at the center mill, and finally again on Friday and Saturday at the lower mill. By closing the upper pond on Saturday night, he would have enough water to start again on Monday at the upper mill. He also started a furnace for smelting bog iron

and was best known in life as one of America's first iron mongers and blacksmiths. He obtained charcoal by burning it in the Cohasset woods & the iron ore (bog iron) from Pembroke. His wife Sarah died after the fourth child and he married a widow, Mary Chapin of Braintree, Mass. He and his second wife are buried at Groveland Cemetery, North Scituate, Mass. His eldest son was Mordecai.

Mordecai Lincoln was born 24 April 1686, probably at Hull, Mass, and died in Penna about 1735. He made his will in Feb 1735 and died in that year as in 1736. His will was proved 7 June 1736.

As a young man, Mordecai Lincoln went with including his brother Abraham numerous other New Englanders to the area of Monmouth County, N.J. specifically to Middletown, north of present day Redbank. He set up a smeltry there as his father had done in Scituate. He married Hannah Salter first and had several children including John. After she died, he married Mary (Robeson?) and had several children who continued the Lincoln family in Penna. Mordecai lived in New Jersey for several years and began to acquire land in Berks County, Penna (now Exeter township). He moved to Berks County about 1738.

In his will he left his Penna lands to his children by his second wife and his New Jersey lands to his first wife's children. In Penna this family became closely associated with the Boons and intermarried with them. These Boones were Quakers. Squire Boone was father of Daniel Boone on the next farm to Mordecai Lincoln.

John Lincoln was born at Freehold, N.J. 3 May 1716 and died Nov 1778 on Linville Creek, Rockingham County, Va On his father's death, he inherited land in N.J. and may have lived there for some time. On 5 July 1743, probably in Berks County, Penna, he married a widow,

Mrs. Rebecca (Flowers) Morris, dau of Enoch and Rebecca Flowers. She was born 30 Mar 1720 O.d St.le and died 20 Jul 1806. John Lincoln was a trader in land more than anything else, although he listed himself as a weaver. His sons are of interest because one of them probably is the great grandfather of John Henry Lincoln.

Abraham - b 13 May 1744, killed by an Indian, May 1786, at Hughes Station, Ky or m. Bathsheba Herring on 6 June 1770 b about 1746, d 1836 in Ky.

Isaac b 5 Mar 1750 d in Wautauga, Tenn 10 June 1816 - m Mary Ward

Jacob b 6 Nov 1751 - died on Limestone Creek, Va 20 Feb 1822, On 29 Aug 1780 m Dorcas Robinson, dau of Daniel and Dorcas Robinson.

John b 15 Jul 1755, d in Lebanon, Ohio 13 July 1835. On 27 June 1782, m Mary Yarnall, dau of Francis and Mary Yarnall and his own cousin. Mary (Lincoln) Yarnall was daughter of Mordecai.

Thomas, b 23 Oct 1761, d in Fayette Co, Ky about 1819. m Elizabeth Casner.

There is no point in continuing the descendants of this entire group until more is known of John Henry Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln went to Kentucky about 1782 after selling his Virginia holdings (which he had inherited in 1773 from his father). He was a Captain of the Virginia militia (in the 1770's) and possibly served against the Indians. He had title to considerable land in Kentucky, but his family had trouble holding it. He had three sons, Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas. The

Lincoln descendants of Thomas: died out
His son Abraham had
in three generations,
only one son Robert to live to manhood, and
Robert's only son Abraham, died in his youth.

The other sons were:
Mordecai - b @ 1771 m in 1792 Mary Mudd, a Catholic, and d in Ill in Dec 1830. She died at Fountain Green, Ill., about 1859. One of their three sons, Mordecai, never married. Another son, Abraham had three sons Robert, Hezekiah, and Nicholas, all of whom died without children. Only the 3rd son James Bradford Lincoln carried forth the family name; however, his descendants are reputed to be Catholic. He had one son Thomas Jefferson Lincoln, b 20 Apr 1822, d 26 Apr 1914 at Fountain Green, Ill. A second son James Riley Lincoln, b 1833, d 12 Nov 1906 at Carthage, Ill. A third son, Charles Prentiss Lincoln never married.

Josiah b @ 1775 m 28 Feb 1801 to Catherine, dau of Christopher Barlow and d in Harrison Co, Ind in Sep 1835. Josiah had one son, Thomas, who carried on the family name in Indiana. About 1840 this family lived at Corydon, Ind.

If John Henry Lincoln descended from Abraham Lincoln of PA, VA, & KY, it must have been through Josiah - The lineages which don't seem feasible are through Thomas or through Mordecai → James Bradford → Thomas Jefferson or Mordecai → James Bradford → James Riley

Cognates -

The families into which Lincolns married are perhaps better known than Lincolns - They are as follows:

Jones

Thomas and Robert Jones were two brothers who came from the vicinity of Reading in Berkshire, England in 1636-38. About 20 miles West of Reading reside a family Jhones which may be the remnant of the original family

Thomas lived in Hingham in 1638. He came from Caversham, County Oxon. His age on the Shipping List in 1638 was 36. He came with his wife Ann and four children.

In 1657 he & his son Abraham were proprietors at Hull. He removed afterward to Manchester where he lived when he died (at Hull) in 1680.

Abraham Jones was born in England and came with his parents in the "Confidence" of London, sailing from Southampton 24 April 1638. He lived his entire life in Hull. He married about 1653 Sarah Whitman (d 11 Jan 1718) eldest child of John & Ruth Whitman of Weymouth, Mass. He died 1717.

Whitman

Sarah (Whitman) Jones was the daughter of John and Ruth (?) Whitman of Weymouth, Mass.

John Whitman came to America about 1635, probably from Holt, County Norfolk. He was deacon in Weymouth from 13 March 1638-39 town officer 1643, commissioned to end small causes from 14 May 1645, and ensign of the military company. His children were John, Abijah, Zechariah, Sarah Joanes, Mary Pratt, Judah King, Elizabeth Green, and Hannah French.

John Whitman was a fairly prominent figure and owned and sold land in Braintree at least once. He was born in 1602 and died 13 Nov 1692.

Hannah Salter, only dau of Richard Salter and Hannah [illegible] (Laurence) Salter

Richard Salter b 1698-99; d 1763 Justice Jr., Member of N.J. Council from 1749 to his death. Chief Justice of N.J. Supreme Court 9 June 1754.

Hannah was dau of Elisha and Lucy (Hunt) Laurence. Hannah was born 1696 and was living in 1763.

Richard Salter was son of Richard Salter who came from England and settled in Monmouth Co, N.J. about 1687 or earlier. He was Member of House of Deputies and in 1704 Assembly of Rep. He married Sarah Browne, dau of Captain John Brown and Lydia Helme Brown. Was still living about 1728. Sarah was born 27 Nov 1669 and and was still living in 1714.

Browne

William Browne settled at Salem, Mass about 1635 and was granted 40 acres of land at Jeffries Creek in 1636. He and his son went to Gravesend, Long Island with Lady Moody and were among the founders there, having an allotment 12 November 1649. In 1665 he obtained a Patent for land at Middletown, N.J. He died in 1677 and letters of administration on his estate were granted as of William Brown, "late of Gravesend and late of Middletown."

By his wife Ann _____ (maiden name not known) - he had John, James, and Andrew.

John Browne the eldest son had a plantation at Gravesend 20 Sept 1647. He was representative in the Hempstead Convention in 1665 and removed to Middletown, N.J. as early as 1667. He was a member of the Provincial Assembly of New Jersey in 1680, Speaker in 1682, and Justice for Monmouth County, 1683.

In 1683 he married Lydia Holmes, daughter of Obadiah and Catherine Holmes. They had five children, the fourth being Sarah Brown, who married John Salter. Lydia (Holmes) Brown was still living in 1714.

Holmes

Obadiah Holmes was born about 1607 at Preston, Lancashire, England. He came to Salem, Mass, about 1639 as one of the "glassmen" who were given special privileges to encourage that industry. In 1646 he removed to Rehoboth, Mass and became a Freeman in 1648. He became a Baptist, seceded from the church in 1650, and became pastor of the seceders and moved to Newport, R.I. On a visit to Lynn Mass. he was arrested and taken to Boston where he was publicly whipped in September 1651. He escaped and stayed at Newport as pastor of the First Baptist church until his death in 1682 and burial in his own field in what is now Middletown, R.I. His wife Catherine, (maiden name unknown) who probably came from England with him, died shortly before him.

Their children were Mary, Martha, Samuel, Obadiah, Lydia, Jonathan, John, and Hopestill. Lydia, who married John Browne, was probably born at Rehoboth, Mass.

Herring

John Herring - went to [illegible] to the to Va in early half of 18th century. Secured a grant of land in Va in Shenandoah valley. He had a son Leonard Herring - who married a Scotch - Presbyterian & had 13 children - one was Bathsheba who married Abraham Lincoln.

The original John Herring built a fort at Heronford, still standing in 1908. This fort was a stronghold against the Indian threat to the Shenandoah Valley settlers.

At issue is the marriage of Abraham Lincoln of Rockingham Co. VA. His first wife seems to have been Mary Shipley (-d 1770 VA), and his second Bathsheba Herring.

Thomas Lincoln, father of the President, seems to have been son of Bathsheba (Herring) Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln md Bathsheba Herring on June 9, 1770 in Rockingham Co VA (then Augusta Co)

Shipley

Robert Shipley, Englishman arrived in the colonies about mid-eighteenth century and settled in Lunenburg County, Va. There was a Robert Shipley there purchasing 314 acres of land 16 Sep 1765. This was probably the Robert and Sarah _____ (maiden name unknown) who sold land in Russel Parish of Bedford Co, Va in 1771.

His children were Robert, Edward, Mary, Lucy, Sarah, Elizabeth, and Nancy. Mary married Abraham Lincoln of Rockingham Co, Va before 1763 and died before 1770. Her children were 1. Mordecai b about 1764, 2. Josiah, b 10 Jul 1766, 3. Mary, and Nancy.

Samuel Lincoln arrived at Boston with Francis Lucas 20 June 1637. He was probably the son of Edward Lincoln of old Hingham, England. He probably married 3 May 1849

Samuel a

Mordecai ad Born at Kingham mass

Mordecai ada born at Kingham Mass

died at Amity, Pa 12 May 1736

in new jersey by 1714

moved to Pa 1720 near

French Creek & Brandywine

1722 Nantmeal

Mordecai married Mary, thought to be the daughter of Andrew Robeson of Amity,

adaa Pa and had a son Abraham.

John Lincoln got the New Jersey Holdings

John to 3 May 1716 at Freehold

(Son of Mordecai & Hannah) N. J. d Nov 1788 at

Fairmill Creek, Va having

moved there between 1765

and 1768.

married Rebecca (Flowers) Morris, deeded 210 acres to Abraham Aug 1773

m 5 Jul 1743 O.S. to dau of Enoch & Rebecca Flowers, Rebecca was born 30 Mar 1720, O.S. died 20 Jul 1806 at Lincoln's Creek, Va.

She was the widow of James Morris by whom she had a son Jonathan Morris

adaaa Abraham was born 13 May 1744 O.S.
and probably died about May 1786
b in Berks Co, Pa
He sold his farm 18 Feb 1780 and
moved to Ky.
He was married either to Mary
Shipley or Bathsheba Herring.
Some authorities give one and other
some another.

adaaaa
Mordecai b in Va about 1771 d Dec 1830.
Josiah " " " about 1773

Mordecai married Mary Mudd at Bardstown
Ky perhaps in 1792. She died about 1857.
Her parents are not known. She is said to
have been a Roman Catholic.

adaaa aa Abraham
adaaa a b James Bradford

~~John Holman of Weg~~

Samuel Lincoln, son of Edw. Lincoln, gent of Hingham Co. Norfolk, bapt there 24 Aug 1622, app to Francis James of Norwich, weaver and mariner, came to America 1637 at Salem, afterward Hingham Mass d 26 May 1690 age 71

Mordecai Lincoln b 14 June 1657 of Hingham, but removed to Scituate (Cohasset) in 1704, iron founder, d 8 Nov 1727 m Sarah Jones

Mordecai Lincoln eldest son of Mordecai b 24 Apr, removed to Monmouth Co, N.J. before 1710 and afterward to Penna in Chester Co before 1726, and of Amity Phila Co, Pa 1734 iron founder, d 12 May 1736. m Sarah (Brown) Salter of Freehold, N.J. before 1711 - d 1720

adaaa a

Of the three sons, Mordecai, Abraham, and James, Mordecai never married. Mordecai was a Carpenter, and made coffins and spinning wheels.

Josiah had three daughters and one son Thomas, who lived in Conydon, and

Abraham ~~[redacted] lived in Kentucky~~ was probably born in Wash Co Ky & he died at Fountain Green, Hancock Co, Ill, Mar 1852. He married Elizabeth Mudd, probably a cousin

Abraham of Va had brothers Isaac, Jacob Thomas, & John

Josiah m 28 Feb 1801 Catherine, dau of Christopher Barbour, & died in Harrison Co, Ind, in Sep 1835.

John Lincoln m Rebecca (Moore?)
eldest son b 3 May 1711, called "Virginia John" of Caernarvon Pa. May 1748, weaver of Hanoverton 1758, taxed in Exeter same year, removed to Va about 1768, settled on Linvill's Creek, was living 1773 and probably dead by 1792. Rebecca was still living in 1773.

Abraham Lincoln m Mary Shipley
b 16 Jan 1739, had gr of land from father 1773, Capt, Va militia 1776, removed to Ky 1781-1782 settled Jefferson Co, killed by Indians 1785.
His sons by Mary were
① Mordecai b 1764 - sheriff & rep in Ky legislature, removed to Lee & died there in 1830,
② Josiah b 10 Jan 1766 removed to Lee & died there 1836, Son Thomas living at Corydon, Ind.
Abraham married a 2nd time to Bathsheba Herring & Thomas, father of the President, was a son of that union.
Mordecai above had sons Abraham, James, & Mordecai

(over)

The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln
Lea & Huttleston
Houghton Mifflin Co. Boston & New York
1909

Mordecai was about 21 when he killed his father's murderer, a Wabash Indian. He inherited the property, became a prosperous farmer, sheriff of the county, and a member of the Kentucky Legislature. He removed to Harrison Co, Ind, and about 1828 to Hancock Co, Ill, where he died in 1880.

He married Mary Mudd of Washington Co, Ky ~~born probably in Nelson Co, Ky~~ ~~1785~~ at Fountain

The Lineage of Lincoln William E Barton
Bobbs Merrill 1929

History of the Lincoln Family - Waldo Lincoln
Worcester, Mass Commonwealth Press - 1923

Hull, Mass. Public Library

Abraham, s of Abraham & Nancy b 20 Mar 1692

" s of Benjamin & Elizabeth b 2 Mar 1707

Thomas James, Hingham, property in 1637. With son Abraham property at Hull in 1657. Abraham sold the land his father had given him ~~—~~ 3 May ~~1~~ 1658. Children baptized at Hingham, parentage not specified. Thomas baptized 29 Mar 1640

Mary " 28 May 1643

Inez Bidwell

Lincoln Was Interested In His Family History

By Helen Price Stacy

Rockingham County, Va., records show President Abraham Lincoln once stopped at a tavern "on the way to Congress" and found out he was related to the tavern owner, David Lincoln. He also may not have known the location of the tavern, Lacey Spring, was supposed to be called Lincoln Spring but due to the way the words were once written or mistakenly read, it came out Lacy Spring.

On any stops Lincoln made while traveling to and from Washington, D.C., to visit his wife's relatives in Lexington, Ky., or to his adopted state of Illinois, the president let it be known he was interested in his family background.

Willard Heiss, writing in the *Tri-State Trader* in 1972, further explored Abe Lincoln's determination to find out about his ancestors.

Heiss wrote that Lincoln sent a letter in 1848 to Solomon Lincoln in Hingham, Mass. In the letter Lincoln told that his father was Thomas Lincoln and his grandfather had the same name as his own — Abraham. "My grandfather went from Rockingham County in Virginia to Kentucky, about the year 1782, and two years afterwards was killed by the Indians."

Lincoln said there was a family story that his great-grandfather had gone from Pennsylvania to Virginia. "It may do no harm to say that Abraham and Mordecai are common names in our family," he added.

Solomon Lincoln answered the letter, and the future President wrote him again in March 1848. In this letter he said his grandfather Abraham Lincoln had at least four brothers, Isaac, Jacob, Thomas and John, and had three sons, Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas, "the last my father. Uncle Josiah had several daughters and an only son, Thomas. My father has an only son, myself, of course." (Lincoln's brother Thomas died in infancy.)

Lincoln shortly afterward inquired of Gov. McDowell, who represented the Rockingham County district, if he knew any families named Lincoln. As a result, Lincoln wrote to an aged resident, David Lincoln, and found out that David's Uncle Abraham Lincoln was Abe's grandfather.

"His (Abraham) family did reside in Washington County, Ky., just as you say you found them in 1801 or 2. The eldest son, Uncle Mordecai, near 20 years ago, removed from Kentucky to Hancock County, Ill. His two sons there now are Abraham & Mordecai; and their post-office is LaHarp. Uncle Josiah, farther back than my recollection, went from Kentucky to Blue River in Indiana," wrote Lincoln.

In 1854 Jessie Lincoln of Tennessee wrote Abe, answering another inquiry about family history and Lincoln replied, "As you have supposed I am the grandson of your Uncle Abraham; and the story of his death by the Indians and of Uncle Mordecai, then 14 years old, killing one of the Indians, is the legend more strong than all others imprinted upon my mind and memory. My wife was born and raised in Lexington, Ky., and my connection with her has sometimes taken me there where I have heard the older people of her relations speak of your Uncle Thomas and his family."

Lincoln's paternal great-grandfather married into a Quaker family.

A Lincoln biography states that Abraham Lincoln, 16th President, was born in a log cabin in Hardin County (now Larue) Feb. 12, 1809, the son of Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Thomas, Abe's father, was born 1778 and died 1851. Thomas' father Abraham Lincoln was born 1744 and died 1786. This grandfather Abraham was married in 1743 to a widow, Mrs. Rebecca Flower Morris, daughter of Enoch and Rebecca Barnard. Enoch and Rebecca Barnard were married in 1718 in Chester (now Delaware) County, Pa. Abe's ancestors Samuel and Martha Lincoln came from Hingham, England, in 1635 and settled at Salem and Hingham, Mass. Abe's mother Nancy Hanks was the daughter of Lucy Hanks, whose ancestors, Thomas Hanks, came from England to Virginia in 1644.

There are Lincoln and Hanks relatives throughout Kentucky, Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts as well as other states.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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LITTLE KNOWN

STORIES

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

LITTLE KNOWN STORIES

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All stories and yarns were copied per verbatim from the book "Lincoln's Own Yarns and Stories" Edited by Col. A. K. McClure, except the paragraph on page 3 and this was copied from "History of Perry County, Indiana", by Thomas James De La Hunt. (The paragraph in parenthesis.)

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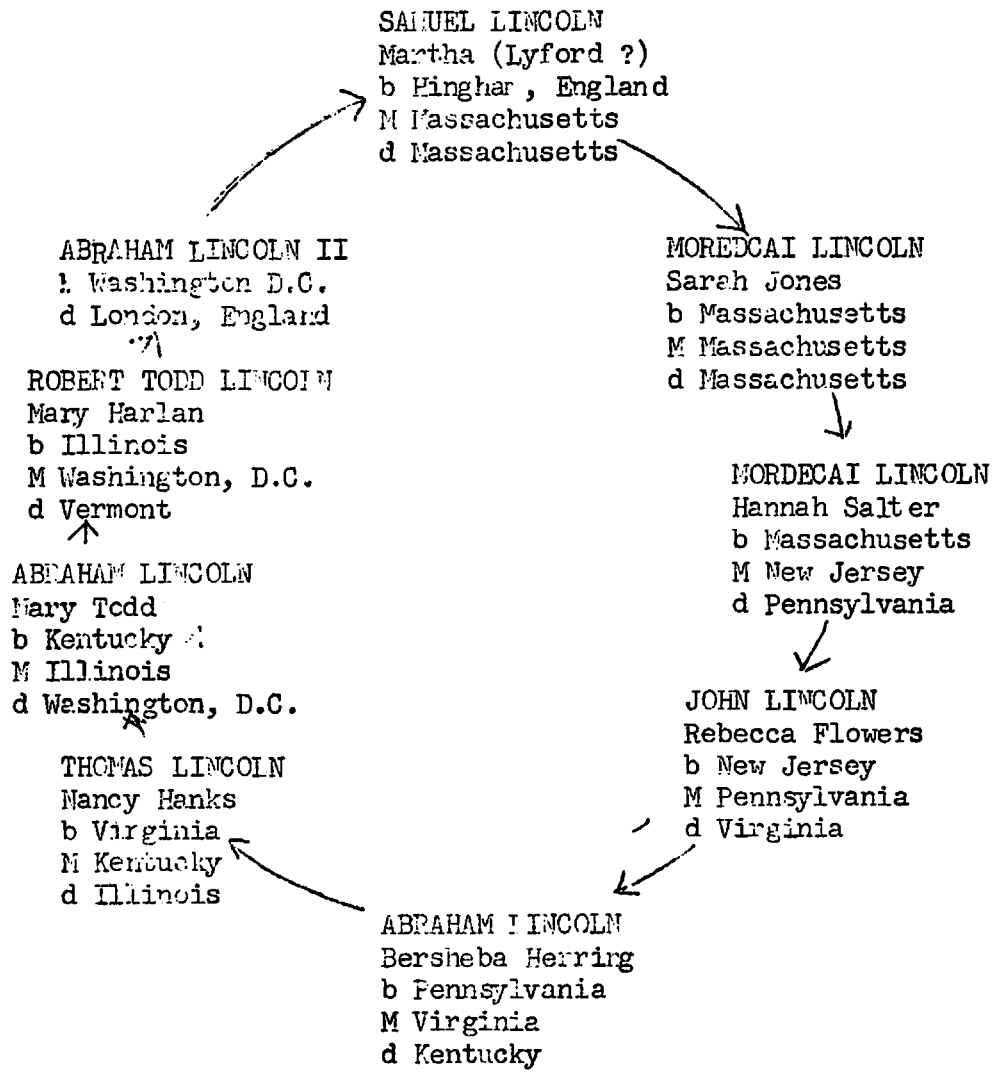
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The Unusual Lincoln Genealogical Circle

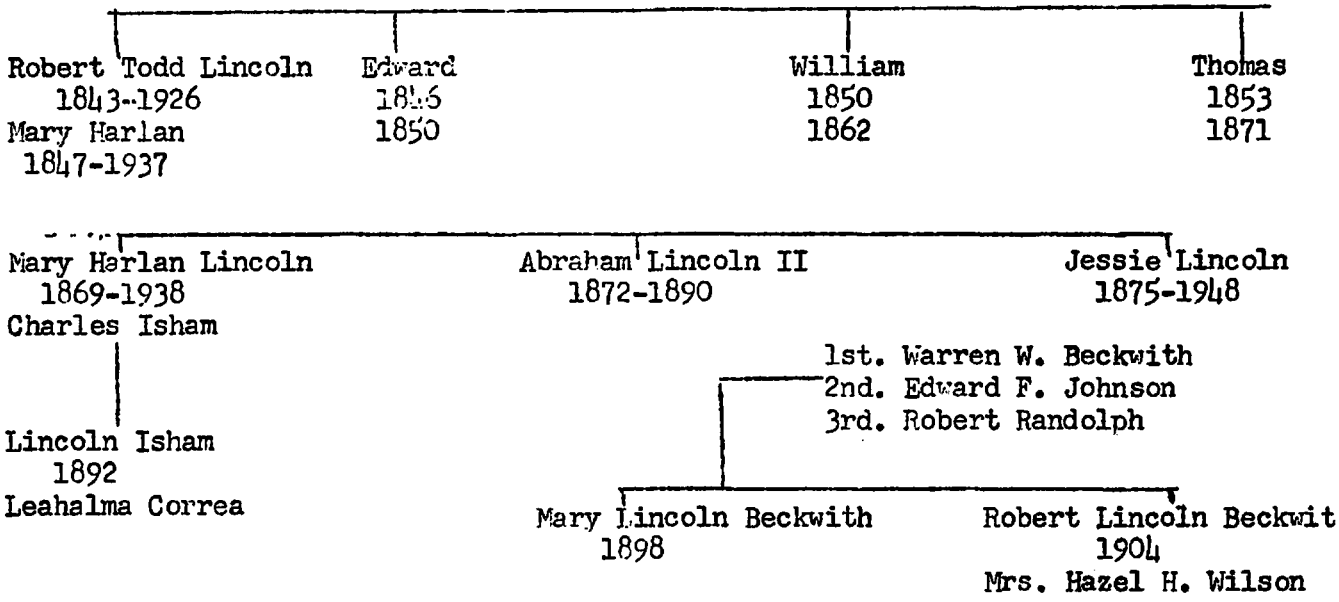
The Lincoln family originated in England. The first of Abraham Lincoln's progenitors, Samuel Lincoln, arrived in America in 1637. From this chart may readily be determined the curious fact that in the last seven generations of the family not one of them died or married in the state in which they were born. Abraham Lincoln II died in England within a stone's throw of the birthplace of the first American ancestor thus completing a genealogical circle.



LINCOLN GENEALOGICAL TABLE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
1809-1865

MARY TODD
1818-1882



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THE BOY IN THE BACKWOODS -

His birthplace, in Hardin County, Kentucky, was but a wilderness, and Spencer County, Indiana, to which the Lincoln family moved when Abraham was in his eighth year, was a wider and still more uncivilized region. The little red schoolhouse which now so thickly adorns the country hillside had not yet been built. There were scattered log schoolhouses, but they were few and far between. In several of these Mr. Lincoln got the rudiments of an education -- an education that was never finished, for to the day of his death he was a student and a seeker after knowledge. Some records of his schoolboy days are still left us. One is a book made and bound by Lincoln himself, in which he had written the table of weights and measures, and the sums to be worked out therefrom. This was his arithmetic, for he was too poor to own a printed copy.

A YOUTHFUL POET

On one of the pages of this quaint book he had written these four lines of schoolboy doggerel:

"Abraham Lincoln,
His Hand and Pen,
He will be Good,
But God knows when."

The poetic spirit was strong in the young scholar just then for on another page of the same book he had written these two verses, which are supposed to have been original with him:

"Time, what an empty vapor 'tis,
And days, how swift they are;
Swift as an Indian arrow --
Fly on like a shooting star.

The present moment just is here,
Then slides away in haste,
That we can never say they're ours,
But only say they're past."

(One of his early teachers was Mr. Adam Shoemaker II who taught school in Troy, Indiana (Spencer County).)

Some of Lincoln's early reading books were the Bible, Aesop's Fables, and Weem's Life of Washington.

He wrote another specimen of poetical, or rhyming ability, and is found in the following couplet, written by him for his friend, Joseph C. Richardson:

"Good boys who to their books apply,
Will all be great men by and by."

The first law book he ever read was "The Statutes of Indiana". In reading this book an idea came to him to become a lawyer.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN THE CHRISTIAN - EARLY TRAINING

Mr. Lincoln's parents were Christians, first affiliated with the Free-Will Baptist Church in Kentucky, and afterward with the Presbyterian Church in Indiana. Their home was a home of prayer, the Bible was read morning and evening, and his father always returned thanks at the table. On one occasion the only thing they had for dinner was roasted potatoes. After the father had returned thanks for "these blessings," young Abe looked up and said, "Dad, I call these mighty poor blessings."

COULDN'T LOCATE HIS BIRTHPLACE

While the celebrated artist, Hicks, was engaged in painting Mr. Lincoln's portrait, just after the former's first nomination for the Presidency, he asked the great statesman if he could point out the precise spot where he

was born. Lincoln thought the matter over for a day or two, and then gave the artist the following memorandum:

"Springfield, Illinois
June 14, 1860

"I was born February 12, 1809, in then Hardin County, Kentucky, at a point within the now county of Larue, a mile or a mile and a half from where Hodgen's mill now is. My parents being dead, and my own memory not serving, I know no means of identifying the precise locality. It was on Nolen Creek.

A. LINCOLN."

"BOTH LENGTH AND BREADTH"

During Lincoln's first and only term in Congress -- he was elected in 1846 -- he formed quite a cordial friendship with Stephen A. Douglas, a member of the United States Senate from Illinois, and the beaten one in the contest as to who should secure the hand of Miss Mary Todd. Lincoln was the winner; Douglas afterwards beat him for the United States Senate, but Lincoln went to the White House. During all of the time that they were rivals in love and in politics they remained the best of friends personally. They were always glad to see each other, and were frequently together. The Disparity in their size was always the more noticeable upon such occasions, and they well deserved their nicknames of "Long Abe" and the "Little Giant." Lincoln was the tallest man in the National House of Representatives, and Douglas the shortest (and perhaps broadest) man in the Senate, and when they appeared on the streets together much merriment was created. Lincoln, when joked about the matter, replied in a very serious tone, "Yes, that's about the length and breadth of it."

"GOOD-BYE TO THE OLD FOLK"

Earl in February, before leaving for Washington, Mr. Lincoln slipped away from Springfield and paid a visit to his aged step-mother in Coles County. He also paid a visit to the unmarked grave of his father and ordered a suitable stone to mark the spot. Before leaving Springfield, he made an address to his fellow-townsmen, in which he displayed sincere sorrow at parting from them. "Friends," he said, "no one who has never been placed in a like position can understand my feelings at this hour, nor the oppressive sadness I feel at this parting. For more than a quarter of a century I have lived among you, and during all that time I have received nothing but kindness at your hands. Here I have lived from my youth until now I am an old man. Here the most sacred ties of earth were assumed. Here all my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. "To you, dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All the strange, checkered past seems to crowd now upon my mind. Today I leave you. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him shall be with and aid me, I must fail; but if the same omniscient mind and almighty arm that directed and protected him shall guide and support me, I shall not fail -- I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. "To him I commend you all. Permit me to ask that with equal sincerity and faith you will invoke His wisdom

and guidance for me. With these words I must leave you, for how long I know not. Friends, one and all, I must now bid you an affectionate farewell." The journey from Springfield to Philadelphia was a continuous ovation for Mr. Lincoln. Crowds assembled to meet him at the various places along the way, and he made them short speeches, full of humor and good feeling. At Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, the party was met by Allan Pinkerton, who knew of the plot in Baltimore to take the life of Mr. Lincoln.

WHAT AILED THE BOYS

Mr. Roland Diller, who was one of Mr. Lincoln's neighbors in Springfield, Illinois, tells the following:

"I was called to the door one day by the cries of children in the street, and there was Mr. Lincoln, striding by with two of his boys, both of whom were wailing aloud. "Why, Mr. Lincoln, what's the matter with the boys?" I asked. "Just what's the matter with the whole world," Lincoln replied. "I've got three walnuts, and each wants two."

HOW HOMINY WAS ORIGINATED

During the progress of a Cabinet meeting the subject of food for the men in the Army happened to come up. From that the conversation changed to the study of the Latin language. "I studied Latin once," said Mr. Lincoln in a casual way. "Were you interested in it?" asked Mr. Sewart, the Secretary of State. "Well, yes. I saw some very curious things," was the President's rejoinder. "What," asked Secretary Seward. "Well, there's the word hominy, for instance. We have just ordered a lot of that stuff for the troops. I see how the word originated. I notice it came from the Latin word homo -- a man. "Homini -- for man." "So you see, hominy being 'for man,' comes from the Latin. I guess those soldiers who don't know Latin will get along with it all right -- though I won't rest real easy until I hear from the Commissary Department on it."

LINCOLN'S LAST WRITTEN WORDS

As the President and Mrs. Lincoln were leaving the White House, a few minutes before eight o'clock, on the evening of April 14, 1865, Lincoln wrote this note:

"Allow Mr. Ashmun and friend to come to see me at 9 o'clock a.m., tomorrow, April 15, 1865."

THE DEAD MAN SPOKE

Mr. Lincoln once said in a speech: "Fellow-citizens, my friend, Mr. Douglas, had the startling announcement today that the Whigs are all dead. "If that be so, fellow-citizens, you will now experience the novelty of hearing a speech from a dead man, and, I suppose you might properly say, in the language of the old hymn: "Hark, from the tombs a doleful sound."

THE "GREAT SNOW" OF 1830-31

In explanation of Lincoln's great popularity, D. W. Bartlett, in his "Life and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln," published in 1860, makes this statement of "Abe's" efficient service to his neighbors in the "Great Snow" of 1830-1831:

"The deep snow which occurred in 1830-31 was one of the chief troubles endured by the early settlers of central and southern Illinois. Its consequences lasted through several years. The people were illy prepared to meet it, as the weather had been mild and pleasant -- unprecedentedly so up to Christmas -- when a snow-storm set in which lasted two days, something never before known even among the traditions of the Indians, and never approached in the weather of any winter since.

"The pioneers who came into the State (then a territory) in 1800 . . . . say the average depth of snow was never, previous to 1830, more than knee-deep to an ordinary man, while it was breast-high all that winter. . . . It became crusted over, so as, in some cases, to bear teams. Cattle and horses perished, the winter wheat was killed, the meager stock of provisions ran out, and during the three months continuance of the snow, ice and continuous cold weather the most wealthy settlers came near starving, while some of the poor ones actually did. It was in the midst of such scenes that Abraham Lincoln attained his majority, and commenced his career of bold and manly independence. . . .

"Communication between house and house was often entirely obstructed for tears, so that the young and strong men had to do all the traveling on foot; carrying from one neighbor what of his store sorely needed. Men living five, ten, twenty and thirty miles apart were called "neighbors" then. Young Lincoln was always ready to perform these acts of humanity, and was foremost in the counsels of the settlers when their troubles seemed gathering like a thick cloud about them."

PETER CARTWRIGHT'S DESCRIPTION OF LINCOLN

Peter Cartwright, the famous and eccentric old Methodist preacher, who used to ride a church circuit, as Mr. Lincoln and others did the court circuit, did not like Lincoln very well, probably because Mr. Lincoln was not a member of his flock, and once defeated the preacher for Congress. This was Cartwright's description of Lincoln: "This Lincoln is a man six feet four inches tall, but so angular that if you should drop a plummet from the center of his head it would cut him three times before it touched his feet."

DIGNIFYING THE STATUTE

Lincoln was married -- he balked at the first date set for the ceremony and did not show up at all -- November 4, 1842, under most happy auspices. The officiating clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Dresser, used the Episcopal church service for marriage. Lincoln placed the ring up on the bride's finger, and said, "With this ring I now thee wed, and with all my wordly goods I thee endow." Judge Thomas C. Browne, who was present, exclaimed, "Good gracious, Lincoln, the statute fixes all that!" "Oh, well," drawled Lincoln, "I just thought I'd add a little dignity to the statute."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
WALKS AT MIDNIGHT

(In Springfield, Illinois)

Vachel Lindsay

(1879-1931)

It is portentous, and a thing of state,
That here at midnight, in our little town,
A mourning figure walks, and will not rest,
Near the old courthouse pacing up and down;

Or by his homestead, or in shadowed yards,
He lingers where his children used to play;
Or through the market, or the well-worn stones
He stalks until the dawn-stars burn away.

A bronzed, lank man! His suit of ancient black,
A famous high top-hat and plain worn shawl
Make him the quaint great figure that men love,
The prairie-lawyer, master of us all.

He cannot sleep upon his hillside now.
He is among us -- as in times before!
And we who toss and lie awake for long
Breathe deep, and start, to see him pass the door.

His head is bowed. He thinks on men and kings,
Yea, when the sick world cries, how can he sleep?
Too many peasants fight, they know not why,
Too many homesteads in black terror weep.

The sins of all the war-lords burn his heart.
He sees the dreadnaughts scouring every main.
He carries on his shawl-wrapped shoulders now
The bitterness, the folly and the pain.

He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn
Shall come -- the shining hope of Europe free;
The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp, and Sea.

It breaks his heart that kings must murder still,
That all his hours of travail here for men
See yet in vain. And who will bring white peace
That he may sleep upon his hill again?

Grandfather of the President

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
1744-1786

Married:
(1) Mary ?
(2) Bersheba

Born in Pennsylvania, Married in Virginia, Killed by Indians in Kentucky.

Mordecai 1771-1830
m. Mary Mudd

Josiah 1773-1835
m. Catharine Barlow

Mary 1775- ?
m. Ralph Crume

THOMAS 1778-1851
m. (1) Nancy Hanks
(2) Sarah Bush Johnston

Nancy 1780-1845
m. William Brumfield

Father and Mother of the President

THOMAS LINCOLN
1778-1851

Married:
(1) Nancy Hanks
(2) Sarah Bush Johnston

Born in Virginia Married in Kentucky, Moved to Indiana, Died in Coles County, Illinois at age 73.

Sarah 1807-1828
m. Aaron Grigsby

ABRAHAM 1809-1865
m. Mary Todd

Thomas 1811-1811

16th President of the United States of America

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
1809-1865

Married:
Mary Todd

Born in Kentucky
Moved to Indiana
Married (1842)
Congressman (1846-48)
President (1860-65)
Assassinated in Wash., D.C.(1865)
Buried in Springfield, Ill.

ROBERT 1843-1926
m. Mary Harlan

Edward 1846-1850

William 1850-1862

Thomas 1853-1871

Grandchildren:

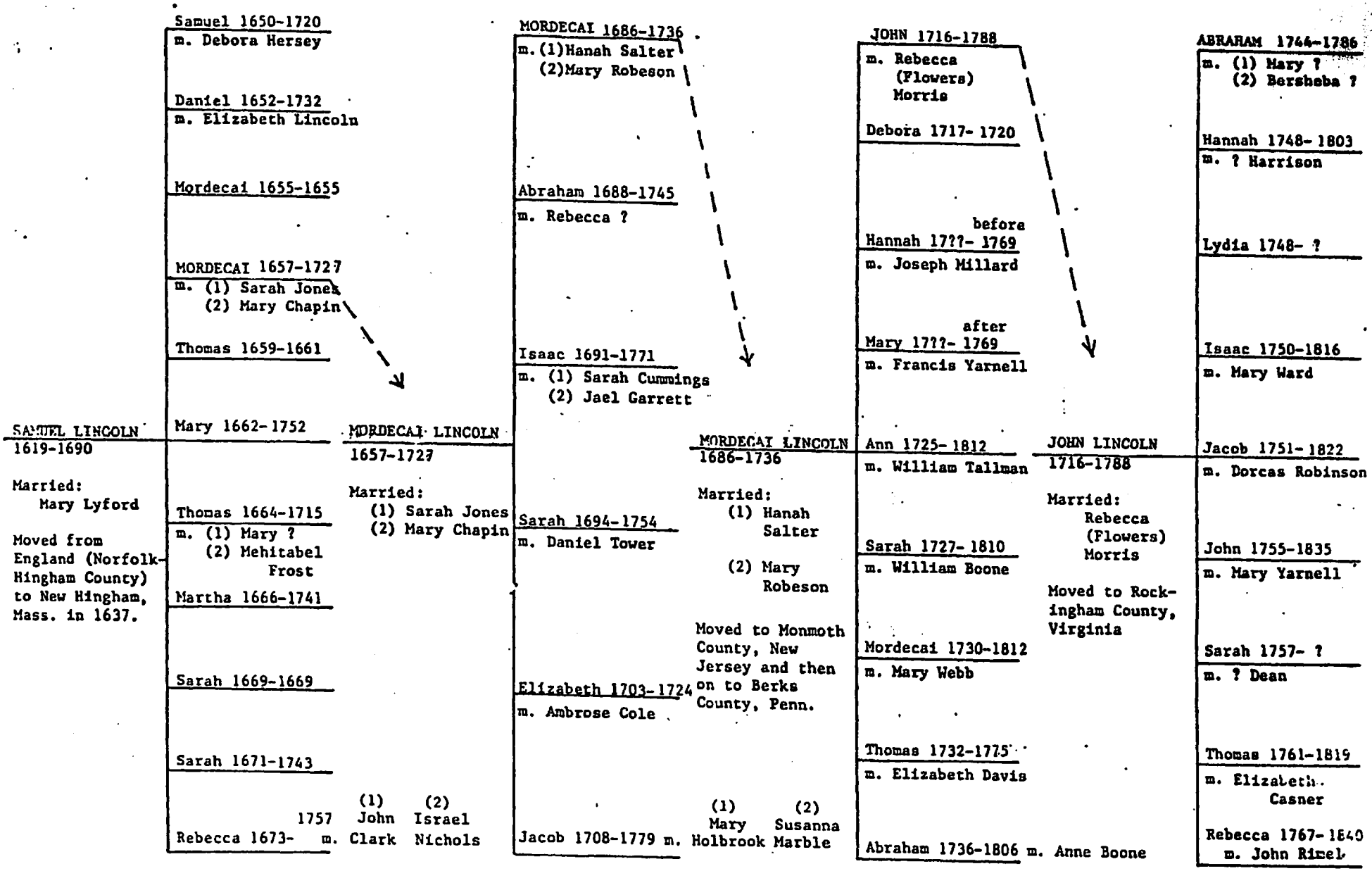
From ROBERT & MARY LINCOLN
1. Mary Lincoln
   1869-1938
   m. Charles Isham
2. Abraham (Jack) Lincoln
   1873-1890
3. JESSIE LINCOLN
   1875-1948
   m. (1) Warren Beckwith
   (2) Frank Johnson
   (3) Robert Randolph

Great Grandchildren:

From Mary and Charles Isham
1. Lincoln Isham
   1892-1971
   m. Telhoma Correa
   (No Children)

From JESSIE AND WARREN BECKWITH
1. Mary Lincoln Beckwith
   1898-1975
   Never Married

2. ROBERT TODD LINCOLN BECKWITH
   1904- 1985
   m. (1) Mrs. Hazel Holland Wilson
   (No Children)
   (2) Annamarie Hoffman
   (No Children)
   (3) Margaret Frisroe
   (No Children)


SAMUEL LINCOLN
1619-1690
Married:
Mary Lyford
Moved from England (Norfolk-Hingham County) to New Hingham, Mass. in 1637.
Samuel 1650-1720
m. Debora Hersey
Daniel 1652-1732
m. Elizabeth Lincoln
Mordecai 1655-1655
MORDECAI 1657-1727
m. (1) Sarah Jones
(2) Mary Chapin
Thomas 1659-1661
Mary 1662-1752
Thomas 1664-1715
m. (1) Mary ?
(2) Mehitabel Frost
Martha 1666-1741
Sarah 1669-1669
Sarah 1671-1743
Rebecca 1673- 1757 m.
MORDECAI LINCOLN
1657-1727
Married:
(1) Sarah Jones
(2) Mary Chapin
(1) John Clark
(2) Israel Nichols
MORDECAI 1686-1736
m. (1)Hanah Salter
(2)Mary Robeson
Abraham 1688-1745
m. Rebecca ?
Isaac 1691-1771
m. (1) Sarah Cummings
(2) Jael Garrett
Sarah 1694-1754
m. Daniel Tower
Elizabeth 1703-1724
m. Ambrose Cole
Jacob 1708-1779 m.
MORDECAI LINCOLN
1686-1736
Married:
(1) Hanah Salter
(2) Mary Robeson
Moved to Monmoth County, New Jersey and then on to Berks County, Penn.
(1) Mary Holbrook
(2) Susanna Marble
JOHN 1716-1788
m. Rebecca (Flowers) Morris
Debora 1717- 1720
Hannah before 17??- 1769
m. Joseph Millard
Mary after 17??- 1769
m. Francis Yarnell
Ann 1725- 1812
m. William Tallman
Sarah 1727- 1810
m. William Boone
Mordecai 1730-1812
m. Mary Webb
Thomas 1732-1775
m. Elizabeth Davis
Abraham 1736-1806 m. Anne Boone
JOHN LINCOLN
1716-1788
Married:
Rebecca (Flowers) Morris
Moved to Rockingham County, Virginia
ABRAHAM 1744-1786
m. (1) Mary ?
(2) Bersheba ?
Hannah 1748- 1803
m. ? Harrison
Lydia 1748- ?
Isaac 1750-1816
m. Mary Ward
Jacob 1751- 1822
m. Dorcas Robinson
John 1755-1835
m. Mary Yarnell
Sarah 1757- ?
m. ? Dean
Thomas 1761-1819
m. Elizabeth Casner
Rebecca 1767- 1840
m. John Rinel

Summer 1983

Lincoln HERALD

Incorporating Historical Research and Scholarship on the
WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

A College of Opportunity which emphasizes the life and ideals of Abraham Lincoln as an inspiring example of patriotic devotion and service to humanity.

Lincoln Memorial University

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Harrogate, Tennessee 37752

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Articles

Features

NOTE: Opinions expressed by guest contributors, both of a historical and political nature, may not necessarily reflect the University's concept of Abraham Lincoln's philosophy or the policy of its trustees, president, faculty and staff.

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Editorial

Abraham Lincoln and the Politics of Ethics

The post-Watergate standard of ethics has reached back in time to touch Lincoln. As with the question of Lincoln's view of race, attempts continue to be made to impose current standards and thinking on mid-nineteenth century realities so that today's investigators ask the question, "Would Abraham Lincoln have been prohibited from running for public office, or even indicted if he lived today?"

Congressman Paul Findley, in his recently published *A. Lincoln: The Crucible of Congress,* tells us how Congressman Lincoln falsified his travel expense voucher for travel to and from his home district in Springfield. The use of the most "direct route" was required by Rule of the U.S. House of Representatives. The national media, at the time of this book's publication in 1979, as is their custom for both the living and the dead, were quick to seize upon this alleged indiscretion. Yet the violation was of Congressional rules, not federal laws, and the practice was sanctioned by the House committee charged with overseeing these expenses. It was a form of remuneration or "perk" permitted all Congressmen domiciled away from the District of Columbia to aid them with their paltry stipends. It would not be allowed today — perhaps because Congressmen now receive larger salaries and even larger expense allowances.

Earlier in his career, Lincoln became foolishly involved in a dueling contest which never came to fruition. He could have been criminally prosecuted for his actions, although the duel's location was outside the state of Illinois where dueling violated the law. Section 44 of the Criminal Code of Illinois, existing at the time of the invitation to duel, mandates that one who accepts or agrees to a duel should be fined and *prohibited from holding public office.* The fact that he accepted the James Shields challenge in 1842 could, if prosecuted and convicted, have ended his political career and thus denied the country his great talents. While the consequences would have been devastating had Lincoln been convicted, the fact remains that he was not.

The perception of crime and the enforcement thereof in our society shifts like sand. This fluidity in our democratic society and in the administration of its justice defies a full rational explanation. In Lincoln's day, dueling was not uncommon. Law enforcement officials often looked the other way and the sheriff, as in Lincoln's case, usually sought out the parties not to arrest, but to protect them from each other.

Lincoln, being honest — intellectually and otherwise, certainly must have been embarrassed by this brush with the law. He may have feared arrest and prosecution; however, he probably worried more about his reputation as a lawyer and Whig politician. His political party had long disavowed dueling and attempted to embarrass Andrew Jackson with this very issue.

Lincoln, too, was not a quarrelsome, hot-blooded person. He would rather have worked things out. On the one hand "honor and precedent" required acquiescence to the challenge of Shields, and on the other, good sense required a diffusion of the potential threat of the law and bodily harm. Lincoln was able to do the latter and remain a viable political force with his reputation intact.

Today, much would have been made of these events. The pressure of the media would force legal confrontations as to the duel and House of Representatives disciplinary proceedings on the expense accounts. But these events did not occur in 1983.

We cannot judge in any total sense certain events occurring over a century ago with what is currently perceived as an illegal act or a case of bad judgment upon which the full wrath of press and prosecutor would fall.

Nonetheless, Lincoln would have conducted himself today in a manner befitting his high moral and honest nature. As for the events described above, they cannot be used to assassinate Lincoln's character. They are, in Lincoln's words, "as thin as the homeopathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death."

Frank J. Williams

Editor's Note: Frank J. Williams is an attorney who practices in Providence, Rhode Island. He is president of the Lincoln Group of Boston and a member of the Board of Directors of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois.

We Have Seen The Elephant: The 48th Ohio At Shiloh

By Terrence J. Winschel

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU

Confederate Troops Charge into Camp at Shiloh

As the light of dawn began to streak across the horizon, the camps began to stir. The forest about was full of the sounds of an army coming to life: the blowing of a bugle, the beating of a drum, the voices of sergeants calling company roll, and the clanking of cooking utensils. Even the aroma from tins of coffee brewing on the fires filled the air and made its way to the picket line. Men who had stood guard all night looked forward with expectation of shortly being relieved and returning to camp to enjoy a cup of the greatest solace known to a soldier in the field. But relief never came; for it was Sunday, April 6, 1862. The great and bloody battle of Shiloh was about to begin.

In the spring of 1862 war was still new to the nation, then against itself divided. Although battles had already been fought in Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Virginia, New Mexico, the Indian Territory, and along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, the names of Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, and scores of other battles had yet to be written on the pages of history, along with their respective casualty lists. The men who would develop into the great battle captains were relatively unknown as the spring campaigns were launched throughout the land. Many of the common soldiers themselves still believed that the war would be short. What foolishness prevailed! Few at that time could realize or comprehend the blood that was to be shed before the inevitability of Appomattox would end the greatest tragedy in American history.

For men such as Peter Sullivan this spring would be a time of testing; for he was the colonel of a regiment of raw recruits, the 48th Ohio Volunteer Infantry fresh from Camp Dennison. Would he prove himself a man worthy of his rank and of his command? Or would fear and uncertainty prove his master? No doubt, these same questions were on the minds of his men as they awoke in camp that Sunday morning, so far away from home and the loved ones they had left behind. Only time would tell.

These men of Colonel Sullivan's, good men all, came from walks of life as varied as themselves. They, like most men across the land, went off to

fight a war they knew little about. Many of them were destined to die on bloodstained fields or wither away in some prison; some would be wounded or maimed for life, others would escape the conflict unscathed. Yet, none would ever be the same again. For Jesse Nelson, Jacob Thomas, Isaac Duncan, Clement Tudor, Hiram Manchester, and others, the sands of time were about to run out.

The regiment was recruited largely from southwestern Ohio, the counties of Highland, Delaware, Clinton, Miami, Defiance, Brown, and the city of Cincinnati. Their initial training at Camp Dennison consisted of squad, company, and battalion drill, regular guard and fatigue duty, with dress parade in the evenings. All this while, they were without weapons of any sort. "Our ideas of war, then," wrote John Berring, "were rather of a romantic order. A skirmish, we supposed, would be a recreation, and a battle a real enjoyment, and some were even worried for fear the war would be over before we arrived, and peace declared before we ever fired a gun. But these romantic notions passed away, in the active service which soon followed."[1]

On Sunday, February 16, the day Fort Donelson fell, the regiment received orders to leave for Paducah, Kentucky, the following morning. One member of the regiment recalled that, "all was now bustle and confusion. There were letters to write, rations to cook, knapsacks to pack, teams to load, etc., etc., but at it we went with enthusiasm, and by hard work we were ready at the appointed time."[2] Off to war they went, soldiers every one, or at least so they thought. For many, the time to die had come.

Leaving Cincinnati on the steamers *Hastings* and *Argonaut*, the regiment arrived in Paducah on the 20th. An uneasy feeling hung over the camp as they posted their first picket in the field, still without weapons. Finally, on March 5, Austrian Rifle-muskets were issued the men, and they immediately drilled in the manual of arms. In one month's time, these raw recruits with inferior weapons would experience the "glory" of war in all its horror.

Without time to get accustomed to their new weapons, the regiment was sent to the field of active operations. As the army concentrated at Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, the regiment embarked on *Empress* and immediately steamed southward. Along with the 70th and 72nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiments, they formed the 4th Brigade (Colonel Ralph Buckland), Fifth Division (Brigadier General William T. Sherman), of the Union Army of the Tennessee commanded by Major General Ulysses S. Grant.

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Ulysses S. Grant

All in readiness, the fleet consisting of eighty-two steamers left Fort Henry and started up river toward Savannah, Tennessee. Near Savannah, the Army of the Tennessee awaited the arrival of Major General Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio marching from Nashville. The 5th Division, however, continued up river, their object was to cut the Memphis & Charleston Railroad at Eastport, Mississippi. This would prevent Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston from rendezvousing with General Pierre G.T. Beauregard at Corinth, Mississippi. Failing in this plan because of heavy rains and high waters, the Division withdrew downriver to Pittsburg Landing and there remained.

The intersection of the Mobile & Ohio and the Memphis & Charleston Railroads at Corinth was the object of Grant's campaign. With this in mind, additional units from Grant's army were sent from Savannah to Pittsburg Landing. Thus, Grant was unintentionally setting the stage for the bloody battle at Pittsburg Landing.

On the western side of the Tennessee River, Pittsburg Landing was site of a store-house, a grocery, and a dwelling. The surrounding country consisted of a few cultivated fields and vast tracts of heavily timbered land. There were also several roads which radiated from the landing to Hamburg, Crump's Landing, and Purdy, Tennessee, and Corinth, Mississippi. Two and one-half miles

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Pierre G.T. Beauregard

southwest of the landing was a small Methodist Meeting House named Shiloh, which means, "peace."[3] How strange it seemed that on this Sunday morning, men gathered at this holy place not to worship God, but to destroy the finest of His creations.

On Tuesday, March 18, after a twelve-day confinement aboard the *Empress*, the regiment had disembarked at Pittsburg Landing. Marching a half mile inland, the Ohioans bivouacked on the bluffs overlooking the river. Three days later the brigade moved farther inland, making room at the landing for the rest of the army, and camped near the intersection of the Corinth and Purdy Roads. The camp was on ground sparsely forested with oaks and cedars. Their tents were pitched on the brow of a south sloping hill at the base of which flowed a branch of Owl Creek. Two hundred yards to their left stood Shiloh Meeting House. In front of and beyond the small church was camped the 3rd Brigade of the division under the command of Colonel Jesse Hildebrand. Extending the line to the right, Buckland's 4th Brigade was positioned with the 70th Ohio on the left, 48th Ohio in the center, and the 72nd Ohio on the right. Anchoring the line on the right, was Colonel John A. McDowell's 1st Brigade of Sherman's Fifth Division.

For the next two weeks, as the Union forces were setting up camp between the landing and Shiloh Church, the men of the brigade busied themselves with picket duty and drill. With victories at Forts Henry and Donelson already to their credit, the army took on an air of confidence. Because of the confidence, no one thought of preparing the camps for defense, even though the Confederate army was less than twenty miles distant. This neglect of ordinary precautions was to cost Grant dearly on April 6, for there were entire regiments of untried men and officers under his command. These "green" units were in the most advance positions, the 48th Ohio among them.

On April 3, the day orders were issued for the Confederate army to advance on Pittsburg Landing, the regiment came under its first fire. The brigade made a reconnaisance along the Corinth Road. Five miles from camp the road forked. Here the brigade halted and sent two companies forward as skirmishers. They quickly met those of the enemy's cavalry, but, as orders were "not to be drawn into battle,"[4] the skirmishers fell back and the brigade returned to camp.

The next day, early in the afternoon, enemy cavalry attacked the left of the Ohioans' picket line. The long roll beat and the brigade moved at the double quick to the picket line. Before the brigade became engaged, however, the Confederates withdrew taking Lieutenant John Greer of Buckland's staff and eight other men with them as prisoners. Again, on April 5 the long roll beat. The brigade formed on the color line and there remained for an hour until the firing ceased.

The day wore away. The sounds of tattoo softly filled the air as the stars began to appear in the evening sky. Many men in the ranks were convinced that the entire Confederate army was in their immediate front, because of the frequent attacks on the pickets and the bold maneuvering of the enemy cavalry over the previous few days. Colonel Sullivan strengthened the pickets, and issued orders that he was to be awakened the moment the picket line was fired upon. The brigade slept on their arms during the night as they felt certain to do battle on the morrow. Unfortunately, the high command did not share the premonitions of the men in the field. On April 5, Grant had telegraphed Major General Henry Halleck, "I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack being made upon us, but will be prepared should such a thing take place."[5] He was not prepared when the battle opened!

That night, barely two miles from Shiloh Church, the Confederates held a council of war. Both Johnston and Beauregard were present at the council, along with the corps commanders except Major General William Hardee, and a few staff officers. Johnston concluded the council by saying, "We shall attack at daylight tomorrow. . . .I would fight them if they were a million."[6] The

stage was set. The battle would open with the rising sun.

Musketry had been heard in the distance for about an hour when the sun appeared creeping over the hills east of the Tennessee River on April 6. The wind carried the sounds of a battle constantly increasing in magnitude. Beyond the front lines, skirmishers were contesting the advance of the gray hosts, buying time for the army to prepare for battle. The brigade's picket line along Shiloh Branch was strengthened, and the long roll beaten. The Ohioans formed on their color line and prepared to meet the enemy's advance. Artillery pieces along the Corinth Road near Shiloh Church were brought to bear on the woods in their front. The bloodshed was now to begin. By day's end, thousands of men Blue and Gray would give the "last full measure of devotion."[7]

As these preparations were being made, the rattle of musketry and the roar of artillery became almost deafening on the left. The Confederate attack came crashing in on unprepared Union camps. Brigadier General Benjamin Prentiss' Sixth Division was hard pressed and falling back. Twenty minutes later the enemy appeared in Buckland's front. To the raw recruits the gray masses seemed to come on in splendid style with lines neatly dressed and extending beyond the Ohioans' flanks in both directions.

At first, Sherman did not believe the reports which filtered back to headquarters. Shortly after 7 a.m., Sherman rode to his left to investigate the commotion when his party came under fire. Looking out, he could see "the glistening bayonets of heavy masses of infantry to our left front in the woods beyond the small stream. . . , and became satisfied for the first time that the enemy designed a determined attack on our whole camp."[8] As Confederate artillery roared into action against Sherman's line, he ordered his men to hold fast and he sent for reinforcements.

The blueclad pickets fired a volley and fell back upon the brigade which Colonel Buckland had sent sweeping down the hill to support them. As the 48th moved forward, they realized that the Confederates had crossed Shiloh Branch and were advancing on their camps. An officer of the 48th recalled, "The left of our Regiment was scarcely in line, when the rebels, who were not more than a hundred yards distant, opened on our ranks, killing and wounding a number of the Regiment at their first fire."[9] The regiment's lieutenant colonel, Job Parker, reported, "They came upon us so suddenly that for a short time our men wavered, but soon rallied again. . . . With the exception of Sergeant Jones*, our color-bearer, who shamefully deserted us in five minutes after the action commenced, our men fought bravely. . . ."[10]

Union artillery roared into action with a vengeance. The brigade opened fire, front rank followed quickly by the rear rank. The Confederate drive was checked and driven back across the stream. One attack after another was repulsed with fearful loss. For nearly two hours Sherman's men held grimly to their task. As the pressure began to mount on the left, it soon became apparent that the position could no longer be held.

Before the order to withdraw could be given, the left of the line broke and fled to the rear. As the Confederate onslaught came rushing in, Hildebrand's brigade was overwhelmed and soon disappeared. Panic and confusion gripped the men as the colonel of the left most regiment cried, "Fall back and save yourselves."[11] The Union front was giving way before the powerful Confederate advance. Outflanked on the left, and facing overwhelming numbers in front, there was nothing else for the Ohioans to do but to fall back. At 10:00 a.m., the brigade began an orderly withdrawal to the Purdy Road followed closely by the Confederates.

Back through their camps and over company streets went the Ohioans toward the Purdy Road. In an effort to stem the Confederate attack, Major General John A. McClernand had his division take up position along the Purdy Road to Sherman's left and rear. As the alarm sounded throughout the remainder of the Union camps, thousands of panic-stricken men fled toward the landing, disrupting fresh, orderly lines advancing toward the front. Hundreds of men threw down their weapons and entire batteries were abandoned on the field. The army was being forced back toward the Tennessee River.

Buckland's Brigade began to reform along the Purdy Road, but the stand was short-lived. One of the brigade's colonels reported, "I formed on the road, but so many retiring troops mingled with us we became much broken and separated."[12] Company E, 1st Illinois Light Artillery, lost three guns to the enemy before they reached the Purdy Road. A soldier in the regiment recalled, "We had scarcely halted, when a battery [Captain Frederick Behr's 6th Battery Indiana Light Artillery] came dashing along the road at full speed, to our right. They had passed us but a short distance when they were captured."[13] The withdrawal continued, and the gray tide swept across Purdy Road.

Back through the woods and fields west of

*Positive identification cannot be made by use of the regimental roster.

Corinth Road went the remnants of Sherman's Division. Solid shot and shell from Confederate batteries came crashing through the trees and among the men. Casualties began to mount, still the men fought valiantly. The raw recruits from Ohio were rapidly becoming soldiers to be proud of. A half mile beyond Purdy Road the regiment took up a strong position at the base of a slope. Here they fought stubbornly, repulsing an enemy attack and causing them to fall back in disorder. "We are now cut off from the river by the road," wrote a member of the regiment. "Behind us were the marshy bottoms of Owl Creek; in our front was the victorious rebel army; to our left, Pittsburg Landing .After a consultation, as we were detached [separated] from our Division, we took the nearest practicable route to the Landing."[14]

As Sherman's and McClernand's Divisions were being forced back through the countryside north of the Corinth Road through Sowell's and Jones' fields, the divisions of Prentiss and Brigadier General William H.L. Wallace were making an obstinate stand in a sunken roadbed further to the left. A heroic stand, in what became known as the "Hornets' Nest," bought the time necessary for Grant to set up a last ditch line near the landing. The stand in the "Hornet's Nest" probably prevented Grant's army from being driven into the river and destroyed.

The sun's rays began to cast long shadows over the countryside. The Union center was still holding firm in the "Hornets' Nest," but was slowly being surrounded by the advancing Confederates. The Union right was still being pushed back. The Ohioans fell back across Tilghman Branch to the Savannah-Hamburg Road. Once regrouped, the regiment was ordered to the right to guard the Savannah-Hamburg Road bridge over Snake Creek; the road by which Major General Lew Wallace's division was expected to arrive at any moment. The regiment marched a short distance before the order was countermanded. The march was then resumed toward the landing.

The sun was sinking in the western sky when what remained of the regiment arrived at the landing. It had been a frightful day! Yet, to the men who had proven themselves to be soldiers, men who had stood the crash of musketry, the roar of artillery, the agonizing screams of wounded men, and the smell of death, the sight of the landing was more appalling than any they had seen on the battlefield that day. Cowering under the bluffs were thousands of panic-stricken, frightened men; many of whom had fled from the front without firing a shot. There were some men attempting to swim across the Tennessee River or float across on logs. Amidst the confusion at the landing, the regiment stacked their arms and filled their canteens.

The battle continued to rage as the regiment fell into line and advanced toward the front. An officer in the regiment recalled how they "were greeted on all sides by deafening cheers by the troops, who thought we were the advance of Gen. Buell's army, who were then expected every moment. But when we told them we had been in the battle all day, their cheers died away, and they looked more gloomy than ever."[15] But Buell's army was near at hand, its leading brigade was at that very moment appearing on the eastern side of the river. If Grant's army could hold its own a little longer, the day could yet be saved and victory won.

As Buell's troops boarded a transport, the 48th Ohio moved into position to support a battery of siege guns. John Berring wrote:

> . . .no sooner had we occupied our position, than the enemy opened on us a frightful fire from their artillery. They then entered the ravine in our front, to make the final charge, and drive us into the Tennessee River. Then came the "rebel yell," that we had heard so often that day, and we knew that the charge would follow. . . .We could hear the heavy tramp of the rebel columns advancing on double-quick. The next moment our cannoneers sprang to their posts and discharged their double-shotted guns, loaded with grape [*sic*] and canister, at the rebel ranks, not more than fifty yards distant, while the infantry poured forth an incessant fire of musketry. The ground seemed to tremble, and the woods before us were swept by a storm of shell and canister men and horses succumbed to the withering fire, and when the smoke cleared away the rebels were seen in full retreat, flying in every direction.[16]

Thus ended the first day of battle, a bloody day it was! The bluffs overlooking Pittsburg Landing were still in the hands of the blueclad army, but the contest was not yet over.

Rain began to fall as darkness settled over the fields. The downpour continued throughout the night and drenched both man and beast. After being issued a few crackers, the regiment stumbled its way forward about a mile before lying down to rest. But there was little sleep that night, for the Union gunboats *Tyler* and *Lexington* fired their big guns every fifteen minutes throughout the night. The sounds of death were everywhere, penetrating the darkness as did the rain, filling the night with terror for those who lay in the mud, wondering what it was all about. Did anybody really know? Did anybody really care?

For Clement Tudor, Jesse Nelson, Jacob Thomas and others, the war ended that day. Exactly where or when they fell, few, if any, could say. What had happened to the others missing from the

ranks at day's end? Did they too lie dead upon the field? Or was their lifeblood oozing out from a gaping wound? Were they making peace with their Creator? Or were they thinking of loved ones at home? One thing was certain—they had all "Seen the Elephant."

Throughout the night the rain continued as preparations were made to resume battle on the morrow. Lew Wallace's division had finally arrived on the field and was posted on the Union right. In addition, the transports continued to ferry Buell's army across the river so that by morning much of his army was in position on the Union left. With all in readiness, the Union forces waited for the light of dawn "to redeem on Monday the losses of Sunday."[17]

At daylight orders were issued for an advance of the entire line to recapture the original camps. The advance was not smooth as some units began earlier than others. The advance met with little resistance at first; for during the night, Confederate forces had disengaged and pulled back two miles from Union troops.

Sherman had difficulty getting his units organized, but finally advanced at 9:00 a.m. Through Perry field and across Tilghman Branch, the division advanced in a southerly direction. After an advance of one-half mile, the division came to the eastern end of Jones' field and halted. Here it came under fire of Confederate artillery and remained so for an hour. At 10:00 a.m. the advance continued all along the line. Sherman's troops charged across the field on the double-quick, seeking shelter in the woods on the other side. At this time, wrote one member of the regiment, "Our batteries were soon brought to the front, when a regular artillery duel followed, which lasted about two hours, and at times became almost deafening, sending the shell and solid shot crashing through the timber, and tearing up the ground around us."[18] With renewed vigor, the bloodshed continued.

Throughout the day the Confederates made a determined stand at every advantageous point. They even counterattacked when the opportunity presented itself, but the effort and the sacrifice were to no avail. The pressure of the Union advance continued to force the Confederates back. By mid-afternoon the Federals had gained control of the Hamburg-Purdy Road and had pushed the Confederates beyond Shiloh Church. Once the original line of camps had been reached the advance ceased. There was no pursuit. The battle was over.

"Our camp and the battlefield was a heart-sickening sight," wrote John Berring. "The bodies of dead horses and wrecks of wagons, caissons, guns, and all kinds of war implements, were strewn over the battlefield. The dead were lying in every conceivable shape. Some had fallen with their guns fast in their hands; others had received the messenger of death, and with their life-blood ebbing away, had sought the shelter of logs and trees, and laid down to die."[19] The regiment had lost 153 men killed, wounded or missing. Among the wounded was Colonel Peter Sullivan who had his left arm shattered late in the afternoon of the 7th. The Ohioans buried dead of both sides, their own dead in twenty graves, the Confederate dead in one long trench.

Many years have passed since the cannon fell silent. Rains and snows have washed the blood from the fields; and nature has restored serenity and tranquility to the countryside. But, there on the hill overlooking the Tennessee River, are the graves of Jesse Nelson, Jacob Thomas, Isaac Duncan, Clement Tudor, Hiram Manchester and other Ohio men who came to Pittsburg Landing to stay. Their small stones bear mute testimony that they too had "Seen the Elephant."

NOTES

[1] *History of the Forty-Eighth Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry,* John Berring and Thomas Montgomery, Hillsboro, Ohio, 1880, p. 11.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[3] Letter from George Reaves, Chief, Interpretation and Resources Management, Shiloh National Military Park, to the author, dated July 22, 1982.

[4] *History of the Forty-Eighth Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry,* p. 18.

[5] *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series I, Volume X, Part I, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1884, p. 89.

[6] *Shiloh-in Hell before Night,* p. 81.

[7] "Gettysburg Address," delivered by Abraham Lincoln on November 19, 1863.

[8] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. X, pt. I, p. 249.

[9] *History of the Forty-Eighth Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry,* p. 20.

[10] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. X, pt. I, p. 270.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

[13] *History of the Forty-Eighth Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry,* p. 21.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

[17] *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. X, pt. I, p. 251.

[18] *History of the Forty-Eighth Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry,* pp. 25-26.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

"Even the Less Important Consular Posts": The English Consulates and Lincoln's Patronage Policy

By Neill F. Sanders

Two recent articles in the *Lincoln Herald*, " 'Unfit for Consul?': The English Consulates and Lincoln's Patronage Policy," and " 'When a House is on Fire': The English Consulates and Lincoln's Patronage Policy," tested the hypothesis that President Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of State William Seward held very different opinions as to the appointment of Union consuls in the British Isles. The studies indicated that Seward sought men whose backgrounds would have prepared them to serve as principle agents in an intelligence gathering network. The Secretary envisioned a network of investigators who would report to Crown officials that Confederate activities throughout the British Isles subverted English neutrality and threatened Anglo-American relations. In this way he believed that Richmond could be denied her much sought-after British armory and ship building facilities. He additionally concluded that the consuls' reports about departure of rebel supply shipments would aid the Union's blockading squadrons.[1]

Lincoln, however, regarded Federal appointments primarily "as a great treasury to be drawn on at will," a storehouse of rewards to molify divergent Republican party factions and satisfy the needs of personal friends. With pressure from party leaders eager for the spoils from their first national administration, and compounded by the large number of Democratic office holders who resigned in sympathy for the newly created Confederacy, Lincoln very early in his administration adopted the presidential tradition of dispensing Federal posts based on the applicant's party contribution, political influence and personal contacts. While Lincoln

> In some cases. . .sought the man whose abilities best fitted him for the post. . .these were distinctly exceptions. In general he followed the accepted doctrine that many could perform the duties required, and that other qualities and circumstances should be taken into consideration in making the selection.[2]

The President subscribed to this principle in the majority of cases in his removal of 1,195 men from 1,520 presidential offices, including 16 new appointments at the 18 English consulates in existence in 1861.[3]

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William Seward

The previous articles in this series indicated that the disagreement resolved itself in the White House's favor. The President posted politically worthy men and personal friends as consuls at London, Liverpool, Cardiff, Bristol, Falmouth, Glasgow, Newcastle, Plymouth, Dublin, Belfast and Cork. Seward, in turn, successfully molded this disparate collection of former clergymen, politicians, editors, abolitionists and sea captains into a surprisingly effective surveillance network initially under the supervision of the Minister to Belgium and, subsequently, under the Minister to Great Britain. This third and concluding article offers a similar analysis of the men posted at Dundee, Galway, Bradford-Sheffield, Leith, Londonderry, Manchester, Leeds and Southampton. Only the latter three cities evidenced even a modicum of rebel activity. However, as in the war's

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first year the White House did not know what level of Confederate activity would occur where, Lincoln's appointments at "even the less important consular poses" are instructive in regard to his patronage policy. In addition, a summary note offers a framework for further study of the effect of Lincoln's patronage policy on Seward's policy in Great Britain.

When the Civil War began, the Confederacy had available few diplomatic tools. In 1861 only King Cotton diplomacy—the withholding of needed cotton from Europe's looms—seemed a viable weapon in the South's struggle against the North in Europe. Nowhere did the cotton famine strike more harshly than in Lancashire, England's textile center. While both its major cities, Liverpool and Manchester, felt the effects of the cotton drought, the former's more diversified economy helped buffer it from the more severe problems experienced at Manchester. No other city suffered more than Manchester from the famine: at its height the majority of the nearly one-quarter million unemployed Lancashire textile workers and the approximately one-half million people on relief were from Manchester and its environs. Consequently, throughout Lancashire, and especially in Manchester, "There was in fact a supreme determination to aid the South with at least moral backing while the North was viewed with a mistrust that deepened with the intensity of Lancashire's distress."[4]

Into this maelstrom of anti-Union sentiment Lincoln posted Henry William Lord as consul. Born in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1821, Lord had studied law but never practiced before the bar. In 1839 he moved to Detroit, Michigan, and four years later to Pontiac. A businessman and farmer of extensive holdings, Lord's anti-slavery beliefs involved him as a pioneer in the organization of the Republican party. During the 1860 campaign he stumped throughout Michigan on Lincoln's behalf. Immediately after the inauguration he began his lobbying efforts for the Honolulu consulate.[5] On March 8 New Hampshire Senator and chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee John Hale, Lord's friend from their former Free Soil party days, wrote Seward that this man "of Republican principles" who had "numerous friends in Michigan and elsewhere" deserved "a consular or diplomatic appointment." Within the month support for Lord's appointment at Honolulu arrived in Washington from Michigan Senator Zach Chandler, Anson Burlingame, the former Massachusetts con-

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Zach Chandler

gressman soon to be appointed Minister to China, six members of Michigan's House delegation, James M. Edmunds, the Federal Commissioner of the General Land Office, William Howard, chairman of the Michigan Republican state central committee and twenty-three leading Michigan Republican businessmen.[6]

While the President did not oppose a post for Lord, the Honolulu consulate had been reserved for "Alfred Caldwell, organizer of the Republican party in Western Virginia, and chairman of the Old Dominion's delegation at the Chicago Convention."[7] Lincoln did have, however, a comparable position available. On March 8, Duncan McCauly, James Buchanan's Manchester consul, wrote that "it is my desire to be recalled as soon as convenient. . ." to his home in Louisiana. On March 28 the Department accepted the resignation. As he did in many other cases, Lincoln held open the attractive $2,000 post for purely political reasons: while Lord's party contributions and political connections made him a worthy candidate, Lincoln waited in anticipation of other applicants whose support might eclipse Lord's. When no one else approached the White House for the post, the President quietly submitted Lord's nomination to the Senate. On June 1 the White House informed the Michigan Republican of his Manchester reward.[8]

Of all the instructions given to the consuls the most important warned that their intelligence surveillance must be done "without contravening the provisions of existing [British neutrality] statutes." Lord held strictly to this directive, a significant accomplishment for a man whose antebellum business and political career had accustomed him to active, not passive, habits. Lord relegated his activities to an assessment of conditions and public opinion in Manchester. Whatever illusions Washington held as to the cotton famine's possible minimal effect were quickly dashed by the consul. At one point he wrote Seward that the city's cotton supply would not support a month's full production and that Indian cotton would not serve as the hoped for alternative source of the fiber.[9] The city's economic plight was felt "very much more severely than [in] any other part of England." Not surprisingly, Confederate agents such as James Spence and Richmond supporters such as the newspapers *Guardian* and *Daily Post* joined with the Southern Independence Association's well orchestrated public meetings.[10] Under these circumstances it is logical that Lord regretfully reported that "the Morrill Tariff is a pretex for hatred, and the Bull Run disaster for contempt" and that "I am compelled to the opinion that there is in the English people a *latent,* if not active determination that this rebellion should be successful."[11] Without secret service funds, which the Department on occasion provided certain consuls to augment their intelligence work, and with the Department's strict warnings on neutrality, Lord could do little in support of the few Union sympathizers in Manchester such as Henry Ashworth, John Bright, Richard Cobden and the Union & Emancipation Society.[12]

While the acrid-tongued Benjamin Moran, the Secretary of the London Legation, regarded Lord as "among the most stupid" and "a pompous self-important little fellow," Washington did not share this opinion.[13] The consul's clear and insightful assessments of Manchester's economic problems and its public opinion doubtlessly gave impetuous to the North's military-diplomatic strategy of opening Southern ports for the shipment of cotton. Similarly, Seward appreciated Lord's investigation of Confederate plans for recruiting skilled mechanics and his suggestions about immigration.[14] While Seward could do little to relieve the consul's frustrations about Manchester public opinion, the Secretary did make Lord's tenure more financially attractive. During his first three years as consul Lord had often complained that he could hardly function as both consul and intelligence agent on his $2,000 salary. Without secret service funds and sufficient consular agents in his employ he could not thoroughly investigate his very large consular district, and rising rents had forced him to move the consular offices. He therefore requested his salary be raised to at least $5,000, a sum surpassed only by the London and Liverpool posts. On Seward's insistence Congress raised his salary to $3,000 in 1864 in recognition of his "faithful and efficient work."[15] This made Lord the only consul who received such a war-time increase.

Lord continued his reports about Manchester conditions until the war's end. But his contribution to the Republican party did not end with his consular resignation in 1867. He returned to Michigan and served as a member on the State Board of Corrections and Charities between 1871-1881. Still deeply involved in Republican politics, he capped his career with election to the United States House of Representatives in 1881.[16]

Like his Manchester appointment, Lincoln's first consul at Leeds distinguished himself both as consul and in Republican politics after the war. And like Lord, the second Leeds consul owed his posting to his supporters who were tied by bonds of politics and friendship to the White House.

Had Lincoln's primary concern been the intelligence network he would have retained Albert Davy, the Buchanan consul at Leeds. A Pennsyl-

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Edward Bates

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vanian with ties to Edward Everett, Davy earned the endorsement of Adams for reappointment through his timely and accurate reports on rebel activity, especially the departure of the supply steamers *Fingal* and *Bermuda*. But the President's primary concern was partisan politics, and the $2,000 salary at Leeds represented a choice reward.[17]

William Marsh most actively campaigned for the post. A former businessman from Leeds, he had lived in Springfield, Illinois, since 1856. His first letter to Lincoln on February 8, 1861, was one of many from office seekers which deluged the President-elect before he left for Washington. Marsh regarded himself a likely candidate because of his close ties with the Leeds business community and the several unsolicited articles he had forwarded to London newspapers which explained Republican goals. But Marsh had only modest political support and Lincoln once again waited for other applicants before he awarded Leeds.[18]

The process by which James W. Marshall received Leeds is typical of how Lincoln adroitly balanced influential office seekers. On May 17, 1861, Marshall wrote the President and requested appointment at Frankfort, Germany. Born in Clarke County, Virginia, in 1822, he spent his boyhood in Kentucky. After graduation from Dickinson College in 1848 he remained at the school as a professor of German, Latin and French and in his travels abroad he had often visited southern Germany. Friends such as Edward Bates, Thaddeus Stevens, Horatio King, Salmon Chase, John Covode and Edgar Cowan testified that ". . .this ardent supporter of the Republican doctrines. . ." possessed gentlemanly habits, business skills, and a ". . .pure love of honesty & justice. . . ." Not lost on Lincoln was the fact that Marshall's friends and colleagues at Dickinson College included Unionist Democratic Congressman Archibald McAllister, Glasgow consul Charles Cleveland, Reverend John McClintock of the United States Chapel in Paris and Congressman Charles O'Neil. But William Murphy, one of the party's founders, also wanted Frankfort. Ever aware of patronage conflicts, Lincoln solved the problem when he eventually posted Marsh at Altona, Italy, Murphy at Frankfort and gave Marshall the Leeds consulate in August.[19]

Business and personal affairs detained Marshall in Carlisle and the new consul did not arrive in Leeds until November, a month after Adams had applied for his exchequer. Well before he officially assumed his post Marshall enacted a scheme without benefit of secret service funds whereby he could have investigated Confederate activity in the cities which lie within his consular district. At Bradford, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Halifax and, most important, the port city of Hull, his consular agents reported to him about public opinion, rebel supply

shipments, shipbuilding and recruitment. When occasion demanded he personally visited the dependencies and closely cooperated with Freeman Morse, the London consul, on special assignments. But like other consuls, Marshall also committed errors. In one instance his diligence proved superior to his judgment. In May, 1862, reports reached him which indicated that the newly Hull-built steamer *Lodona* had entered for Nassau. Her officers subsequently had requested from him entry permits for Southern ports recently opened by the Union. Although he had no instructions which prohibited him from granting the request, he certainly should have inquired of Adams how best to deal with this new and delicate type of petition. Ill-advisedly Marshall granted the clearance. On August 15, however, Assistant Secretary of State Frederick Seward admonished the consul that Lieutenant Napoleon Collins' *Unadilla* had captured the *Lodona* as she ran the blockade before Hell Gate, Georgia.[20]

Given his efforts on the Union's behalf it came as a surprise to Seward when Marshall resigned on September 7, 1864, without any prior notice. Perhaps the scholar did not appreciate the fact that recently two of his dependencies, Bradford and Sheffield, had been wrested from him and established as a single consulate in its own right. It may have been that as the Confederate war effort deteriorated and the threat to the Union in Great Britain subsided he believed he could better serve his nation at home than abroad. Or, most telling, it may have been that he simply wished "to cross the Atlantic to be with my family at as early a date as possible. . . ."[21] In any case Marshall returned to Carlisle and Republican politics. The professor of German culminated his political career and contribution to the nation as Post Master General under Ulysses Grant.

Before he departed, Marshall made provision for the appointment of his successor. In his letter of resignation he requested of Seward that "If by the time I am ready to leave my successor be not at hand and empowered to act, I ask the favor that my deputy, W.L. Raymond. . .be authorized to act as vice-consul here. . . ."[22] Born in 1837, the son of the New York City wealthy businessman James Raymond, William had been educated at Columbia College in New York, and upon graduation served for three years as a tutor in the College's Grammer School. Physically disabled for military service, he left the United States in the summer of 1862 and spent the following year "traveling through Europe and the East."[23] Quite naturally he visited his friends in Europe, including Reverend McClintock and Marshall. A friend of the President, McClintock had also taught at Dickinson College in the 1830's and 1840's before he became minister of St. Paul's Church in New York City where he met the Raymonds. Posted as pastor at the United States Chapel in Paris in 1860, he remained abroad throughout the war as a leading spokesman for Anglo-American friendship. Only poor health made him decline Lincoln's generous offer as Minister to France in 1865. Raymond knew Marshall through their mutual friendship of Emory McClintock, the minister's son who had received appointment as Bradford consular agent in February, 1863.[24]

By June, 1863, Raymond had completed his travels and was in Paris with Reverend McClintock when he first evidenced a desire for a consular post. Encouraged by the pastor, he wrote Seward on June 14 and described himself as a man with "firm loyalty to the Government of the United States" and requested his appointment as consul at Altona, Denmark. The young applicant indicated that his posting had the support of Charles King, President of Columbia College, William Murphy, the then Hamburgh Consul General, Congressman Moses Odell of New York as well as the recommendation of McClintock and Marshall. Within a month support for Raymond poured into the State Department. Termed "an active, thorough Republican," Reuben Fenton, the New York Congressman and friend of both Seward and Lincoln, joined Henry J. Raymond of the *Times* and A.V. Stout of New York's Shoe and Leather Bank in requesting Raymond's posting at either Altona or Ravenna, Italy, should the former have already been dispensed.[25] However, despite McClintock's description of his young friend as a scholar, gentleman and Christian, "not bad qualifications for an *American Consul,*" Lincoln had no suitable post available. Therefore, in the fall of 1863 Raymond joined his friends Marshall and Emory McClintock as the Leeds deputy consul, a newly established designation. In spite of efforts to make him vice consul Raymond remained deputy consul for more than a year.[26]

When Marshall's resignation reached Washington in late September, 1864, John McClintock was at the capitol and spoke with Frederick Seward "of the possibility of my son Emory McClintock desiring the Consularship at Leeds." Six weeks later, however, the Reverend indicated that his son "does not apply for it & to add my desire that Mr. W.L. Raymond. . .be appointed consul."[27] On October 4 Fenton also recommended Raymond, who

> has been with Mr. Marshall for one or two years - he is a true and loyal man, upright in his personal character, & a life scholar & of unquestioned ability

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William Cullen Bryant

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Schuyler Colfax

> for the discharge of the duties of that responsible trust.[29]

But Raymond did not require those letters for his appointment. At home in New York City on a short leave "from my duties as. . .deputy in order to prepare for an anticipated prolongation of my residence abroad," Lincoln had already determined to appoint Raymond consul in late September.[29]

From the time when he formally assumed his duties on January 11, 1865, until the war's end Raymond had no responsibilities related to the intelligence network. In fact, the only responsibilities involved with the New Yorker's appointment were those discharged by Lincoln to his friends and supporters.[30]

Lincoln's appointment of consuls at the three Channel ports are among his most curious. As previous articles have shown, he retained English subjects at Falmouth and Plymouth as rewards for an obscure public service done for George Washington by one of their common ancestors.[31] The third consulate, Southampton, went to John Britton, a majority of whose Republican supporters were not welcome guests at the State Department.

Born in Ireland, Britton immigrated to New York City and became a naturalized citizen. A merchant marine sea captain by profession, his political sympathies drew him into a group headed by William Cullen Bryant and Parke Godwin of the New York *Evening Post*, Hiram Barney, Schuyler Colfax and Norman Judd. Arrayed against a Seward-led faction comprised of Simon Cameron, David Davis, Thurlow Weed and Caleb Smith, the two groups in early 1861 waged their own violent patronage wars in Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and New York.[32]

The Bryant-Godwin camp counted Britton's appointment as a triumph over their rivals, as they believed he received his post due to their intervention. On January 1, 1861, Godwin boldly recommended Britton for Southampton and described him to Seward as "an old sea captain of this port—a gentleman of highest honors, capacity, experience and energy. . . . There is no better man qualified for this position."[33] Godwin had not supported Seward at Chicago and the Secretary repaid this transgression by denying him the Paris consulate in 1861. Nonetheless, Godwin continued his lobby for Britton when in March he again wrote Seward and trumpeted Britton's "ardent republicanism."[34] That same month Godwin and Bryant took their appeal directly to the President.

While they claimed that the post at "Southampton is of not much involvement but of great information and dignity," they forwarded a declaration signed by nearly two dozen of New York City's "most prominent merchants and shipowners" who attested to Britton's nautical skills and experience in Anglo-American commerce.[35]

Britton, however, owed his appointment not to these men but to Moses Hicks Grinnell. A friend and political ally of Seward's since the 1830's, the New York "millionaire merchant, once a Whig Congressman, once President of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, a Republican presidential elector on the Fremont ticket" and one of Weed's lieutenants in support of Seward at Chicago, Grinnell had advised Seward on New York state patronage as early as 1838. His knowledge of vessels and the men who captained them earned him a Federal appointment to develop plans for arming Union war cruisers. On February 3, Grinnell requested Britton's posting and forwarded to Seward a copy of the captain's application. It appears that Britton had worked for Grinnell for the latter testified to his "high character and ability." Moreover, Britton's political activities were not confined exclusively to the Bryant-Godwin camp for Grinnell pointedly told the Secretary that the captain had the endorsement of "some of *our* most active political friends."[36] Although the Bryant-Godwin support blunted Seward's enthusiasm for the captain, nonetheless the Secretary could not overlook his friend and ally's request. Consequently, he forwarded to Lincoln Britton's application for the attractive $2,000 Southampton post. Lincoln immediately seized the opportunity the application represented. He fully supported Britton for expedient political reasons. The post had attracted only one other candidate, Thomas Rawlings of Baltimore, who had only minimal political support and therefore could be conveniently dismissed. Conversely, Britton's nomination gave Lincoln the chance to accommodate rival New York factions with one appointment. Hence, only three weeks after the inauguration the Senate's confirmation made Britton the third consul posted in the British Isles.[37]

In spite of his antebellum experience which had often taken him into English harbors, Britton had little better preparation than his consular colleagues for his network duties. Additionally, a series of accusations plagued Britton during his first year at Southampton, imputations which doubtlessly led Seward to question the posting of a man whose political support suggested divided loyalties.

On April 29, 1862, the Secretary wrote Britton that William Thompson, Buchanan's Southampton consul, had leveled serious charges against his successor. Thompson claimed that Britton still retained English citizenship and that as recently as 1858 had been a ship captain in Southampton employed by an English firm at that port. Britton quickly lashed back: he directed that his attorney send Seward a copy of his naturalization papers and wrote that Thompson's removal was a "Sad disappointment to himself & his *Bosom friends* [Confederate agents Ambrose] *Mann* & [William] *Yancey.*" Subsequently Thompson sent the State Department depositions from Southampton officials and New York Republican Senator Ira Harris which defended him against the slander of disloyalty. Britton countered with a deposition from Henry James, Thompson's consular clerk, who had at the consul's instructions "rendered what service I could" to the rebels Pierre Rost and Yancey when they had visited Southampton in April, 1861.[38] While that controversy drug on, both Seward and Adams told the consul of their suspicions that the shipping firm operated by his vice consul, the English citizen J.H. Wolff, had outfitted suspected Confederate vessels. Although this proved to be a case of mistaken identity, the Wolff and Thompson episodes brought into question Britton's honesty and judgment at a time when the C.S.S. *Nashville's* arrival at Southampton made that port a focus of attention and required the unquestioned energies of the Union consul.[39]

The *Nashville's* history is well documented: the Confederacy seized the side-wheel merchant steamer at Charleston at the war's outbreak and originally intended that she carry James Mason and John Slidell to England. When those plans changed, however, Lieutenant Robert Pegram's ship slipped the blockade on October 26, 1861, and ran into Bermuda. Armed only with two six-pounders, she left the islands bound for England. Enroute she captured the unarmed Union clipper *Harvey Birch* on November 19 and set the ship afire after taking her men aboard. Damaged by storms after the assault, the Admirality agent at Southampton gave Pegram permission to enter the port for necessary repairs but forbade rearming. On November 21, the *Nashville* entered the Channel port.[40]

Britton immediately reported the docking to both Seward and Adams. The ship's presence represented a major test of both Seward's newly reorganized intelligence network and the veracity of his emerging foreign policy toward England. On November 4 Seward had removed Sanford as head of the network because his schemes directed against rebel operations in England overtly violated English neutrality. Seward wanted reports about,

not action against, Richmond's men in England. Adams, now in charge of the network, fully appreciated this fact.[41]

But such appreciation did not exist in the North. The *Harvey Birch's* destruction brought editorial howls directed against Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles' failure to protect Union commerce, and demands for Union counteraction against Confederate vessels. While Welles plotted aggressive countermeasures, Adams moved with caution. For example, the Minister hired lawyers who took depositions from Captain Nelson of the *Harvey Birch* and Britton limited his activities to the investigation of Pegram's intentions in port.[42]

But as the rebel's repairs began, the news of the *Trent* Affair exploded in England on November 26. Captain Charles Wilkes' action had a two-fold effect on the *Nashville* investigation: Britton's surveillance proceeded with even more discretion while Pegram became bolder. The consul, for example, prepared only a muted note of protest to the Duke of Cambridge when English troops insulted the United States flag. Conversely, "on December 5. . .Pegram put his ship in dry dock and confidently waited for her to be repaired and released."[43]

The self-proclaimed "purgatory" in which the *Trent* Affair had placed Adams was substantially lifted on January 8, 1862, when he learned of Seward's adroit solution of the problem, a solution which anticipated the Secretary's foreign policy toward England for the remainder of the war. The very next day, however, Adams learned from Britton of a new threat to neutrality. The consul reported the arrival of the U.S.S. *Tuscarora* at Southampton, a steam war cruiser captained by Tunis A. Craven. The newly commissioned Philadelphia-built warship had been sent by Welles with the U.S.S. *James Adger* in search of rebel ships in European waters. Already, Britton reported to London, Union seamen had landed and stood watch over the *Nashville*. In the excitement of the arrival Britton had discarded his cautious methods and had joined with Craven and "made such arrangements. . .as will render it next to impossible for the *Nashville* to escape." The Minister immediately wrote both Britton and Craven that

> I was glad to hear of the arrival of the *Tuscarora*. Her presence will be a great check on the rebel movements. I cannot however caution you too strongly against furnishing any grounds of complaint to the British Government of us for a violation of neutrality. I have already received an official remonstrance against the landing of an armed party to watch the *Nashville*.[44]

Adams further instructed Craven that England adhered to the international law of belligerent ships which required the detention of one vessel for 24 hours after the other's departure. Only in international waters would the Minister condone the raider's capture.[45]

In spite of these warnings Craven created problems for the Minister as he "openly defied the port authorities at Southampton. He kept his decks cleared and his boilers fired for action. . . .A great howl came up to London against this insolence—an insult to the flag as great as the *Trent* Affair." In addition to protests sent to Adams, the Admiralty stationed the H.M.S. *Shannon* at Southampton to enforce the 24 hour rule.[46]

After Adams' warnings Britton distanced himself further from Craven's menacing posture and solely confined his activities to a watch of the *Nashville's* preparation for sea. Because of his familiarity with Southampton's harbor he knew how difficult pursuit of the rebel would be. In addition to the 24 hour rule, the consul realized that once the ship left her dock Pegram could elect one of two exits to the Channel: once in The Solent above Cowes in the Isle of Wright the *Nashville* could dash southeast past Portsmith or steam southwest beyond Yarmouth. Consequently, he kept in close telegraphic communication with his consular agents at those ports. On February 3, it was Britton who announced the raider's escape and his Cowes agent who notified Craven of the Confederate's exit choice.[47]

The four Union officials involved with the *Nashville* at Southampton held different opinions about the episode. For Craven, the frustrations of a month long vigil had proven fruitless: the *Nashville* had run free into the Channel and returned to Bermuda enroute to Beaufort, North Carolina. Seward and Adams felt relief as the threat of an affront to British neutrality through a *Tuscarora-Nashville* encounter in English waters had been averted. The incident provided Britton with the only significant opportunity to demonstrate his "capacity, experience and energy" through his intelligent and restrained surveillance of a sensitive threat to Anglo-American relations. While subsequent network duties simply involved reports about the occasional visit of rebel ships and the forwarding of messages to Union ships in the Channel, Britton proved that his appointment was a fortunate expedient accommodation.[48]

Situated on the Firth of Tay on Scotland's North Sea coast, the wartime history of the Dundee consulate provides little insight into the intelligence network's operation because of the derth of rebel activity at that port. Its history does, however, clearly indicate the President's final authority over consular appointments and how he skillfully

piloted office seekers into comparable posts without political damage to the White House. Most important, it demonstrates the influence of personal friendship in the selection process.[48]

Although the Dundee consulate commanded a $2,000 salary, which ranked it fifth in compensation among the 18 British Isles consulates in 1861, its location and harsh climate attracted only three significant applicants.[49] Two months before the new administration took office John Prettyman wrote Seward and requested appointment as Glasgow consul. A surgeon and Republican newspaper editor in Milford, Delaware, Prettyman had the support of his state's party officials, such as George Fisher of Sussex County, and business leaders such as E. Joy Morris of Philadelphia.[50] In March a second applicant, Charles Cleveland of Philadelphia, assembled an armada of supporters who lobbied for his posting at Dundee. Senators Henry Wilson and James Grimes, Congressman Thaddeus Stevens and former Secretary of the Treasury William Meredith joined Pennsylvania Governor Edward Coles and more than two dozen Philadelphia bankers and merchants in testimony to Cleveland's "Experience in mercantile affairs," "Aptness for business" and "Energy of Character."[51]

Under most circumstances such impressive arrays of support would have secured both men their appointments. But another applicant, one far more worthy in Lincoln's estimation, had to be considered before the President could dispense either post. On February 8, 1861, John Forsyth, a Chicago surgeon, wrote Lincoln on behalf of his father-in-law, the Reverend Dr. James A. Smith, a man who needed no introduction at the White House.[52]

Born in Glasgow in 1801, Smith "had been a wild boy in his younger days in Scotland. . .a scoffer at religion."[53] But his attitude changed after he came to the United States. He became a naturalized citizen, joined the Democratic party and became an ordained Presbyterian minister who preached in Tennessee and Kentucky before he settled in Springfield, Illinois, in the 1840's. As a close friend and pastor to Mary Todd Lincoln and her cousin, Mary Todd Grimsley, Smith counted Mary's husband as one of his parishioners at the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield. Smith performed the sad rite of saying the funeral sermon for the Lincoln's son, Eddie, in 1850. A close friendship soon developed between Smith and Lincoln which saw the latter often attend the Reverend's temperance lectures. Smith, in turn, became a frequent and welcome caller at the Lincoln home where the two men discussed religion and Smith's noteworthy book, *A Christian's Defense,* which he "addressed to infidels and atheists."[54]

In Forsyth's February letter the surgeon told the President that Smith had resigned his pulpit and sought a consulate for support of his family. On March 9 Dr. Smith wrote his friend in the White House and coyly indicated that "Glasgow is my native city and I would prefer the Consularship there but if that is too important a position for me who has no claims then perhaps Dundee might be granted."[55] Determined that Smith receive one of the posts Lincoln nevertheless moved cautiously so as not to disappoint Prettyman and Cleveland's friends. By early summer, however, the President had found a compromise solution: award Prettyman the $3,000 Glasgow post, Cleveland the $1,500 Gardiff consulate and reserve for the pastor the $2,000 commission at Dundee.[56]

But in midsummer Dr. Smith made a new request of his friend. He asked that the President withdraw his application in favor of his son, Hugh, who like the pastor was also a Democrat in search of a Federal post. Lincoln's feelings toward the senior Smith overrode any political considerations which he might have felt, and when Dr. Smith visited the Executive Mansion on June 11 the President happily informed him that his son had been appointed consul the previous day. Some confusion exists in the literature about the younger Smith's appointment and his brief tenure in office. In spite of claims to the contrary, he did not die in office nor had he previously served as Buchanan's Dundee consul. State Department records record his date of Commission as June 10, 1861, and that prior to this appointment he had never resided in Great Britain. Similarly, as both Smiths were Democrats, one study is incorrect in its statement that Cork consul Patrick Devine, "a Brooklyn Democrat [was] perhaps the only member of the opposition party to receive such a [consular] appointment."[57]

Born in Nashville and officially appointed from Kentucky, Hugh Smith sailed for Dundee in July, 1861, accompanied by his father who planned to assist his son in his new duties. They arrived in a city whose sluggish economy and port facilities compared poorly with Glasgow, its Clyde River port neighbor to the southwest. Consequently, Dundee experienced little rebel activity. J.B. Holderby, Buchanan's consul, correctly assessed the situation when early in the war he informed the State Department that he did "not think it likely that any contraband articles will be supplied from this district." Hence, it did not matter that the consul's sole qualification as a network agent was his father's friendship with Lincoln; nor did it matter

that only the father involved himself in surveillance. What mattered was that a family of old and close friends had been rewarded.[58]

Hugh Smith remained at his post until spring, 1862. Without prior notice of any kind he wrote Seward on May 27 that due to "gastric and brain fever" his physician had advised his immediate return to the United States. He further indicated that with Adams' approval he had appointed his father vice consul in his absence.[59]

Smith was not the first Union consul in Scotland who abandoned his post without permission. In December, 1861, Neil McLachlan, the Indiana Republican posted at Leith, left for Fort Wayne and did not return to Scotland until late March, 1862. But the unauthorized departure of one of his network's agents at a minor port without Confederate activity did not trouble Seward. Occupied with far more important matters of state, including the growing Radical opposition to both his politics and policies, the Secretary did not respond to Smith until the summer. However, ever sensitive to Washington's political currents which steered office seekers to his Department, Seward saw an opportunity of replacing the Democrat Smith with a Republican. Thus, on August 14 he threatened Smith that "a successor would be appointed unless he returned to his post."[60]

When Seward received no reply from Smith for two months, the Secretary nominated Lewis W. Hall, of Blair County, Pennsylvania. A Republican and former Speaker of his state's upper chamber, Hall had the backing of Simon Cameron, his friend and political ally. He also garnered the support of Congressman Archibald McCallister, the Pennsylvania Union Democrat, Thomas Scott, vice president of the Pennsylvania Railroad and late Assistant Secretary of War under Cameron, as well as Keystone state Congressman Samuel Blair. On November 28 the Senate formally removed Hugh Smith and appointed Hall. Seward considered the matter closed when four days later he informed Lincoln in a perfunctory note of the Senate's action.[61]

But the matter did not end there. Informed of the Senate's action, James Smith hurriedly wrote his son-in-law on December 19 and requested that he intercede on his behalf. On January 6, 1863, Forsyth wrote Illinois Senatoe Orville Browning what the surgeon considered the facts surrounding Hall's appointment. He encouraged the Senator to "lay this letter before the President" and argued that his brother-in-law had only left his post "because of feeble health, leaving his father [in charge] as Vice Consul," and, furthermore,

> Knowing the friendly feelings between the President and Doctor Smith I hardly believe the President desired to remove Dr. Smith from this office. I suppose the appointment was made of Mr. Hall by the President without his remembering the Doctor was acting as Consul.[62]

Browning did show the letter to Lincoln. After apparently discussing the elder Smith's plight with his wife, Lincoln tersely informed Seward on January 9 that "Dr. Smith. . .is an intimate personal friend of mine, and I have unconsciously superseded him. . .please inform me how it is." Stung by the White House's criticism, Seward replied in a lengthy formal memorandum dated January 10. Fortunately for the Secretary, Hall had declined the post in December and no replacement had been designated. Seward defensively explained that Hugh Smith had no right to abandon his post and that this "was done without the application to this Department as required by law. Mr. Smith said he had the sanction of the Minister who had no authority to grant it." Contrary to Forsyth's letter, Seward complained, Dr. Smith was only "temporarily doing the duties of the Office," and in no way could he be considered the post's official representative either as consul or vice consul. As to the appointment of a permanent replacement, the Secretary concluded that "nothing will be done without instructions from the President."[63]

Irritated by what he considered the mistreatment of his friends, Lincoln gave his Secretary the instructions he had requested when on January 14 he penned an abrupt note at the bottom of Seward's January 10 memorandum.

> As I understand the Consulate at Dundee has not been accepted by Mr. Hall, and I was inconscious in appointing Mr. Hall (*If I did it*) that I was interferring with my old friend, Dr. Smith. I will be obliged if the Secretary of State will send in a nomination for Rev. James Smith, of Illinois, for that Consulate.[64]

Seward promptly responded and on January 16 appointed James Smith temporary vice consul, pending Senate confirmation of his consular commission. When that arrived in May and Smith officially assumed his duties in June, more than two years had passed since the minister had approached his parishioner with a request for a Scottish consulate.[65]

Both the Smiths owed their appointments solely to Lincoln's personal friendship and that of his family. Reverend Smith remained close to Mary Lincoln until his death in office in 1871. Fortunately for the Union little rebel activity occurred in Dundee as Dr. Smith occupied most of his time as a correspondent with Mrs. Lincoln as a guide when

she visited Scotland and as her able defender against William Herndon's published attacks in 1867.[66]

In addition to the Smiths at Dundee and Devine at Cork, only at Londonderry did another Democrat serve as Union consul in the British Isles. Moreover, only at Londonderry did Lincoln retain a United States citizen as consul who had received his appointment prior to 1861. The post provided no salary, the income of between $150 and $200 annually being derived from fees charged for the 111 officially recognized services consuls rendered American citizens. Consequently, Londonderry attracted only two Republican applicants of note.[67]

In February, 1858, Buchanan appointed Alexander Henderson as Londonderry consul. Born in County Tyrone, Ireland, he came to the United States and became a naturalized citizen in 1830 and resided in Pittsburgh for more than 20 years. Shortly after his marriage in 1851 he retired from business due to "being in delicate health" and returned to County Tyrone and took up farming near Londonderry. While in the United States Henderson had established himself as a successful businessman and active supporter of the Democratic party. In Pittsburgh he had worked as an agent for a packet line company and in the hardware business before he joined in successful partnership with Silas Moore and won a contract to carry Federal mail between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Through his business ventures Henderson worked closely with a variety of both Democratic and Republican businessmen and politicians. His mail contract brought him the acquaintance of Buchanan and the friendship of James Campbell, Franklin Pierce's Postmaster, while his position with the packet line company earned him the respect of the company's president, James Moorhead, a Republican and soon to be a Congressman from the Pittsburgh district. Henderson also counted as friends Philadelphia's George Stuart, chairman of the Christian Committee during the war, and Pittsburgh business leaders such as George White of White, Orr & Company as well as Robert Taylor of Taylor Company. A close friend and business associate, Hugh Campbell, lobbied Buchanan and Secretary of State Lewis Cass for Henderson's posting. A businessman who had come to the United States from County Tyrone, the influence of Hugh Campbell and his brother Robert reached west from Philadelphia to St. Louis. Buchanan paid particular attention to Hugh Campbell's support of Henderson, especially when the businessman reminded the President that Henderson and Moore "both were. . .earnest political friends of yours."[68]

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Lewis Cass

For three years Henderson served well as consul. Lincoln's election, however, jeopardized his position. In late February, 1861, Lincoln received petitions for the appointment of Alexander McPherson to Londonderry. Born in that northern Ireland city, McPherson had come to Ohio in 1834 and established himself as "a stirring active businessman" and through his election to the Ohio assembly as a "recognized. . .active and leading member of the [Republican] party." In February and March nearly a dozen letters of recommendation poured into the White House and State Department, including ones from Senator John Sherman, Ohio Governor William Dennison and State Congressman Samuel Worchester. Sherman confidently asked Seward "Will you be kind enough to appoint Alex. McPherson consul at Londonderry, Ireland in place of Alex. Henderson. . . .He wants to go to his native country with a title. Pray give it to him."[69]

As with most other consular appointments Lincoln waited for other applicants before he decided which delegation or party faction would receive the reward. On May 21 a second applicant appeared. On that date New York jurist John H. McCunn

telegraphed the State Department to "Please say by telegraph who is consul at London Derry Ireland." The man who two years later as a Justice of New York City's Superior Court ruled unconstitutional Lincoln's Conscription Act, sought the post for his brother, Thomas, who resided in Londonderry. An English subject, Thomas had only recently arrived in New York on a visit to his brother. Doubtlessly the brothers had reasoned that it would be financially advantageous to Thomas if when he returned to Ireland he held a Federal post. Although they recognized that the fee-based post would not generate much income, his appointment "would exempt him from 'income tax' which is. . .rather onerous." Consequently, Thomas had taken the first step required for Federal appointment when on May 16 he filed with the State of New York a declaration of intention to become a naturalized citizen. Lincoln held both applications well into the summer. But in July he learned that McPherson no longer wanted Londonderry. Conversely, John McCunn on July 11 again indicated his brother's interest in the post which he described as "a position of honor & trust rather than entitlements. . . . My brother Thomas McCunn is well qualified to fill the place. . . . Derry is the home of our childhood where all our Kith and Kin reside." A month later the President gave the remaining applicant the Londonderry consulate.[70]

When Henderson learned in September that McCunn had replaced him he began a campaign to discredit McCunn and retain his post. He wrote Seward on September 25 and asked that his "appointment to this office may be made on the recommendation of a large number of the most respectable merchants of Philadelphia." On October 16 he wrote Hugh Campbell and requested his help. Recently appointed by Lincoln along with David Davis and Joseph Holt to the War Claims Commission in St. Louis, Campbell wrote Seward and incorrectly charged that McCunn had not yet applied for citizenship. Therefore, he hoped that if Seward would

> deem it proper to remove Mr. McCunn, you will confer a favor on me. . .by reappointing Mr. Henderson. . . .I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with you, but would beg leave to refer you to your colleagues, Misters Cameron, Bates and Blair—with each of whom I have the pleasure of being acquainted.[71]

Campbell's letter did have an effect because evidence indicates that at least Seward mentioned Henderson's reappointment to the President. However, by spring, 1862, the issue had become academic. On New Year's day Adams expressed his frustration over consular appointments when he informed Seward that the Foreign Office had not yet approved McCunn's exchequer, due in large measure to the fact that the Londonderry mayor objected to the fact that McCunn lived 30 miles outside that port city. "Without pretending to any right of judgement in these cases," the Minister said,

> I trust it will not be considered improper in me regretfully to suggest the expediency of mature reflection in the appointment of persons to fill even the less important consular posts.[72]

Without his exchequer, Adams ordered that McCunn turn over the consular duties once again to Henderson. Campbell seized upon this and wrote Seward on March 3 and quoted information from the London Legation which indicated that McCunn " 'does not care a d--n for Mr. Adams' [instructions], and that no other person shall visa the passports.' He seems to be a very *modest,* almost *bashful Irishman!*" Such attacks were unnecessary: sympathetic to Adams' frustrations and not wishing to give the Crown any, even minor, irritants in the wake of the *Trent* Affair, Seward took advantage of his knowledge of the Foreign Office's ultimate denial of McCunn's exchequer and approached Lincoln with Henderson's renomination. On March 6 the President reappointed Buchanan's consul.[73]

As in the case of the majority of the men posted at the minor consulates, Henderson spent the war's remainder in obscurity. He did not gather intelligence about rebel agents nor ferret out information about Confederate supply shipments for there were neither in Londonderry. Instead his last years were devoted to gathering data simply for his quarterly consular trade reports and providing help to destitute American seamen.[74]

Like Londonderry, the Leith consularship was among the eight unsalaried posts in the British Isles where the consuls' income depended upon fees.[75] Unlike the more sought-after salaried consulates, the fee-based positions shared several common characteristics: few applicants applied; those who did lacked personal access to the White House; the office seekers had made only minor contributions to the Republican party and, thus, had little political support. However, as the Leith and Galway histories reveal, the fee-based posts shared one characteristic with the 12 salaried consulates in that the quality of service to the Union provided by the appointees varied from post to post.

Only the Indiana Republican Neil McLachlan applied for Leith. Born in Glasgow, he came to the United States and settled in Fort Wayne where he became an American citizen. Apparently a skilled mechanic and engineer, he joined the Republican

party soon after its organization and in the 1860 election he had worked for both gubernatorial and senatorial candidate Henry Lane and Congressman William Mitchell "just as hard and with as much success as any man in the [Fort Wayne] district." Lane repaid the debt when the Senator arrived in Washington and spoke with Seward about an appointment for McLachlan, possibly as consul at his former home of Glasgow. But influential Delaware and New Hampshire Republicans contended for that $3,000 port. When he learned that no one had sought Leith, McLachlan sought that post after Seward assured him through Lane that the consul could expect an income of $1,000 annually. His application to this minor post passed the scrutiny of both the White House and the Senate. On May 6 McLachlan informed the State Department that he would accept the appointment.[76]

After he concluded his business affairs in Fort Wayne, McLachlan sailed with his family to Glasgow where he settled them with other family members while he departed for Leith. Situated just north of Edinburg on the Firth of Forth, McLachlan arrived at his post on July 1 poorly equipped for its responsibilities. Luckily for the North Richmond confined most of its operations in Scotland to Glasgow because McLachlan's experience and dedication in no way suited him for his appointment. While he believed that "There is not much news about the place that I think worthwhile in reporting," McLachlan contributed virtually nothing to the war effort. For example, in four years he made only one report about Confederate arms procurement in his district, commented only once about the tenor of public opinion, made no mention of Henry Ward Beecher's Edinburgh lecture and lent no assistance to the network's investigation of the *Pampero* at Glasgow.[77] Indeed, he simply regarded his posting as political plunder and a guarantee of income.

What he did think worthwhile, however, were constant appeals for either a salary or "a change to Belfast, Dundee or any other place in Great Britain or Ireland where the remuneration will be over one thousand dollars." Such appeals were prompted by the fact that much to his chargin he quickly learned that most of Leith's ante-bellum trade with the United States had been with the now closed Southern ports. As a result, in his first 70 days in office he had collected only $22 in fees. Claiming in August that he had spent nearly $2,000 of his own money since he had left Fort Wayne, he acidly suggested that Seward name a "rich man" Leith consul. By October Seward had had enough of McLachlan's carping and told him that should "you find it expedient to leave," the Secretary trusted that the consulate would be placed in the hands of a loyal man, hopefully a citizen of the United States. The Secretary also assumed that McLachlan would either formally resign or officially request a leave.[78]

McLachlan did neither. On December 19 he decided "that business of a very important character compelled me to leave Leith. . .[and] to remove my family to the United States." He had not requested a leave for his trip to Fort Wayne, nor had he Seward's permission to put William Black in charge of the consulate. While Black had worked previously for James McDowell, the Buchanan Leith consul, he was better known as "a common tailor in Leith" who "runs after sailors of ships in port to try to get them to come to his tailor shop to buy clothes." On January 28, 1862, Seward first learned of McLachlan's absence when Black filed the consulate's fourth quarter returns for 1861. The next day the Department demanded to know McLachlan's whereabouts, and in reply Black simply noted that "Mr. McLachlan went from Leith to America in December last and appointed me to act for him during his absence." Not until mid-March, when his stay in Fort Wayne had been concluded, did the consul write Seward from that city and stated that "now as I have got my business settled up I will return immediately to my post at Leith. . . ."[79]

In spite of his continued poor performance Seward did not recall him for several reasons. Although the consul admitted that he devoted a substantial portion of his time to a business he established in Leith and while his dedication to duty did not improve, neither did he again overtly violate consular regulations. But most important, the Department could not find a willing replacement until 1866![80]

Unlike his Leith appointment, Lincoln made a fortunate choice for the fee-based Galway consulate. Located on Ireland's west coast directly across the island from Dublin, Galway attracted little United States ante-bellum trade and, hence, did not appear as an attractive patronage reward. Early in the war Peter McNally wrote both Lincoln and Seward seeking the post. A native of Erie and an English citizen, McNally requested appointment at Galway or any other Irish consulate. But without political support in the United States Lincoln quickly dismissed McNally from consideration.[81]

The President and Secretary did, however, warmly receive an application for the post from William West. As West's background has already been detailed in an earlier article, suffice it to say that the Irish native had come to New York in the ante-bellum period and had joined that state's

Republican organization. With the support of New York's George Patterson and Edwin Morgan, West wrote Seward in June, 1861, in search of a Federal post. An author by profession, West received the appointment as Galway consul after Lincoln read his letter to Seward which indicated that he had been

> told by my publishers Challen & Sons that my books cannot appear until peace is restored & I am now seeking your *friendly aid* for a position where I could support my family. I would like to go to the United Kingdom. But whether at home or abroad I shall give my best service to my adopted country and my heartfelt gratitude to you.[82]

For two years he competently carried out the traditional consular duties at Galway, but not until he assumed responsibility for Dublin did West confront Richmond's agents. In July, 1863, the Dublin consul, Henry Hammond of Massachusetts, resigned because of a lack of income at that fee-based port. That same month Seward ordered West to Dublin and planned that he would divide equally his time between the two ports while Washington searched for a new Dublin consul. Appointed Dublin's vice consul *pro tem,* West immediately discovered considerable rebel activity and found it difficult to return to Galway on a regular basis. Whereas Hammond had spent his days lobbying for a salary, at Dublin West involved himself with reports about Confederate supply shipments, shared information about rebel agents James Capston, James Mason and James McFarland with other consuls and helped diffuse the Patrick Finney recruitment scandal.[83]

But West's actions went unnoticed in Washington because of Republican politics: it mattered little to Lincoln who served at Galway and Dublin, as long as both posts could be given to worthy men. News of West's new duties at Dublin quickly reached Dungamisson, County Tyrone, where Valentine Holmes, President Millard Fillmore's Belfast consul, sought the post. A former businessman from Philadelphia, he had moved to Ireland in 1862 for health reasons and now claimed the support of William Kelley, the Pennsylvanian Congressman and Joseph Chandler, a former Whig Congressman and Minister to the Two Sicilies under Buchanan. Similarly, a candidate for the Dublin position appeared in September. James Cantwell had been born in Ireland but had lived in Philadelphia from 1848-1859, and then returned to Dublin shortly before the war's outbreak. With the backing of Union General Thomas Meaghor of the Irish Brigade, Cantwell seemed a viable candidate for Dublin. Lincoln gave Cantwell the capitol and decided that West should retain Galway as his political influence surpassed Holmes'. But Lincoln's plans changed in early 1864 when the Crown refused Cantwell's exchequer after English officials learned of Cantwell's leadership in the abortive 1848 Irish Rebellion. Apparently Cantwell had arrived in the United States in 1848 one step ahead of the law! Consequently, Seward closed the Galway post and permanently assigned West to Dublin.[84]

During the war Lincoln established two new British Isles consulates. In 1861 at the former Bristol dependency of Cardiff, he posted the Philadelphia educator Charles Dexter Cleveland. In 1864 he appointed George Abbot as consul of the newly created combined Bradford-Sheffield consulate which had been Leeds dependencies. Abbot's appointment was unique in that it represented a well-deserved reward for more than a decade of outstanding service to the State Department and the Union.[85]

Abbot's ancestors came to colonial Massachusetts from the Leeds environs. Born in New Hampshire a direct descendant of John Cotton, he retained the family property in Massachusetts throughout the antebellum period. He came to Washington, D.C. in 1836, and 14 years later entered the government service when Secretary of State Daniel Webster appointed him "a clerk in the Department of State at a salary of fourteen hundred dollars a year." His association with Webster ripened into a personal friendship, and he occasionally acted as Webster's private secretary. Abbot remained a valuable Consular Bureau employee throughout the 1850's, and for several years served as Superintendent of Correspondence.[86] In that capacity he thoroughly learned consular responsibilities as he served as a Mordecai at the gate: he read consular despatches and determined what information should be forwarded to his superiors, including the Secretary.

The Republican inauguration threatened even the most skilled incumbents as patronage and loyalty tests purged many throughout the government. Although he did replace with friends those he removed, Seward did not greatly expand the number of employees under his direction. For example, at the war's end the Department had the same number of watchmen and messengers and only two additional clerks as compared to 1861. While Seward did make some early changes in personnel, as in the cases of Assistant Secretary and Superintendent of Statistics, he did retain all loyal clerks and by the end of 1861 the Department employed 21 clerks, including Abbot as a Class Four clerk with an annual salary of $1,800.[87]

Those clerks Seward retained and appointed

represented the spectrum of men who served throughout Lincoln's administration. Seward retained William Hunter as Chief Clerk and he supervised a curious collection of incumbents, adventurers and patronage seekers, many of whom eventually found more lucrative posts during the War. Hunter entered the Department in 1829 and became Chief Clerk 13 years later. Recognized as "an authority on every phase of the Department's work," his abilities brought him an offer of appointment as Assistant Secretary in 1853 which he declined. He did, however, serve twice as Secretary *ad interim*. Seward also found places for old friends: his biographer, George Baker, became Disbursing Clerk while his publisher, James Derby, served as a consular clerk. Of the upwardly mobile clerks Erastus Webster was hired in 1861 "to handle correspondence relating to political prisoners and 'rebels' " but within a year moved on to the War Department before he returned to State as a consular commercial agent. Another clerk, Adam Badeau, became an aid to two generals before he received an appointment as lieutenant colonel and Grant's private secretary. Adam Gurowski proved the oddest clerk appointment. Hired because he knew 16 foreign languages, the "tempestous Pole" left the Department after his scurrilous attacks on Seward and his colleagues became public with the publication of his journal.[88]

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Like many of his fellow clerks Abbot saw the war as an opportunity for advancement. Hence, in early 1862 he approached Seward about a consular post in Europe. Unfortunately Abbot did not present a strong case for appointment. Evidence shows that he did not ask that his circle of friends in Congress support his request. Nor could he satisfactorily explain how he could better serve the Union abroad when his experience and skills were so in demand in Washington. As a result, Abbot did not receive a post and he acquiesced to the "suggestion of the Assistant Secretary that some inconvenience might result from my withdrawal [from Washington] at that time led me to give the subject no further consideration." Abbot contented himself with the routine of the Department for the next two years. His abilities led to promotion as head of the Consular Bureau and he distinguished himself as co-author of a detailed report prepared for the Commissioner of Customs which reorganized the Union's Canadian consular agencies.[89]

By early 1864 the Department had under advisement the creation of a Bradford-Sheffield consular district because of the great volume of Anglo-American trade those cities generated. For example, midway through the war the two Leeds dependencies accounted for nearly three-quarters of the district's certified invoices. For two years Abbot had bided his time in quest of a consular post. But once Seward verified the creation of the new district Abbot aggressively sought the post for several reasons: it would, of course, afford him the chance to serve the Union in a new and, in his estimation, more important capacity; perhaps most important, the new district encompassed his forebearers' original home. Although he knew that the fee-based post would generate far less income than his clerk's position, he nevertheless quickly assembled both his supporters and arguments in defense of his application. Letters of recommendation flooded Seward from many sources from March through July. Vice President Hannibal Hamlin joined Senators William Fessenden, Edward Everett, Charles Sumner, Lot Morrill, Congressman Samuel Hooper, former Congressman Anson Morrill and political kingmaker Charles Hale of the *Boston Advertiser* in testimony to Abbot's "culture and attainment, superior intelligence, energy, and conscientious devotion to duty." Sumner succinctly summarized all the letters' tone when he wrote Seward that "Mr. Abbot must be so well known at the Department of State that any recommendation from me would be superfulicious."[90] Whereas in 1862 Abbot had no

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suitable answer to the question of who would carry out his many Department tasks should he be posted abroad, in March, 1864, he confidently reasoned to Seward that

> The lapse of nearly two years made the Consuls generally acquainted with their duties and the employment in the Consular Bureau of the present excellent and experienced officers removing the objections which may have been entertained, I am induced to request the appointment of Consul at Sheffield and Bradford in England.[31]

As he had done before, Lincoln held Abbot's application until the summer of 1864. However, with Seward's apparent lack of objection and with no other office seekers interested in the post, the President awarded the deserving civil servant the Bradford-Sheffield consulate in August.[32]

As had been the case when Bradford and Sheffield were Leeds's dependencies, these cities experienced no Confederate activity during Abbot's tenure.[33] Nonetheless, like all the other consuls posted after 1861, Abbot's appointment is significant because it shows that throughout the war Lincoln continually used these posts as patronage rewards. Undoubtedly the North benefited from Abbot's familiarity with consular duties; but he owed his appointment simply to the fact that he had marshalled an impressive array of political support.

Three significant conclusions are indicated by the history of Lincoln's British Isles consular appointments and the service these men rendered the Union. First, the evidence indicates that the President treated these appointments as he did the vast majority of his other postings: namely, he was more sentitive to political and personal considerations than to the needs of the State Department. The 19 consulates represented financially attractive posts. While in 1860 the mean per capita income in the United States was $300, 12 of the posts had annual salaries of $1,500 or more. For those men initially appointed in 1861 to the 7 fee-based positions, even they held promise of financial gain. Consequently, Lincoln made new appointments at 15 of the 17 (or 88%) consulates which he inherited from Buchanan, while overall he made changes in only 79% of the offices under his jurisdiction. Technically Lincoln retained three Buchanan consuls: the Fox cousins at Plymouth and Falmouth and Henderson at Londonderry. More telling, however, is the fact that when the President made his decision for appointment at these minor fee-

based ports there were no other serious applicants known to the White House who could not be posted at more attractive posts.[94]

As this and other studies have made clear, an applicant's background mattered far less than political and personal influence. For example, excluding Henderson and the Fox cousins, of the other 22 men who ultimately served only one, George Abbot, had any remotely related consular experience. Of the remainder, five came from academic circles, three from the bar, two had held political offices just prior to appointment, while the rest had been either surgeons, ministers, businessmen, authors, skilled mechanics or saloon keepers. While all but the Foxes held United States citizenship, only 16 were born in the United States. Of the rest, five were born in Ireland and two in Scotland. Similarly, the President's need to satisfy various Republican factions resulted in the appointment of men from several states. Four received appointment from New York and Pennsylvania, three from Massachusetts and Kentucky, two each from Maine, Illinois and Indiana while New Jersey, Delaware and Michigan contributed one consul each. But by far political influence and personal friendship were the most important criteria for selection. For example, 23 (again excluding the Foxes) received appointments with William West twice being appointed, first at Galway and then at Dublin. Although support came from many sources, the most important recommendations came from four broadly inclusive categories: members of the United States House and Senate (48% of the applicants), Republicans and Democratic-Unionist supporters of merit outside the government (31%), Lincoln's personal friendships (13%) and Cabinet members (8%). While certainly membership in the Republican party was, except in extraordinary cases, a major criteria for selection, only 19 of the 23 United States citizens posted held such membership. The four Democrats received their posts because of special circumstances: the Smiths at Dundee because of Lincoln's friendship which overrode politics; Henderson at Londonderry because no Republican applicant came forward to the President; and Devine at Cork because, frankly, both Seward and Lincoln believed him to be a Republican.

The second conclusion indicated by the evidence concerns the consuls' performance. Given the reason for their selection, the Union policy objectives in Great Britain and, with the exception of London, Liverpool and Glasgow, the almost total lack of direction and supplemental funding, Lincoln's British Isles consuls performed well. Most did make reports about the descriptions and departure dates of nearly 200 suspected Confederate vessels; whenever possible the majority did assemble evidence that rebel activity violated English neutrality; and all but a few did inform Washington as to their district's tenor of public opinion. While the 23 United States citizens originally took their posts for self-serving reasons, again the majority remained to serve the Union throughout the war. While most carped about their income, only four resigned over the issue. Additionally, one left due to illness, another to be reunited with his family and one was replaced due to patronage considerations. However, Lincoln had to recall only one because of ineptitude.

That the caliber of men posted by Lincoln influenced Seward's policy options in Great Britain is the third and most significant conclusion warranted by the evidence. In the war's earliest months Seward had no recognizable foreign policy as his actions and plans vacillated between threats and accommodation. This lack of policy is mirrored in his English intelligence network. For example, while his belligerent April 1 "Thoughts for the President's Consideration" voiced one tone, he balanced that bluster with an April 21 circular to his English consuls which pointedly warned against giving even the slightest hint that their activities violated English neutrality. Moreover, he lobbied for the preceived Anglophile Adams' appointment at London, but dispatched the adventurous Henry Sanford as coordinator of the European network. In this capacity Sanford nearly embroiled the Union in a controversy potentially more dangerous than the *Trent* Affair.[95] Ultimately, of course, a most successful policy designed primarily to preserve English neutrality—and not to aggressively and clandestinely thwart Confederate operations in England—evolved in the State Department by the late winter of 1861. Most scholars ascribe its evolution to the Secretary's growing adjustment, experience and maturity in office as well as to the measured advise of men such as Adams.

But an additional factor influenced the evolution: by the end of 1861 Lincoln's appointments severely limited Seward's options in England. While Jefferson Davis sent Bulloch, Spence, McFarland and Capston, Lincoln gave Seward clergymen, teachers, politicians and saloon keepers. Hence, had the Secretary wished to test the limits of British patience and neutrality by battling Confederate designs in England in more arenas than the law courts and the Foreign Office corridors, he realized from the war's earliest hours that Lincoln's patronage policy had denied him that opportunity.

NOTES

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[2] Carl Fish, "Lincoln and the Patronage," *AHA,* Vol. VIII, October, 1902, p. 53-69.

[3] *Ibid.,* p .56.

[4] See the excellent, yet controversial, Mary Ellison, *Support for Secession: Lancashire and the American Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973); Frank Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949) p. 9; for excellent accounts of Confederate operations in England see Frank Merli, *Great Britain and the Confederate Navy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), David Crook, *The North, The South and the Powers* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1974) and James Bulloch, *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1883).

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[10] Lord-Seward, September 13, 1861, September 20, 1861 and October 15, *ibid.;* Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy,* p. 178.

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[12] Lord-Seward, September 24, 1864 and September 30, 1864, *ibid.*

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[16] *Who Was Who,* p .391.

[17] Albert Davy-Seward, March 19, 1861, August 15, 1861, August 17, 1861 and October 12, 1861, *Despatches: Leeds;* Charles Francis Adams-Seward, August 30, 1861, *Diplomatic Despatches: Great Britain;* F. Seward-Davy, *Consular Instructions: Leeds;* H.exdoc. #10, (38-1) (*1187*).

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[22] *Ibid.*

[23] William Raymond-Seward, June 14, 1863, John McClintock-Seward, June 22, 1863, *Letters of Application.*

[24] *National Cyclopedia,* Vol. 6, p. 466; Carmen and Luthin, *Lincoln,* p. 305; Marshall-Seward, February 2, 1863, *Despatches: Leeds.*

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[45] Adams-Craven, January 11, 1862, *ibid.*

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[47] *CWNC,* Vol. 2, p. 17, entry for February 3, 1862; Britton-Adams, January 14, 1862, February 4, 1862, *Adams Papers Letter Received;* Britton-Seward, March 31, 1862, *Despatches: Southampton;* Thomas Harling-Britton, February 3, 1862, *Post Records: Southampton.*

[48] Godwin-Seward, January 23, 1861.

[49] H.exdoc. #10 (38-1) (*1187*).

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[51] Sanders, "Unfit for Consul?" p. 468.

[52] John Forsyth-Lincoln, February 8, 1861, *Letters of Application.*

[53] Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln: *The Prairie Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926) Vol. I., p. 413.

[54] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 254 and Vol. I, p .413; Earl Miers and Percy Powell, eds., *Lincoln Day By Day, A Chronology, 1808-1865* (Washington, D.C., 1960) entry for January 23, 1853; Justin and Linda Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters* (New York: K nopf, 1972) p. 40-41; Ishbel Ross, *The President's Wife, Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1973) p. 141.

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[56] Sanders, "When a House is on Fire," p .579; H.exdoc. #10 (38-1) (*1187*).

[51] *Ibid.*; Sandburg, *War Years*, Vol. II, p. 254; Hugh Smith-F. Seward, June 28, 1861, *Despatches: Dundee;* Miers and Powell, *Lincoln Day By Day*, entry for June 11, 1861; Carmen and Luthin, *Lincoln*, p. 101.

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[53] Hugh Smith-Seward, May 27, 1862, James Smith-Seward, May 27, 1862, *ibid.*

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[68] See Henderson-Seward, January 30, 1863 through July 22, 1865, *ibid.*

[69] H. exdoc. #10 (38-1) (*1187*).

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[71] McLachlan-Seward, May 13, 1861, July 1, 1861, August 29, 1861 and September 27, 1861, *Despatches: Leith;* Monaghan, *Diplomat*, p. 320.

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[76] Sanders, "When a House is on Fire," p. 584-585.

[77] *Ibid.*

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[79] Sanders, "Unfit for Consul?" p. 468-470.

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[82] Charles Lanman, *Biographical Annuals of the Civil Government of the United States* (New York: Lange, Little & Co.) p. 219; Van Deusen, *Seward*, p. 273-274, 480; Monaghan, *Diplomat*, p. 118.

[83] Marshall-Seward, February 12, 1863, *Despatches: Leeds;* Abbot-F. Seward, March 30, 1864, Everett-Seward, May 16, 1864, N. Sargent-Samuel Chase, February 14, 1864, *Letters of Application;* H. misdoc. #77 (38-1) (*1200*).

[84] William Fessenden-Seward, March 3, 1864, Anson Morrill-Seward, March 1864, Lot Morrill-Seward, April 20, 1864, Charles Sumner-Seward, July 6, 1864, Hannibal Hamlin-Seward, April 6, 1864, Hale-Seward, April 18, 1864, Everett-Seward, May 16, 1864, Hooper-Seward, June 30, 1864, *Letters of Application;* Abbot-Seward, November 23, 1864, *Despatches: Sheffield.*

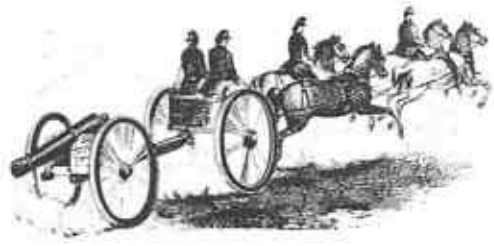
[85] Abbot-Seward, March 30, 1864, *Letters of Application.*

[86] F. Seward-Lord, August 22, 1864, *Consular Instructions: Manchester.*

[87] See Abbot-Seward, *passim*, 1864-1865, *Despatches: Bradford* and *Despatches: Sheffield.*

[88] George Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: Harper & Row, 1851) p. 393; Fish argues that Hunter blocked the appointment of a Weed henchman as Falmouth consul; however, no evidence indicates that Lincoln knew of this candidate, or if he did, that the office seeker was not given another, more attractive, post. Fish, "Lincoln," p. 60.

[89] Circular, April 21, 1861, *Consular Instructions: Great Britain;* see Sanders, "Sanford," p. 87-95.



THE INTIMATE LINCOLN
Part X
The Sixteenth President, 1861-1863

By Joseph E. Suppiger

It took the train twelve days to wend its way to Washington, and at every stop along the route, scheduled or otherwise, Lincoln was expected to make a speech. No longer could he plead that the time was not right; he had finished his inaugural address, would soon be delivering it, and these Midwesterners and Middle Atlantic area residents wanted to know what he would say and do in the nation's capital. They would be disappointed—even angry—if he refused to speak. He wanted to be evasive, but he could not afford to speak of fashions and the weather.

Passing through Tolono, Illinois, he gave one of his shortest speeches, saying only that he was on an "errand of national importance" but was optimistic nonetheless. Later in the day, February 11, 1861, he spoke at Danville, the Indiana state line, Lafayette, Thorntown and Lebanon, Indiana, before reaching Indianapolis where he spent the night. The Indiana legislature was in session, and Governor Oliver P. Morton wished Lincoln to make several speeches and added remarks for the legislators and townspeople. This the President-elect was pleased to do, speaking from the balcony of the Bates House, declaring that the South was coercing the North, not vice versa; and adding a touch of humor, he said: "In their view, the Union, as a family relation, would not be anything like a regular marriage at all, but only as a sort of free-love arrangement—to be maintained on what that sect calls passionate attraction."

The following morning found Lincoln on his way to Cincinnati by way of Lawrenceburg, Indiana. Most of his 52nd birthday was taken up with speech making in this "porkopolis" on the Ohio. Many of his words were aimed at Kentuckians who had crossed that river just to see him, but many were doubtless displeased by his disinclination toward "compromise" on the slavery issue. The heavy German population was also singled out before Lincoln called it a night.

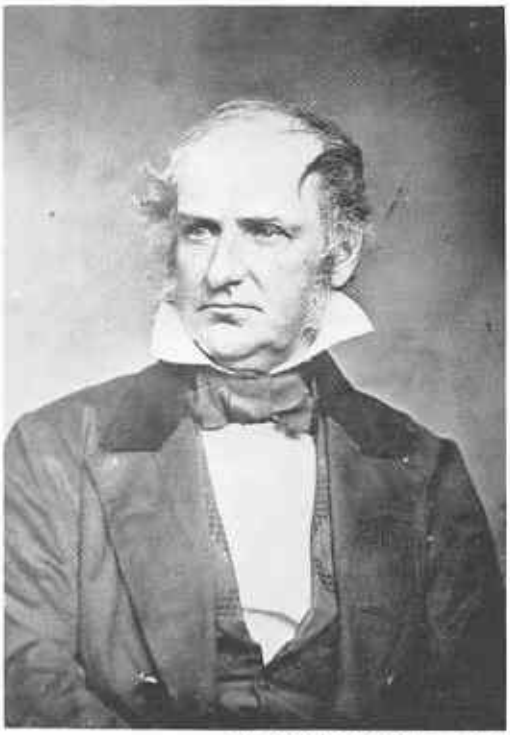
Relentlessly, Lincoln plodded through impromptu and extemporaneous speeches of a vague and unremarkable nature in London, Columbus, Newark, Cadiz Junction, Steubenville, Wellsville, Alliance, Cleveland, Ravenna, Hudson, Painesville, Ashtabula, and Conneaut, Ohio and in Rochester, Pittsburgh, Erie, Philadelphia, Leaman Place, Lancaster, and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. In New York he visited and spoke in Westfield, where he greeted Grace Bedell who "advised me to let my whiskers grow." Then it was on to Dunkirk, Buffalo, Batavia, Rochester, Clyde, Syracuse, Little Falls, Fonda, Schenectady, Albany, Troy, Hudson, Poughkeepsie, Fishkill, Peekskill, and New York City.

While in New York, the Lincolns stayed at the Astor House where he was surprised in the reception room where Webster and Clay had given fine speeches, and was expected to do likewise. For several minutes Lincoln spoke amusingly to the crowd, but the upshot of it all was that he was not prepared to talk about the national crisis, and doubted that big city boys like them could be put off with lesser topics.

In New Jersey there were stops at Newark, Jersey City, New Brunswick and Trenton; but Lincoln was on his way to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania to address the general assembly of that state when he was confronted by Allen Pinkerton, the (now) famous private detective. Pinkerton informed Lincoln that a plot was afoot to kill him when he visited Baltimore on his next scheduled visit. Still not alarmed, Lincoln was only persuaded to change his schedule when William Seward's son, Frederick, corroborated Pinkerton's evidence, and Norman Judd insisted upon it. In this atmosphere of tension, Lincoln was hurried off from Harrisburg to Washington on the night of February 22nd-23rd, arriving in the care of Pinkerton, Lamon and four army officers at Willard's Hotel early in the morning.*

On the afternoon of the 23rd Lincoln greeted his wife and children at their suite in Willard's. Almost

*Despite stories to the contrary, Lincoln was **not** disguised in a ridiculous outfit including a Scottish plaid cap and a long military greatcoat. Elihu Washburne, who joined them that morning, saw no such apparel.



LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Edward Baker

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Stephen A. Douglas

two weeks remained before the inauguration, but the President-elect needed every minute of that time to greet the hundreds of politicians and others who swarmed about the hotel demanding to see Lincoln. Nicolay did what he would to bring order out of this chaos, although there is no evidence that Lincoln was paying him anything at this time to serve as an appointments secretary.** Meanwhile Mary was adding to the stress factor by throwing temper tantrums whenever it looked like the ladies of Washington Society were snubbing her.

Desperately trying to hold on to Fort Sumter and what was left of the federal presence in the Southern states, Lincoln greatly feared disloyalty in the officer corps of the army. He sent Colonel Thomas Mather, a Connecticut Yankee, to visit the senior major general, old Winfield Scott of Virginia, and gauge the level of *his* loyalty. Scott was ill at the time and confined to his room, but he was obviously so strong for the Union and so determined to defend Lincoln on inauguration day that Mather had no reservations in recommending him for continued command.

**Lincoln's fiscal records were being kept by his financial agent at the Springfield Marine and Fire Insurance Company, Robert Irwin.

Lamon declared that the inhabitants of Willard's Hotel could see the inaugural procession forming at 9:00 a.m. and moving toward them at 11:00. But President Buchanan did not waste a single minute of his tenure enroute, and it was 12:30 before he called for the new President at the hotel. Then they rode ahead of the multitude in an open barouche (a four-passenger carriage) down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol. With Senators Edward Baker and James Pearce they appeared first in the Senate chamber, and then at the east portico of the Capitol. As the public now took them in, they must have been impressed with the physical differences between the two men: one was short, gray, and distinguished, while the other was tall, dark, and homely. Then too, one represented the indecisive past, while the other represented the determination of the future.

As Lincoln appeared on a temporary platform by the east portico, he looked uncomfortably about him at the somber crowd, the overcast sky, piles of construction materials for the incomplete capitol, and a great bronze statue of "Freedom," lying in the mud nearby. Armed soldiers were necessary to keep order in the streets; a spectator fell out of a tree a short distance away; seccessionist Senator Louis Wigfall of Texas glared down upon him from

the doorway; and the only friendly gesture seemed to come from Lincoln's longtime adversary, Stephen A. Douglas, who offered to hold his new silk hat. Then Senator Baker, his old friend, introduced him, and Lincoln stepped forward to render his first inaugural address. After adjusting his glasses and smoothing out his papers, the Sixteenth President of the United States spoke:

> Fellow citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly. . . .I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. . . . But a disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. . . .[and] no state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union. . . .the power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government . . . .
>
> I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.
>
> The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

The crowd was surprised, but generally pleased with the eloquent force of the new President's address. When the applause died down, that "galvanized corpse," old Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, administered the oath of office; and President Lincoln repeated these famous words: "I, Abraham Lincoln, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

It was proving exceedingly difficult for a president to abide by this simple oath of office, as the political and social fabric of the nation ripped apart. Seven states had already seceded, and several more were poised at the brink of secession, ready to jump if Lincoln made the "wrong" move. What was to be preserved; what was to be protected? Only two forts in the deep South remained in federal hands: Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens. The latter was situated on a sandy island off Pensacola, Florida and would be relatively easy to retain. Sumter was the problem.

The day after his inauguration, Lincoln would be applying himself to this problem; but on the evening of March 4th, for the sake of his wife and tradition, he made a stab at social gaiety. The event was the Union Ball; and the place was the new building

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU

Major Robert Anderson

facetiously called "the Muslin Palace," on Judiciary Square. It was garishly decorated in white and blue muslin, and brightly illuminated with the latest gas chandeliers. From 8:15 to 10:30 that evening Lincoln shook hands as hundreds of Republicans, and a few dozen Democrats, stood in line to meet him. White kid gloves protected his hands somewhat, but the right one tended to swell up anyway from overuse.

At 11:00, with the Marine Band playing "Hail to the Chief," Lincoln led the grand march, and turned over Mary to Senator Douglas for the purpose of dancing a quadrille. After that, the dance floor was filled with happy people stamping through waltzes, polkas, schottisches, and mazurkas; but Lincoln was conspicuous by his absence. He was probably uncomfortable in his new formal clothes, and he never really enjoyed dancing anyway. Instead he was satisfied to see Mary looking radiant at last. In the "wee" hours of the morning they went to sleep in the White House for the first time.

The next day, his first in the "Executive Mansion," President Lincoln was absorbed with the critical state of Fort Sumter, which the commander there, Major Robert Anderson, had declared could hold out for only about six weeks with existing provisions. He must plan a course of action soon, or

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
John G. Nicolay

give up the fort, and with it all pretense of federal sovereignty in "Secessia." Meanwhile Mary had examined the house from attic to basement and declared the condition of its furnishings as "abominable." Aesthetic matters never struck Lincoln as being very important, but since Mary needed a hobby he secured her $20,000 (voted by Congress) for refurnishing the place; and she happily threw out chairs and tables which the early presidents had brought in.

Delegation after delegation of politicians came by to see him, and hordes of individuals pressed their demands for patronage appointments; but Lincoln's first official appointment, and the one that pleased him the most, was that of John G. Nicolay as "Private Secretary to the President of the United States." Nicolay, soon to be joined by John Hay, knew how to lighten the burdens of the President and reduce the flow of excited visitors and clamorous correspondence to manageable proportions.

In his other appointments, Illinoisans were not especially favored. Ward Lamon declared that "he had no heart. . .no personal attachment warm and strong enough to govern his actions." Then too, Lincoln "did nothing out of mere gratitude, and forgot the devotion of his warmest partisans as soon as the occasion for their services had passed." But Lamon himself was *not* forgotten, and he was promptly appointed Marshall of the District of Columbia only a month after Lincoln assumed office. Also Lamon's Illinois friend, Capt. John Pope, was made brigadier general of volunteers in August, 1861, in a promotional leap that astounded and offended many other officers.

That no Illinoisan was named to the Cabinet should not be a cause of wonder, for Lincoln felt that he already gave that state ample representation at the highest level of the administration. Lamon, Leonard Swett, Herndon and others may have been disappointed in discovering how little influence they had in the division of spoils, but after all, hundreds of senators, congressmen, governors and other powerful men were also making demands upon him. They could not all be satisfied, so perhaps it was better for the Union that those who knew Lincoln less well and were less ardent in their loyalty to his leadership should be held in place with the glue of patronage.

Lincoln desired the appointment of his young friend and one-time legal protege Ellmer Ellsworth as chief clerk of the War Department, but Ellsworth required more glamorous service. On April 12th warfare got underway with the Con-

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
John Hay

federates firing upon Fort Sumter. A month later Col. Ellsworth, proudly dressed in a Zouave officer's uniform, became "the first casualty of the Civil War." This was only the beginning of the tragedy, for the Lincolns, like other American families, lost many friends and relations to the seemingly endless casualty lists of the Civil War.

Upon the fall of Fort Sumter, Lincoln had called for 75,000 volunteers to augment the tiny standing army. The states that had voted Republican were only too glad to produce the soldiers, but the border states were lacking in enthusiasm, and the states of the upper South were hostile to the President's "aggression." Soon the latter, consisting of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, had seceded and joined the Confederate States of America. In honor of their entrance to that confederation, the Southern capital was relocated to Richmond. Lincoln fretted over the possibility of a Confederate military take-over of Washington before volunteers like the Zouaves began pouring in.

With a large army at last, and generally high morale in what was left of the Union, some quick decisions were made in Congress and the White House: Kansas would enter as a free state, the South would be blockaded, and General Irvin McDowell would prepare to march on Richmond. But then, on June 3rd, came news that Stephen A. Douglas had died in Chicago. This was a great loss to Lincoln, for while Douglas had been his strongest opponent in peacetime, he had firmly declared himself Lincoln's most eager supporter in the face of war.

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Gen. Irvin McDowell

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Elmer Ellsworth

On July 21st, a Sunday, Lincoln went to church with his family, occupied their front pew at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, and listened to an inspirational sermon by the Rev. Phineas Gurley. It was too bad McDowell and his troops failed to hear it, for they were soundly defeated that afternoon and sent into full and disorganized retreat following the fiasco at Manassas Junction, known as the First Battle of Bull Run. What a demoralizing effect the sight of dirty, dazed troops straggling into Washington must have had upon Lincoln! For days after this all was confusion in the nation's capital as the President and the people had to come to grips with the enormity of the situation: this was a war which could not be won easily, if it could be won at all.

Placing General George B. McClellan in defense

of Washington, Lincoln was sufficiently pleased with his efforts at forging a well-trained Army of the Potomac that the President, upon Scott's retirement, named McClellan general-in-chief of the army. As a defensive general, McClellan was excellent; but this war could not be waged successfully by the Union without taking the offensive. In this regard McClellan proved to be a great disappointment to the President.

After General B.F. Butler took Cape Hatteras on the North Carolina coast, Lincoln understood that the Confederacy would retaliate, so he ordered McClellan to strike the first blow. To show confidence in the recently demoralized army, Lincoln visited the encamped forces of the Army of the Potomac on September 3rd. On that same day, Confederate forces were invading Lincoln's birthplace, the "neutral" state of Kentucky; and the President probably assumed that McClellan would be taking the field very soon. Yet, cold weather set in, the ardor for fighting in Virginia cooled off too, and eventually* snowball fights constituted the limit of hostilities around "McClellan's Bodyguard."

The Army of the Potomac was probably the best equipped army in either the North *or* the South, but there were constant shortages of the things that soldiers prize the most, including blankets. Knowing this, Lincoln exploded in anger when he heard from the Commissioner of Public Buildings, Major Benjamin French, that Mary had exceeded her generous $20,000 appropriation for White House furnishings: "It can never have my approval," he said of this cost overrun. "I'll pay it out of my pocket first—it would stink in the nostrils of the American people to have it said that the President of the United States had approved a bill overrunning an appropriation of $20,000 for *flub dubs,* for this damned old house, when the soldiers cannot have blankets."

The Congress appropriated the money anyway as a hidden item in its budget, but Mary began to attract the abuse of the ever-vigilent American press, just as did her husband. Then too, both were open to attack when they entertained the likes of Prince Napoleon of France, wining, dining and flattering him; all this was too much in a democracy—if indeed it still *was* a democracy. Lincoln was assuming wartime powers, suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* and coming under attack by anti-war Democrats ("Copperheads") and others for being a "tyrant."

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Roger Taney, declared the President to be a "usurper" of power, no better than Napoleon III. Lincoln denied that he had violated the letter of the Constitution, but equivocated by protesting, "Are all the laws *but one* to go unexecuted, and the government itself go to pieces, lest that one be violated?" With every passing month more people were arrested for disloyalty. Over 13,000 people would be arrested in violation of their constitutional rights by war's end.

General John C. Fremont, the previous Republican aspirant for the presidency, was even more cavalier in his treatment of civil rights. By September he had effected martial law throughout Missouri, and threatened the confiscation of slave property. An embarassed Lincoln not only had to contradict this proclamation for the sake of Union solidarity (the border states were outraged), but eventually had to replace the ineffective and egotistical Fremont with General David Hunter, a trusted friend of the President's.

Elsewhere in the west, General Ulysses S. Grant made himself known to Lincoln by capturing Paducah, Kentucky on the eve of a planned Confederate take-over there. While commanders like McClellan and Fremont were fairly consistent in their negative effect upon the President's morale, Grant's diligent and successful campaigning cheered him on. He may never have said anything about dispensing Grant's brand of liquor to *all* his generals—but then, that is the kind of statement he *would* have made, respecting Grant as he did.

Another subordinate who never really let Lincoln down was Charles Francis Adams, Minister to Great Britain. Appointed to this post in March, 1861 Adams was on duty in London by May of that year, and provided the nation with the high level of diplomatic expertise which was required to prevent Britain from recognizing the Confederacy and even joining in the Civil War on behalf of the Southern States. This was a particularly severe threat by early November, when the *Trent* Affair took place.

Renowned as a man who had the courage of his convictions and would procede with a course of action when others were reticent, Lincoln was also capable of painful discretion in the face of jingoism and mindless national chauvinism. Such was the case when Captain Charles Wilkes, commanding officer of the *San Jacinto,* outraged the British people by forcing the captain of the *Trent,* a British vessel, to relinquish Confederates James Mason, John Slidell and their secretaries to his custody.

Wilkes was treated as a conquering hero when he

*First there would be skirmishes, most notably the Battle of Ball's Bluff in October, during which Lincoln's old friend, Colonel Ned Baker, was killed.

returned home. He was wined, dined, and toasted in virtually every city in the North. The House of Representatives even voted him a gold medal. But he had no right under international law to have done what he did! Realizing this, Adams worked to cool the tempers of the highest echelon of British leadership while Lincoln released the Confederates at the earliest possible moment.

As the British-American war fever subsided, the Union blockade of the Confederate coast—an act offensive to all foreign powers—was tightened. This blockade, first called by Lincoln at the very start of the war, was only a feeble demonstration for many months, while the United States Navy grew from infantile to moderately impressive size. Lincoln, aware of a glut in the cotton market in Europe, may have seemed unusually naive when Thaddeus Stevens protested that a "blockade" of the Confederate coast was a tacit acknowledgement of Southern independence. "Yes. . . .I see the point now, but I don't know anything about the Law of Nations and I thought it was all right. . . ." "I supposed Seward knew all about it," he added, and "I left it to him. But it is done now and can't be helped. So we must get along as best we can." Incredible!

Lincoln declared a special proclamation of national thanksgiving on November 28th, perhaps thankful himself that America's foreign relations were not any *worse* than they were. Then, on December 3rd, he presented his annual message to Congress, confessing optimism over the state of the Union: "We have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health, and most abundant harvests." He seemed almost the boaster as he concluded that America's population had increased 800% in only 70 years; and "there are already among us those, who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain two hundred and fifty millions." He knew the importance of America's surplus wheat crop to the world; and one may almost read between the lines his foresight that Northern wheat would prove stronger than Southern cotton in the struggle of economic diplomacy.

That winter the rising spirits of the Lincoln family were reflected in the pleasant dinners, Saturday receptions and formal levees at the White House ("the Executive Mansion"). The President was pleased with the way his wife began to produce a salon in the Blue Room and sparkle as the central fixture therein. He appears also to have admired the way she looked in her expensive new clothing, although fashions meant nothing to him. On one occasion, she wore a long dress with a train which showed unusual (for her) decolletage. He complimented her upon it, then could not contain a patronizing remark: "Mother, it is my opinion, if some of that tail were nearer the head, it would be in better style [taste]."

The Lincolns, of course, entertained many guests socially, but their favorites appear to have included Senator Charles Sumner, Mr. and Mrs. Gideon Welles, Mr. and Mrs. Gustavus Vasa Fox, New Jersey Governor and Mrs. William Newell, the poet Nathaniel P. Willis, bon vivant author Henry ("Chevalier") Wikoff, lobbyist Oliver ("Pet") Halsted, and others. Some of these and many others, including son Robert, must have been present when the Lincolns had a sumptuous Christmas dinner on the 25th. There was much work for the President to do even on that joyful holiday, but he took off as much time as he dared to be with his family.

Ordinarily at mealtime, a little dog called "Jip" would bound into Lincoln's lap, and he would receive more attention than the bountiful platters which filled the table. Tad and Willie would later take Jip away and play with him as they had "Fido" when that canine was with them. The Lincoln boys also amused themselves with kittens, rabbits, ponies, goats and other animals. The White House grounds-keeper, John Watt, had his hands full keeping them out of the shrubs and bushes, and the housekeeper, Ann Cuthbert, worked overtime to clean up after them; but Lincoln was pitiless in this instance, and allowed his boys to keep any pets they desired. On one occasion Tad even absconded with all the strawberries for a state dinner, perhaps to satisfy his own hunger and that of "Nanco" the goat as well. The Lincolns continued to refrain from using physical discipline.

Bored with being pent up inside the rambling Executive Mansion one cold winter day, Tadd put on a regular army officer's uniform and dismissed the White House guards. In their place were impressed cooks, butlers and other household help. Despite the constant threats upon his life which required the best security, Lincoln thought it all an excellent joke.

The new Secretary of War gave Tad all the uniforms he wanted and furnished him with what appeared to be a legitimate lieutenant's commission. This was the otherwise haughty Edwin M. Stanton. Stanton took an immediate liking to the audacious Tad, and probably had more respect for him in those days that he had for his father.

The appointment of Stanton, in January, 1862, was clearly called for due to his obvious administrative talents and Cameron's obvious failings. In addition to having a remarkably immobile army, Lincoln also had a poorly equipped one,

despite the great expense to which the government went in providing the army with war materials. This contradiction was due in part to the unchecked practice of purchasing "shoddy" goods, clothing that fell apart in the rain and the like. The gruff but efficient Stanton quickly put a stop to some of the more obvious excesses of war profiteering, but swindling on a smaller scale continued unabated; and neither Lincoln nor Stanton were able to do anything about it.

When Stanton failed to make one of his more-or-less regular appearances at the White House, Lincoln often betook himself to the War Department, passed a few words with his Secretary of War, and then picked up and read the official war correspondence wired into the adjacent telegraph office. Assisting him in straightening out the significance of these messages were Major Thomas Eckert, Hymer Bates, Albert Chandler, and Charles Tinker. Some of the messages were withheld from the President at the prior order of Mr. Stanton, but a few of these were deciphered code of only tactical significance.

The brutally cold, damp weather that winter helped put many ordinarily healthy men in sick beds; one of these was General McClellan. Confined to bed with "typhoid fever," McClellan could not even erect a facade of make-work activity. He heard that the newly-established congressional Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War was investigating his leadership capacity, and was worried lest he be replaced by a healthier, more energetic generalisimo. Lincoln heard of his concern and assured "The Little Napoleon" that he could rest easy on that score, as he had met with the "Investigating Committee" on New Year's eve and "found them in a perfectly good mood." But people who are in a good mood on New Year's eve should not be expected to remain that way for long. Within a week the "Radicals" of the committee were pressing hard for McClellan's removal from high command; and Lincoln had to defend the General, while prodding him to take the field as soon as he was up to it. On January 27th, after McClellan had recovered, he understood the General to have a plan of attack. It did not sound very promising to the President, but he favored the "Peninsula Campaign" over inactivity,* and issued General War Order Number One to compel McClellan to advance by February 22nd.

*The only activity at this time was in the West (west of the Alleghenies) when General George H. Thomas was pushing the Confederate Army out of Kentucky after the Battle of Mill Springs. This battle was fought on January 19th.

The same cruel weather which apparently laid low the commanding general for a few weeks was possibly also responsible, in part, for striking down little Willie Lincoln. Willie was his mother's favorite due to his intelligence, good looks and sensitivity. He was the boy his father listened to most avidly, as if in concert, when he played a piano piece for members of the family. No one ever had an unkind word to say about Willie. He came down with "bilious fever" (possibly malaria) around the first of February, recovered somewhat on his father's birthday, suffered a relapse a few days later, and died February 20, 1862.

During the early crisis of their son's illness, on February 5th, the Lincolns had scheduled a gala ball for some 500 people in the East Room of the White House. It was too late to cancel. That evening the President and his wife took turns holding Willie's hand while the increasingly painful fever took hold of their son. Then they were forced to tear themselves away from his bedside, which was located in one of the rooms upstairs that Mary had so fancifully decorated. Rich purple draperies tied back with bright gold cords complimented the fine bed linen and shiny geegaws around the room. The only thing out of place was the pitiful boy on the bed.

Robert, home from Harvard again, spent considerable time with his sick brother, as the President and Mrs. Lincoln could escape the artificial gaiety in the East Room for only a few minutes at a time. Most of that evening the Lincolns were forced to smile at a throng of politicians and guests over a cake decorated to look like Fort Sumter while the Marine Band played joyful tunes.

The 17th was another crisis period in Willie's pathos. Mary tried to spend every possible moment with the boy, but the worsening of his condition aggravated her usually nervous condition; and Willie's best friend, Bud Taft, was called in to give him some comfort. The boy did an admirable job; and once when Lincoln looked in on his son late at night he saw that Bud, the son of his friend Judge Horatio Nelson Taft, was still at Willie's bedside. "You ought to go to bed, Bud," the President said. "If I go he will call for me," was the simple reply. Later Mr. Lincoln returned, found the Taft boy asleep on the floor, and quietly carried him off to bed.

Willie died the following Thursday, about 5:00 p.m. Nicolay, keeping vigil nearby, heard the President close a door, and then saw him standing before him, choking back the tears. "Well, Nicolay, my boy is gone," he said. "He is actually gone!" Then he went to his office to be alone, and, Nicolay was convinced, to cry.

Having to continue with the administration of the government and give comfort to both his wife and younger son, Tad, probably kept Lincoln from having a psychological breakdown himself. He asked Senator Orville H. Browning to take care of the funeral arrangements, then plunged himself into domestic and foreign affairs. He made many appointments in the days immediately following the death of his son, among them the nomination of Winfield Scott as minister plentipotentiary to Mexico; but he did not feel up to writing until after the funeral, and a rare lapse of five days went by prior to the 25th without any apparent letter writing by the President.

The eleven-year old's body was embalmed and placed in a metal casket ornate with rosewood and silver trim. The Reverend Gurley conducted the funeral services. Willie's remains were viewed in state in the Green Room just off the East Room where the recent ball had been held. Hundreds of people came to see the most handsome member of the Lincoln family one last time before interment in Georgetown at the Oak Hill Cemetery. Among them was his little friend Bud, expressly invited by Mr. Lincoln. Bud became sick to his stomach and had to be carried from the room. Mrs. Lincoln was in even worse shape, and showed no sign of emotional recovery even weeks after the funeral. To make matters worse, Tad, suffering from a similar illness, grew worse, and did not fully recover until early March.

Even in his own depressed state, Lincoln did everything in his power to subdue the depression of his wife and young son. One day, while standing near a window, he pointed out a building in the distance. It was an institution for the insane. "Mother," he said, "do you see that large white building on the hill yonder? Try and control your grief or it will drive you mad, and we may have to send you there." With Tad he used a different tactic to uplift his spirits (and get him to take his medicine); a nurse came into the boy's room one day and found him happily clutching a check endorsed: "Pay to 'Tad' (when he is well enough to present). . .five dollars," signed "A. Lincoln."

Robert also suggested that at a moment like this the presence of another member of the family might work wonders in restoring morale to the Lincolns. On his advice the President invited Mary's sister, Elizabeth Edwards, to come for an indefinite stay at the White House. Out of a sense of duty, as much as love, she came promptly, arriving on the day of the funeral. For the next two months Mrs. Edwards put up with her sister, and was pleased to see her gradual recovery and the speedier restoration of Tad. Their improvement was such a blessing to Lincoln that he wished his sister-in-law would stay longer; but she was anxious to leave the gloomy Executive Mansion in favor of her lively Springfield manor.

During the two months of her stay, in March and April, Mrs. Edwards noted several peculiarities which now existed in the relationship between father and youngest son. First of all they slept together, not on rare occasions, but regularly. Tad had apparently been accustomed to sleeping with Willie, and the President was his only choice as a successor.

During the spring of 1862 it was an emotional impossibility for Mr. Lincoln to deny Tad anything. When the boy refused to take his medicine from anyone else, the President would interrupt high-level conferences to play nurse-maid. On at least one occasion even a Cabinet meeting was disturbed because of Tad's demands.

One day, "in order to calm his mind," Mrs. Edwards took her brother-in-law through the conservatory where numerous botanical specimens were on display. "How beautiful these flowers are," she gushed. "How gorgeous these roses! Here are exotics!" Lincoln took it all in without much enthusiasm, and then replied: "Yes, this whole thing looks like spring." But he admitted that he had never bothered to visit this White House greenhouse before, saying: "I don't know why it is so, but I never cared for flowers; I seem to have no taste, natural or acquired, for such things."

On another occasion, Mrs. Edwards broke away from her female and juvenile charges to take the President on a walk. It was just across Pennsylvania Avenue to the north a short distance, where a little park featured the inspiring statue of General Andrew Jackson; but Lincoln began to unburden himself of some of his feelings about the passing of his beloved Willie, and told his sister-in-law, in all sincerity, that he was sorry she would soon have to return to Springfield. Upon arriving back at the Executive Mansion, they found the gate locked and Tad running off with the key laughing. Mrs. Edwards was furious, but Mr. Lincoln was just pleased to see the boy in good health and full of mischief once again.

The Lincolns were now attending church services fairly regularly; and Abraham, more than at any time since his childhood, was reading the Bible for inspiration. Still, at mealtime, he refused to give the blessing. Mrs. Edwards later recalled that he just sat down at the table "absorbed in thought, and never, unless recalled to his senses, would he think of food." "His habits," she added, "like himself, were odd and wholly irregular. He would

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
George B. McClellan

move around in a vague, abstracted way, as if unconscious of his own or any one else's existence." As for the food, when served, "he had no expressed fondness for anything, and ate mechanically."

Tad got rid of some of the toys and objects he associated with his dead brother, but his parents could not stand to part with any of these in their possession. Lincoln used to shock visitors by taking them hurriedly through a house full of masterpieces to a hearth and mantel over which hung a little "picture of Illinois." This tiny picture, sketched in a few minutes by his deceased son, was to him the most valuable work of art in the world.

His children so loved and admired their father that they went to great lengths to be at his side. As lively a boy as Tad was, he often curled up beside the President's desk or in front of the fireplace in his office. This way Mr. Lincoln could do his work and they could still enjoy one-another's company.

Even the mature and "sophisticated" Robert, when spending some time at the White House during Easter vacation, was accustomed to waiting in a chair outside his father's office for hours, if need be, to gain a few minutes of time with the man. Lincoln enjoyed talking to him, and probably learned of Robert's interest in gaining an appointment to West Point at this time. But Mrs. Lincoln would not hear of her oldest boy's preparation for war, and the interest evaporated—only to be replaced by a desire for an *immediate* commission.

On Easter Sunday, March 30th, a traditional egg rolling took place on the White House lawn. Tad was observed playing there with a lame boy named Tommy who lost his father in a recent battle. When Tommy indicated an interest in seeing the President, Tad did not hesitate, but went directly to fetch him and have him shake hands with and talk to the boy. Tad found that what little resistance his father had left to his entreaties just melted away when he held his hand and called him "papa-day" (papa, dear).

During the months of February and March a variety of small battles took place in the West* which showed that the army was not *entirely* inactive. Then too the navy was energetic in helping to retake New Orleans and fight off the C.S.S. *Virginia* (the famous clash between the *Monitor* and the *"Merrimack,"* fought on March 9th). If only the mighty Army of the Potomac under General McClellan had been on the move Lincoln might have been in better spirits. The President would have preferred more direct movements upon Manassas Junction, but General McClellan was determined to go ahead with a peninsular campaign, setting out by water to Fort Monroe, and from there *northwest* toward Richmond. This plan took a lot of preparation, and, being more complex, had more room for error.

By the last day of March, Lincoln had to take it upon himself to order back a division under General Louis Blenker which McClellan was planning on taking with him to "Fortress" Monroe, but which was needed closer to Washington. Lincoln was afraid that McClellan, eager for preponderant strength, would so denude Washington of its defenses that Confederate General "Stonewall" Jackson would be tempted to attack the capital, with the opportunity for a coup at hand. But Lincoln also feared that McClellan would rationalize away failure by claiming that he had been denied critical support on the Peninsula; therefore the President allowed the detachment of Franklin's division of McDowell's Corps to augment McClellan's army (which now reached about 150,000 men, on paper).

While McClellan was slowly moving his men into position for an offensive against Yorktown,

*Among them was the Battle of Fort Donelson where Ulysses Grant became famous for demanding "unconditional surrender."

these visitors was Robert, who sponsored a friend of his for an appointment as assistant paymaster in the navy. The appointment was approved by his father. Mary and Tad remained at the Soldiers' Home from the beginning of July until well into October, and Lincoln spent as much time with them there as he could. It was his habit to rise early, dress, eat a simple breakfast of perhaps one egg, a piece of toast and some coffee, and be on his way to the White House by 8:00. There business officially got underway at 10:00 a.m., with dozens of people in the anterooms and halls near his office all wanting to see him at once, and hundreds of letters had to be answered. Nicolay and Hay helped bring some order out of chaos, and by noon they pressed some lunch upon him. In the summers he usually preferred fruit, especially grapes, as they could be eaten quickly and efficiently. His afternoons involved more vital work, often including Cabinet meetings. Dinner fell between 5:00 and 6:00 p.m., his "drink" consisting usually of pure water. Evenings at Anderson Cottage must have been very pleasant, limited as they were to the family and a few visitors and friends like General Daniel Sickles of New York and Ozias M. Hatch, Illinois' Secretary of State. The President then retired between 10:00 and 11:00, unless important news from the front was coming in by telegraph at the War Department.

Disappointed in McClellan to the point of utter frustration, and of the opinion that Henry Halleck would make a better general-in-chief, Lincoln called the latter east for high command in July. Halleck visited the Peninsula and was aghast at the stagnant state of the army. By August he had pulled McClellan's large but weakened force out of there and closer to home where "repairs" were effected.

Some of his generals had been inclined to liberate slave property in the districts coming under their charge, but Lincoln quickly put a halt to all such premature liberation, as he considered it an unconstitutional and (more importantly) a politically inexpedient practice. When the Congress passed a law "to confiscate the property of rebels, etc." on July 14th, he objected to it until a joint resolution weakened it considerably. The vast majority of slaves, however, were held in bondage by "rebels" beyond the pale of federal power. Pressure mounted upon him at home and abroad, to proclaim those slaves free. In a secret Cabinet meeting held July 22nd Lincoln outlined his proclamation on emancipation, and, upon Seward's advice, delayed publication of it until such time as a military victory was forthcoming—unfortunately for the Union, this was *not soon* forthcoming.

The summer of 1862 saw President Lincoln sign into law a number of important pieces of legislation: the law prohibiting slavery in the territories, that establishing the first federal income tax, a law to facilitate construction of a transcontinental railroad, the Morrill Act for endowing land-grant colleges, and the confiscation act previously alluded to. His personal intercession was also necessary in September to prevent the execution of hundreds of innocent Indians following the Sioux uprising in Minnesota. As it was, 38 Indians were publicly executed by hanging, Lincoln (humanely?) postponing their execution until the day after Christmas.

McClellan having proven such a disappointment to Lincoln and Halleck, another officer was put in charge of the federal forces in the Shenandoah Valley, now designated the Army of Virginia—General John Pope. The son of one of Lincoln's oldest friends in Illinois, Judge Nathaniel Pope, the General had a very high opinion of himself. Apparently, like McClellan, he thought he could "do it all." Lincoln gave him the chance to prove it, and the result was the second Battle of Bull Run. Coming at the end of August, it convinced the President that his Emancipation Proclamation would have to wait a while longer. As for Pope, he was sent to Minnesota to contend with what was left of the "hostiles" there. Friendship had its limits.

Finally, in mid-September, came news of McClellan's semi-victory over Lee at Antietam. Lincoln snapped at the occasion to announce the Emancipation Proclamation. In his own words, as remembered by White House artist Frank Carpenter:

> I put the Proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory. . . .Things looked darker than ever. Finally came the week of the Battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer. The news came, I think, on Wednesday [the 17th], that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the Soldiers' Home. Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary Proclamation, called the Cabinet together the following Monday to hear it, and it was published the next day [the 22nd].

The Emancipation Proclamation, which was not to go into effect until January 1, 1863, and only dealt with the states of the Confederacy, did not free any slaves directly; but what it did achieve was the realization of a second war goal: the freedom of the slaves. This was an idealistic aim much appreciated in New England, and in Europe where agitation for interference in the war now dissipated. But as Lincoln well knew, states like Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois were generally satisfied with the original war goal, the preservation of the Union;

and some soldiers from those states now deserted rather than "serve the cause of the nigger."

There also were fears among whites in the border states that Lincoln would soon be putting thousands of freed slaves into uniform and allowing them to go armed into communities in Kentucky, Missouri, etc. where slaves were still legally held. When a deputation of "western gentlemen" quizzed the President on this matter as late as August 4th, he informed them "that it is the determination of the Government not to arm Negroes unless some new and more pressing emergency arises." Lincoln felt that to do so would be to risk the loyalty of the border states and "turn 50,000 bayonets from the loyal Border States against us." He was at that very moment considering schemes for colonizing the freedman in Haiti, Africa, and Central America, although little came out of such notions.

On September 18th Lincoln was pleased to sign the appointment papers making Jacob Frankel the first Jewish chaplain in the history of the United States army. The only pain the ceremony caused him was due to the fact that he had just sprained his wrist five days before, trying to check his runaway horse during what normally was a slow trot down Vermont Avenue from the Soldiers Home to the White House. The poet Walt Whitman, then a hospital attendant, saw him negotiate this route many times riding a large, "easy-going gray horse," in the company of some twenty-five to thirty cavalry. If this horse was Lincoln's favorite "Jeff Davis," it may have been conducting itself in the spirit of its namesake that day.

On the 22nd, Lincoln was expected to give a full reading of the Emancipation Proclamation to his Cabinet. To their amazement however, and to the consternation of Stanton, Lincoln *first* quoted at length from Artemus Ward's "High Handed Outrage at Utica." As usual, humor served to soothe the troubled mind of the President. The war still was not going well, and later in the day he was to undergo a minor but painful operation (probably for corns) on his feet. In his words, Dr. Isacher Zacharie "operated on my feet with great success, and considerable addition to my comfort."

As of October 1st, Lincoln felt up to a tour of the Antietam battleground and a visit to the Army of the Potomac (which Lincoln referred to wryly as "McClelland's bodyguard"). Again humor brought joy to the heart of the commander-in-chief as he swapped stories with his companion Lamon as they traveled about. On one occasion, however, Lamon was overheard singing "obscene ballads" while the President laughed. For this both were roundly criticized, even in the press. Lincoln then commissioned Mathew Brady's excellent photographer Alexander Gardner to take a series of pictures, and Lincoln and Lamon left at the earliest opportunity.

Each month Lincoln was paid via a salary warrant worth $2,083.33 which he deposited at Riggs Bank in a savings program. The September warrant which he drew on October 6th, however, amounted to only $2,022.23, so what happened to the missing $61? The answer is very simple—it went to pay the first income tax in American history, one that amounted to 3% of the President's income. Of course Lincoln would like to have saved every cent of his paycheck, and could have used the tax revenues to defray the cost of Mary's ever more numerous vacation jaunts up north; but everyone was expected to make sacrifices in wartime, even the President.

On October 8th the Battle of Perryville was won by Union arms in Kentucky, and Lincoln now had visions of a swift federal invasion of east Tennessee. He was sympathetic to the pro-Union people of that mountain stronghold, and wanted to do what he could to "liberate" them. But General Buell was not the one to do the job, and Grant was busy elsewhere (in west Tennessee and Mississippi), so that hope was soon dashed.

Amusement now seemed to take up a significant amount of his time as he called P.T. Barnum to the White House with "Commodore Nutt" to entertain him and his family. By all reports, Lincoln was delighted with the "pigmy." Barnum was overjoyed, and made arrangements for "General Tom Thumb" to visit the Lincolns soon.

It also pleased the President to personally test every new formula gunpowder and crack-pot weapon offered the government. On November 15th Lincoln had Seward and Chase join him for a ride down to the Navy Yard, and a test firing of a "Hyde" rocket. The rocket exploded only a short distance from where they were standing, but miraculously none of them suffered any injuries.

Nothing pleased Lincoln any more than hearing the gleeful squeals of little Tad. For this reason he unashamedly spoiled the boy, giving him toys and money, taking him (virtually) everywhere he went, and tolerating some outrageous conduct. It was this autumn, for example, that Lincoln had Captain John Dahlgren furnish Tad with a little brass cannon that "he can not hurt himself with." By war's end the boy had an extensive ordnance all his own.

Neither did Lincoln forget his friends as Lamon had suggested, for a vacancy on the Supreme Court was soon filled by David Davis; and Cabinet posts

were offered to Orville Browning and James Speed before long. He also remembered black servants in his employ who went elsewhere, like William Johnson, whom he furnished with a letter of reference. As for Mrs. Lincoln, her closest friend and confidant was apparently Elizabeth Keckley, the black woman who had begun her service in the White House as a simple dressmaker.

Much of the winter of 1862-1863 was tedious and uneventful, though a man by the name of Francis X. Rabstock livened up a Wednesday in early December when he broke in on the President at the White House and threatened him. Rabstock was arrested and taken away for questioning. Mrs. Lincoln, having returned from a recent jaunt with Mrs. Keckley, decided to shower dinner parties upon the President and his Cabinet officers, and few were the politicians and bureaucrats who were not invited to at least one of them. The Foxes, Brownings, and Harrises were particularly conspicuous at such times, and were obviously good friends of the Lincolns.

On December 23rd Mary planned a different kind of dinner—one for the wounded she and Lincoln intended to visit on Christmas. Numerous invalid soldiers enjoyed good food and warm greetings from the President and the First Lady that day. They also dispensed oranges and lemons for which Lincoln paid $300 out of his salary.

On New Year's Day, January 1, 1863, Mrs. Lincoln naturally had a reception at the White House. It was well attended due in part to the official signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, and it stretched from the late morning into the afternoon.* An exhausted Mary then packed up in preparation for another trip up north. A few days later a blizzard swept the country, and a lonely Lincoln claimed to enjoy hearing "frozen crystals" beating against his bedroom windows.

Burnside, defeated at Fredericksburg, had failed as McClellan's replacement, and Lincoln decided to appoint General Joseph E. Hooker to replace *him* in high command. Personally, the President liked Hooker better than either of his predecessors, and would be especially saddened when called upon to remove him. When other generals learned of this and heard of the appointment they were amazed, as Hooker was a notorious critic of his superiors, and was rumored to favor a *coup d'etat* and military dictatorship! But Lincoln actually confronted Hooker with this rumor and dared to say: "Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship."

On February 13th Lincoln took Stanton with him, and, mindless of the "Hyde" rocket fiasco, watched the detonation of a bomb by electricity on the grounds of Fort DeKalb. Again, no one was hurt; and shortly after this the President's technological mind was stimulated sufficiently to work out an idea for a "steam-ram" which could be used to defend the ports of the Union. Like his other inventions, it was lacking in practical application, but showed a sound grasp of basic engineering principles. That evening Lincoln was further amused with the planned visit of "General Tom Thumb" (Charles Stratton) and his diminutive bride, Lavinia Warren. The "General" and his wife were invited to spend the night at the White House, and did so.

Other forms of entertainment enjoyed by Lincoln that winter, usually in the company of his wife, included Shakespearean plays at Grover's and the Washington Theatre, and a Barney Williams blackface minstrel show performed at Grover's Theatre especially for the President. The long, uneventful winter months were a trial to Lincoln; and many visitors found him, as Dahlgren did, "nervous and uneasy." His old friend, Dr. Anson Henry, a guest at the White House late in February, also found the President "haggard and careworn," although he still had his old sense of humor.

*At the signing ceremony, Lincoln used only one pen, a wooden-handled steel one which he gave to Senator Sumner. The ludicrous tradition of signing important documents with a large number of pens arose later.

The Hardtack Regiment Meets Lincoln

By Mark H. Dunkelman and Michael J. Winey

Friday, April 10, 1863 was a memorable day in the history of the 154th New York State Infantry Volunteers. For on that day the regiment passed in review before President Abraham Lincoln, the only time they did so during two years and nine months of service. Springtime two years hence would find them marching in the Grand Review at Washington after the close of the war. By then, after the tragedies of war and assassination, there was a new President, and the 154th New York could muster but one third of its original strength.

At the time of Lincoln's review, however, the regiment had not yet been in combat. Organized in the summer of 1862 in response to the President's call for 300,000 volunteers to serve for three years, the 154th New York was comprised of men from Cattaraugus and Chautauqua Counties. After mustering in at Jamestown on September 24-26, 1862, the regiment left the state and proceeded via rail to Washington. After a short stay on Arlington Heights, the 154th moved to Fairfax Court House, where it was assigned to the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 11th Corps of the Army of the Potomac. In early November of 1862, the regiment participated in an uneventful movement to Thoroughfare Gap and back. December found them on the move again, their destination Falmouth, across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg. The 11th Corps arrived too late to take part in the disastrous battle there, but was subjected to the subsequent dismal Mud March. President Lincoln, with some misgivings, replaced Burnside with General Joseph Hooker as commander of the army, and the depression which had haunted the troops gradually dissipated. The 154th made some ill-appreciated moves of their camp that winter and finally settled down near Stafford Court House. They named their camp "John Manley" after a citizen of Cattaraugus County who brought them an immense amount of food, a barrel of whiskey and other comforts. At Camp John Manley they also received their nickname when they engaged in some unscrupulous dealings for extra hardtacks.

On April 2, 1863, General Oliver Otis Howard (founder of Lincoln Memorial University) was placed in command of the 11th Corps. One week later he reviewed his new command, and the following day the 11th Corps was reviewed by the President.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHORS
Corp. Newell Burch

While researching and writing a regimental history, (*The Hardtack Regiment: An Illustrated History of the 154th Regiment, New York State Infantry Volunteers*, East Brunswick, N.J., Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981) the authors located several diaries and hundreds of letters of members of the 154th New York. Some of these refer to Lincoln's review, and range in scope from brief mentions to fairly detailed accounts.

Private Harvey Earl of Company H, usually a laconic writer, was content to notify his brother Alfred in a letter written April 12, "Wal we went out and see old Abe the other day he was here and reviewed our Corps."[1] Corporal Newell Burch of Company E, recovering from a long illness, noted in his diary, "10 Pleasant. Reviewed to day by President Lincoln and Gen. Hooker. Hard work for a weak man But lots of fun and learn the Presidents Salute."[2] First Lieutenant John C. Griswold of Company F and Private Emory Sweetland of Company B, both usually quite descriptive, included only brief passages in letters home written on April 12. Griswold informed his wife Susan, "We have had two reviews the past week of this Corps of the Army. One by General Howard our

COURTESY OF THE AUTHORS
John C. Griswold

COURTESY OF THE AUTHORS
Emory Sweetland

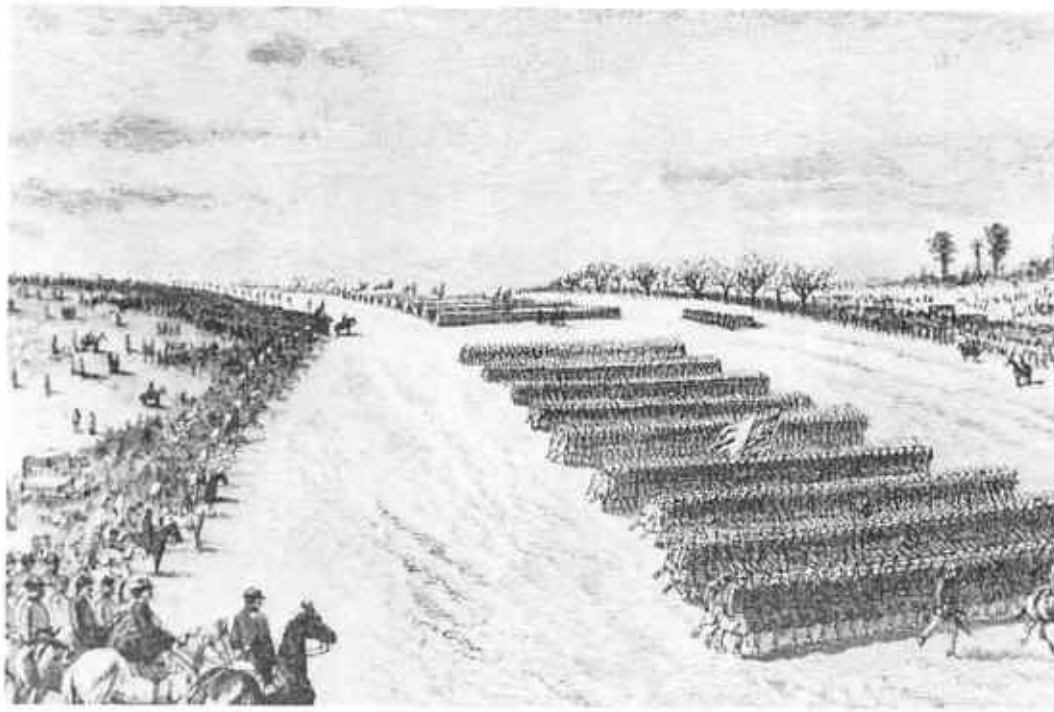
new commander & one by father Abraham. The latter created quite a sensation & passed off quite creditably."[3] Sweetland noted to his wife Mary, "we had another review the president was there & his wife & their two boys. also, Gens Hooker Howard, Sickles & half a dozen others. there was 38 regiments there. it was a brilliant pagent. I rode Bro. Lowings [Henry Lowing, regimental chaplain] horse over & got up close by the president & had a good view of him & the other notables. if i had time I would write you more about it."[4]

At least three other members of the 154th New York found the time to send more detailed descriptions. Sergeant Richard McCadden of Company G wrote to his brother Billie on April 10:

> We were reviewed yesterday by Gen Howard and to day by Old Abe Lincoln. I had a fine view of the old rail splitter he is about as homely a man as you would wish to see altho he looks good natured you would know him by the picture you have seen so many times of him.
>
> The whole Corps was present, consisting of about 15 thousand along with three Batteries of six guns each rifled six pds light Artilery (iron guns), and the same number of heavy brass pieces. I should think they would cary a 12 lb round shot or a twenty lb conical shell thare was also a company of lancers they were mounted on horse back and each man has a lance about one foot long at the end of a staff ten or twelve feet long with a little red flag about as large as this sheet of paper when it is open they looked gay I can tell you and each one was armed with a sword The President had his wife and two little boys with him they were in a carriage and the President was on a splendid horse. We were formed in three battle lines & as thare is three Divisions in the Corps each Division forming a line of its own each line was 8 or 10 men deep it was a grand sight now I tell you Old Abe rode a long our lines in front of each Division. Then we marched he took his post in front and we all marched past him. he was saluted 21 guns fired by the Artilery when he first came.
>
> The Presidents staff consisted of I should think at (300) commissioned officers thare was three ladies amongst them all on horse back _____ Huntley was one of them. It was a splendid sight and the day was as bright as you ever saw which added beauty to the scene. Thare was three brass bands thare and splendid ones too take it all togeather it was the most splendid sights I ever saw.[5]

Private Barzilla Merrill of Company K was similarly impressed by the occasion. He wrote to his wife Ruba after the review:

> Ruba I would like to send you a picture of what I have seen to day but this I cant do but can write a little about it
>
> The eleventh and twelfth army corps were reviewed tody by the President about one mile from our camp and of course your husban made one among the many of that number you probably will see an account of this review in the papers it was a grand thing may be if you can get one of Frank Leslys papers the rite number you could see an ingravend or picture of the

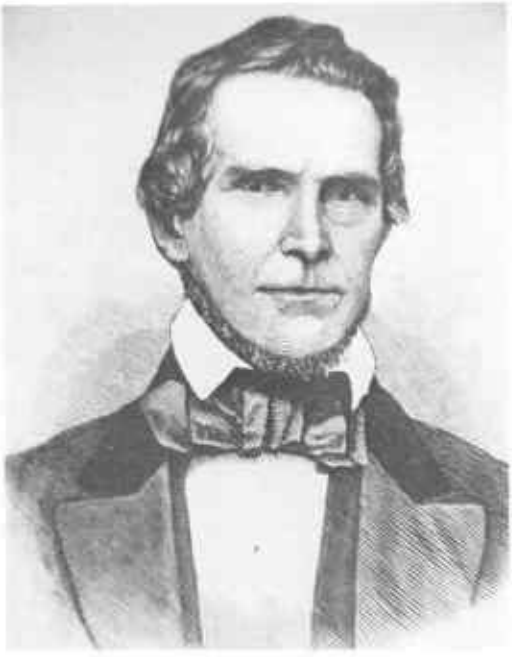


COURTESY OF THE AUTHORS

The Review

COURTESY OF THE AUTHORS

Lincoln and Hooker at the Review



COURTESY OF THE AUTHORS
Barzilla Merrill

COURTESY OF THE AUTHORS
Henry Van Aernam

same I could see a man to work on the other hill in front of us but he was so far that I could not see what his business was." [Both Alfred R. Waud and Edwin Forbes sketched the review. Waud's version appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, May 2, 1863. Forbes' view appears in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. III, P. 120]. if you should see a picture of the same the man that rode a hed of the gang of horsemen passing amongst the troops will represent the Presiden he had his hat in his rite hand about as high as his brest he rode a dark bay horse and a verry good one

there was four or five women rode in this gang all dressed in long black riding dresses and black hats some like Nancys do you think you could manage a horse in such a spot they done it nice if you could get a picture of the thing you would get a nice picture A few words about the President his portrate dont do him justice he is a smarter looking man than that represents he has a verry good shaped forehed and an intellectual looking man but he looks care worn and palid his hair is dark gray he is tall and slim built the next to him is general hooker he is a man about the same age and smart looking next is general Howard his right arm is off about to the elbow he lost his arm in some of the battles he looks like a smart man he commands our corps now in place of Seigle and there were lots of other big men present our Corps was reviewed by Howard on the same ground yesterday when you see this in print you will get a better idea than I can give you this may help some

A little about the soldiers I dont know how many was present but I would think that they occupied a piece of ground as larg as Blodgetts clearing on the south side of the rode supposing fences and buildings were all out of the way and I guess this is to small a patern the soldiers were well clothed and in good condition and they made a fine appearance and when they marched in review the scene was sublime and in order and it takes men that are drilled to do this they marched in double colums at half distance when they passed the presidant and the rest of the big men probable you dont understand what the command double colume at half distance means I hant room to explane

there was verry nice muscik to march by and the men marched nice our Regiment knows more now than when they left Jamestown but the old Regiments that have been out ever since the war broke out puts us into the shades yet there old regiments can flank right or left and do it nice as a pin well it isnt no use for me to undertake to write much about these scenes but I would like to give you a few out lines and save the rest until I get home then we will talk about it.[4]

Henry Van Aernam, the Hardtack Regiment's surgeon, wrote to his wife Melissa on April 11:

> Yesterday was a big day in the 11th and 12th Corps. Both were received by the President in the same place we were received the day before. The President was accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln and a little boy about as large as Charley and was escorted to the field by General Hooker, Sickles, Schurz, Slocum and Howard with a numerous retinue of Brigadier Generals and citizens who came up from Washington with him .
>
> The troops were stationed in the field at 11 o'clock.

The Divisions in line of battle with the several Regiments massed with spaces between Brigades. The 1st Division of the corps forming the first line—then a wide street or space and then the 2nd Division in the same order and so on with the divising—with the Artillery stationed away to the right.

At twelve o'clock the cannon on the right announced the coming of the President by firing a salute of 21 guns—a moment afterward the party came in sight. The President and General Hooker in the advance *both* upon horse—followed by a few horsemen as a special body guard—then the carriage with Mrs. Lincoln followed by a large guard of Lancers.

On approaching the troops the President bared his head and rode in front of the first line at a slow gallop with General Hooker just in the rear who was in turn followed by the immense bodyguard of Lancers and Cavalry. After passing the whole length of the first line he passed to the rear and rode in the same way in front of all the lines. I had forgot to tell you that the young Lincoln, a fat fair haired boy of 10 or 12 rode on a black shambling pony sometimes beside his father and sometimes in the rear.

The carriage in which Mrs. Lincoln and some other lady rode took a position some distance to the front of the troops on a slight elevation near the National colors. While the receiving party were passing among the troops the several bands played "Hail to the Chief" etc. in fine style.

After passing in front of all the troops the President took his position by the National colors and the troops by regiments passed in review before him.

The pictures carry a good idea of how old "Abe" looks—the most of them are exact likenesses—he looks careworn, anxious and fatigued. Mrs. Lincoln is a blond, [?] "fat and fair and 'Squshy'. She would remind you of Mrs. L.I. Mason—though rather prettier looking. She looks to me like a cow animal somewhat, a coquetish, trifling woman without a single mark of greatness about her. Perhaps I am unduly prejudiced against her on account of her shameless conduct and frivolity with General Sickles during the review. I wouldn't be surprised if old Abe had a good cause to shoot Sickles as he (S.) had to kill Key!!

President Lincoln returned to Washington after the April 10 review and three days later the 154th New York left camp on the first leg of the Chancellorsville campaign. The regiment was severely engaged in the Battle of Chancellorsville and again two months later at Gettysburg. These two fights cost them 493 casualties, and the regiment went on to suffer further in the Chattanooga, Knoxville and Atlanta Campaigns, the March to the Sea and the Campaign of the Carolinas. In the 1864 election the Hardtack Regiment sent its votes home from Atlanta by power of attorney, and overwhelmingly favored President Lincoln. In April of 1865, their elation at the end of the war gave way to gloom at the news of the assassination. Many of the soldiers must have recalled the pleasant spring day two years before when they had seen and saluted their Commander-in-Chief.

A couple of individual members of the Hardtack Regiment had other connections with the Lincoln story - including one who was present during the Gettysburg Address. But those are other stories for another time.

NOTES

1. Newell Burch was captured at Gettysburg and imprisoned for twenty months at Belle Island and Andersonville. (*Ramsey County History,* St. Paul, Minn., Spring, 1964.)

2. John C. Griswold was wounded and captured at Chancellorsville and discharged for disability in 1864. (Courtesy of Ruth Griswold and Margaret Green.)

3. Emory Sweetland served until the end of the war, much of the time as a hospital steward. (Courtesy of Lyle Sweetland.)

4. The review as drawn by Edwin Forbes. (*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.*)

5. Lincoln and Hooker at the review, as sketched by Alfred R. Waud. (*Harper's Weekly.*)

6. Barzilla Merrill was killed at the Battle of Chancellorsville. (*History of Cattaraugus County, N.Y.*)

7. Henry Van Aernam left the regiment in November, 1864, when he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. (Courtesy of the Adjutant General of New York, Albany.)

Mary Anna Morrison Jackson

By Lowell Reidenbaugh

On a February evening in 1899, delegates to a DAR convention were guests at a White House reception. As each lady approached President William McKinley, an officer introduced her so that she might receive personal greetings. When the head of the North Carolina delegation approached, she was announced as Mrs. Jackson.

From behind, a voice corrected: "Mrs. Stonewall Jackson."

At that, the last Union veteran to serve as President grasped Anna Jackson by both hands and exclaimed: "I have long desired to meet the widow of the great General Stonewall Jackson."

Mrs. McKinley was seated nearby, clasping a bouquet of flowers so as to discourage would-be handshakers. "Dear," said the President, "this is Mrs. Stonewall Jackson."

After the two ladies exchanged greetings and Anna accepted the bouquet from Mrs. McKinley, the President said, "Mrs. Jackson, won't you do me the honor by receiving with me behind the lines?"

Anna accepted the invitation, but shortly thereafter rejoined her DAR sisters in the East Room.

"Why didn't you stay with greatness?" she was asked.

"I had rather be in here with you," she replied.[1]

The incident was not unique for Anna Jackson who, in fifty-two years of widowhood, was idolized throughout the nation. Presidents paid homage to her, and no conclave of Civil War veterans was honored so highly as when Anna Jackson was present to shake their hands or pin medals and ribbons on their lapels.

When Theodore Roosevelt visited Anna's home town of Charlotte, N.C. in October 1905, Mrs. Jackson was among those who extended official greetings to the President and his wife at the Southern Railroad depot near the Jackson home on West Trade Street. Seizing Anna's hands, Teddy assured her: "You don't know how glad I am to see you. . .It is worth the trip down here just to meet you."

Recalling that he had appointed Anna's grandson, Thomas Jackson Christian, to the United States Military Academy, Roosevelt added, "He's a fine fellow, a fine fellow."

While Anna and other ladies entertained Mrs. Roosevelt in the Jackson home, T.R., in a speech at Vance Park, commented: "I know that neither the Governor nor the Mayor, nor the Senators will blame me for what I am going to say. . .but the greeting that pleased and touched me more than the greeting of any man could have touched me, [came when] I was greeted by the widow of Stonewall Jackson."[2]

On a third occasion, Anna occupied a seat next to William Howard Taft when that President visited Charlotte in 1909. In an unprecedented downpour, the 300-pound Chief Executive held an umbrella over five-foot Anna, and was seen to place a second under her feet to keep them off the water-soaked floor.

When Anna was asked how a lady Democrat fared with a Republican President, she responded, "He is the harmonizer of all our hearts."[3]

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR
Mary Anna Morrison Jackson, Mrs. Stonewall Jackson

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR
William McKinley, 25th President

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Stonewall Jackson

Anna's first introduction to a President occurred during the Millard Fillmore Administration when she and her sister, Eugenia, visited their uncle, William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy.

The Morrison sisters spent four months in Washington, seeing the sights, enjoying the social whirl and becoming better acquainted with their uncle, who also served as governor of and senator from North Carolina.

"Being capital ladies," Anna reported, "we were invited, of course, to all the grand entertainments and though some of us were not dancing girls (for myself, as a minister's daughter, it would not have been considered proper) certainly we did not need it to complete our enjoyment."[4]

One evening, at a White House dinner, Anna occupied a spot next to Daniel Webster. The young lady considered the great orator one of the dullest persons she ever met. He did not utter a word all evening.[5]

Anna, christened Mary Anna, was born three miles north of Charlotte on July 12, 1831, the third daughter and fourth of twelve children in the family of Dr. Robert Hall Morrison and Mary Graham Morrison.

Her father, a Presbyterian clergyman, was the founder and first president of Davidson College. Her mother was a daughter of General Joseph Graham of Revolutionary War fame.

Anna attended the Moravian female academy in Winston-Salem, as had her mother and older sisters. The school did not award diplomas at that time, but many years later it presented one to Anna, and also established a scholarship in her name.

In 1853, Anna and Eugenia visited Lexington, Virginia, where their oldest sister, Isabella, was living with her husband, Daniel Harvey Hill, a mathematics professor at Washington College.

In Lexington, the girls met Major Thomas Jackson, a close friend of the Hills and professor of natural and experimental philosophy and instructor in artillery tactics at Virginia Military Institute.

Although engaged to Elinor Junkin, daughter of the president of Washington College, the Major frequently escorted the Morrison girls to social and church affairs. Four years later, as a widower, Jackson renewed his friendship with Anna. The two were married at the Morrison residence, Cottage Home, on July 16, 1857, six days before Anna's twenty-sixth birthday. The bridegroom was thirty-three.

Because Dr. Morrison did not trust himself emotionally to marry any of his daughters, the ceremony was performed by Dr. Drury Lacy, president of Davidson College and great-grandfather of Lenoir Chambers, a biographer of Jackson a century later.

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Theodore Roosevelt, 26th President

The nuptials, at "early candlelighting," were performed without a slip, but there were anxieties beforehand. Anna's trousseau, ordered from New York in ample time, did not arrive until after family and neighbors had combined their skills to manufacture a last-minute substitute.

There also was a delay or uncertainty about the marriage license, perhaps in the arrangement for the $500 marriage bond, then required by North Carolina. One member of the wedding party was forced to ride to the county seat in Lincolnton to straighten out the difficulty.

The groom gave the bride as her wedding gift a set of seed pearls and a watch engraved with "M.A.J."

For four years Anna and Tom made their home in Lexington, but on April 21, 1861, the Major bade Anna goodbye and marched away at the head of a contingent of VMI cadets, bound for Richmond and the start of a meteoric, two-year career in Confederate service.

Anna visited her husband shortly after the Battle of First Manassas, where he received his sobriquet, "Stonewall," spending several weeks in the vicinity of Centreville.

When Jackson was transferred to the command of the Valley District in early November, Anna returned to North Carolina where, a short time later, she received word that Jackson, now a major general, had located quarters for the two of them in Winchester. Anna wasted no time in rejoining her husband. With friends, she obtained transportation to Richmond, then journeyed westward to Strasburg in the company of an absent-minded minister. She arrived in Winchester on a cold December midnight, and for three months lived with her husband in the home of Dr. James R. Graham ,a Presbyterian divine.

The idyllic lifestyle terminated when Jackson launched his Valley Campaign in March. Anna once more returned to North Carolina where, at the home of her sister, Mrs. James P. Irwin, she gave birth to a daughter on November 23. The baby was named Julia Laura, for Jackson's mother and sister.

Jackson obtained the first glimpse of his daughter in April 1863 when Anna, Julia and Hetty, a nurse who had been part of Anna's dowery, arrived at Hamilton's Crossing, south of Fredericksburg, where they found living accommodations in the home of William Yerby.

During the Jacksons' nine days together, Julia was baptized by Beverly Tucker Lacy, a chaplain in Jackson's II Corps, before a distinguished group of officers that included Robert E. Lee.

At the insistence of Anna, "Old Jack" also sat for his final photograph, a three-quarter profile that proved to be the favorite picture of his troops.

But the big attraction in the household was baby Julia, just five months old. "Everybody called on Mrs. Jackson and little Miss Stonewall," wrote a staff member. "Troops would be brought near for parade and review and the baby would be carried to where they could get a view of her. Mrs. Jackson's attractive looks, manners and good sense did much to make these visits popular and pleasant and the General was a model of a quiet, well-behaved first father."[6]

Another frequent visitor wrote of Anna: "She was a. . .gentlewoman. . .of simplicity, character and cheerfulness of spirit and most amiable manner. . . .Modest and unaffected, she was cordial and considerate toward all with whom she came in contact. Small in stature and well-rounded in form, she was in striking contrast with the erect and soldierly man whose bride she became in her youth."[7]

When Jackson received word that Federal forces had crossed the Rappahannock at the start of their spring offensive, Anna, Julia and Hetty boarded a train for Richmond. There Anna received word a

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR
Photo of Jackson Family

few days later that the General had been wounded in the Battle of Chancellorsville, that his left arm had been amputated and that he was being removed to an outbuilding on the Thomas Chandler plantation at Guiney Station south of Fredericksburg.

Escorted by Anna's brother Joseph, a member of Jackson's staff, the wife, infant and nurse arrived at Jackson's bedside on May 7, three days before his death.

Anna accompanied the body to Richmond for funeral services, then to Lexington for burial before returning once more to Cottage Home.

But even here she was unable to escape the war. When Stoneman's Raid swept through the county in late 1864, it took along all the family livestock, including Stonewall Jackson's two favorite mounts, Little Sorrel and Superior.

Recalling that Union General George Stoneman had been a West Point classmate of her husband, Anna sent a note via her nephew, Paul Barringer, and a slave, Abram, asking for the return of the horses and the mules. She did not seek to recover the cows, sheep, hogs and chickens.

General Stoneman was not to be found, but a colonel listened sympathetically to the entreaties and returned their livestock.[8]

A year after Anna rejoined her parents, her mother died and the young widow assumed the responsibilities of mistress of the busy household. She served in that position until 1873, when she turned the duties over to a newly-acquired sister-in-law and moved to Charlotte.

When the time arrived for Julia to enter finishing school, she was enrolled in The Southern Home School in Baltimore, conducted by Mrs. Hetty Cary Pegram, herself a war widow. Throughout Julia's two years at the school, Anna occupied a nearby apartment.

During Julia's stay in Baltimore, a local newspaper recalled that

> When the Jackson statue was unveiled in Richmond some years ago, after the procession and the oratory, Governor Kemper brought forward upon the platform a slender little girl and, addressing the crowd of the old Confederate soldiers, said: "Comrades, let me present to you the daughter of Stonewall Jackson." Somehow, the tears sprang to every eye at the sight of this delicate child of their resistless leader. There was no cheering, but every face showed a deep emotion. Ever since that time a tender and poetic interest has clung to the little lady and there are many thousands who care to know of her well-being. She has recently arrived in the city, under the care of her mother, who lever looses sight of her and who brings her to school. . . .Miss Julia Jackson is about sixteen years

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
George Stoneman, Brevet Major-General

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR
Julia Jackson

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR
Julia Jackson, Daughter of Stonewall Jackson

old, medium height, slender and graceful. She is blonde, with fresh color and fair hair. Her eyes are of exquisite clear gray, large and expressive. Her manners are gentle, but not shy or reserved. There is a marked resemblance to her illustrious father and she seems hardly conscious of the distinction she enjoys, and of the romantic interest that she carries with her."

On June 3, 1885, Julia married William Edmund Christian in the Second Presbyterian Church in Richmond. The ceremony was performed by Dr. Moses Hoge, a longtime friend of the Jacksons.

The newlyweds resided in Richmond for a year, then moved to San Diego. Anna accompanied the couple and was present for the birth of a granddaughter, Julia Jackson Christian, and a grandson, Thomas Jackson Christian.

After two years in California, the family returned to the East, taking up residence in Anna's home in Charlotte. One year later, Anna suffered a double loss in the death of her father, ninety-one, and her daughter, twenty-six, from typhoid fever.

Initially, the young grandchildren lived with their father's relatives, but in 1893 they rejoined their grandmother who was rapidly attaining a quasi-sainthood as the "First Lady of the South."

Tourists by the hundreds flocked to her doorstep. Public officials clustered about her. Everywhere she went she was the focus of attention, particularly when ex-Confederates gathered for the unveiling of another monument.

In the years before Julia's marriage, Anna and her daughter graced many a platform at dedication ceremonies.

On June 6, 1880, they were at Winchester, Virginia, where, with an estimated 30,000 others, including Isaac Trimble, Bradley T. Johnson and Dabney Maury, they witnessed the unveiling of the Maryland monument "to the Memory of Her Sons Who Fell on Virginia Soil."

On May 10, 1881, the eighteenth anniversary of the death of Stonewall Jackson, mother and daughter were in New Orleans for the dedication of the Army of Northern Virginia Monument. With Jefferson Davis, Fitz Lee and thousands of others, they attended the ceremonies in Metairie Cemetery. Anna pronounced the statue of her husband an excellent likeness, but she found additional reason to be pleased.

"Julia. . .behaved beautifully," she wrote. "She was sweet and gracious to everybody; she certainly

LINCOLN MUSEUM, LMU
Jubal A. Early, Lieutenant-General

was a belle for once, if never again. I do hope that she will not be spoiled by it all. I try so hard to keep her from being so, and make her realize that all the attention we receive is not for our own sake, but a reflection of the glory won by the father."[10]

Two years later, in 1883, Anna and Julia were in Lexington for the unveiling of Edward Valentine's recumbent statue of Robert E. Lee on the Washington and Lee campus.

They were part of a distinguished assemblage that included Wade Hampton, Jubal Early, Fitz and Rooney Lee, George (Maryland) Steuart and the widows of Generals Jeb Stuart, George Pickett and George Anderson. For three hours they listened as Major John Warwick Daniel "held the audience by the spell of his eloquence, moving it now to applause and now to tears."[11] After Father Abram Ryan, poet laureate of the Confederacy, recited his best-known work "The Sword of Lee," Julia drew the cord that revealed the famous sculpture, and the throng started the long procession through the university chapel that lasted until nightfall.[12]

With her daughter gone, Anna took her grandchildren, four-year-old Julia and three-year-old Thomas, to the dedication of Valentine's statue of Jackson in the Lexington town cemetery. The date was July 21, 1891, Anna's sixtieth birthday and the thirtieth anniversary of the Battle of First Manassas.

An estimated 25,000 thronged the streets of the Rockbridge County village for the ceremonies that featured an address by "Jube" Early. The chief marshal for the procession to the cemetery was James A. Walker, a VMI cadet during Jackson's professorship and a late-war commander of the Stonewall Brigade. The unveiling honors were accorded the Jackson grandchildren. Years later Julia's recollections were still clear.

> "I can remember the crowd," she wrote, also my baby indignation that my father was pushed out of the carriage by some usurping woman. I later saw him sitting on a fence with other spectators. I remember the long white sheet that covered the statue which seemed to my eyes to reach the sky—my grandmother herding us on the platform. I do not remember the speaker or the ceremony, but just before my brother and I were to pull the cord. . .my brother was diverted by a grasshopper on the small stand and, turning to grandmother, he exclaimed, "Oh, grandmother there's a grasshopper."[13]

Anna made a third visit to Lexington in June 1912, this time for the unveiling of Sir Moses Ezekiel's statue of Jackson at VMI. Again, familiar figures from the Civil War were present, although in dwindling numbers.

The presiding officer was Col. Thomas T. Munford, a cavalry commander under Jackson and one to whom Old Jack had commented at Chancellorsville: "The Institute will be heard from today."

The day's speaker was R. Preston Chew, a battery commander under Jackson. The cord was drawn by Anna Jackson Preston, the widow's 22-month-old great granddaughter who was held in the arms of her mother, the grasshopper-watcher of 1891 who was now Mrs. Edmund Randolph Preston.[14]

Anna also was present in Dallas for the dedication of the Confederate monument in 1898. The long, tiring journey and the overzealous reception in which her hand was shaken so vigorously that it became swollen, forced Anna to bed on the eve of the big event.

Her host, deeply concerned for the welfare of his distinguished guest, summoned four of the city's most prominent physicians for a consultation. All were men of considerable corpulence. As they conferred, Anna observed, "I ought to get well with one thousand pounds of doctors working over me."

As she had predicted, she was fully recovered by morning and was able to join Jefferson Davis' daughter and John H. Reagan, the last surviving

member of the Confederate cabinet, in viewing the monument that featured statues of Lee, Jackson, Davis and Albert Sidney Johnston.[15]

Her role as a national celebrity produced a similar reaction in 1910 when Anna visited Mrs. Levi Leiter in Washington at the same time that Mrs. G.F.R. Henderson, widow of Jackson's British biographer, was a guest.

President and Mrs. Taft honored Anna at the White House, scores of hostesses competed for the privilege of displaying her before capital society, and veterans clamored for a glimpse of the 78-year-old symbol of the Lost Cause.

Her strength overtaxed, Anna was forced to bed. Mrs. Leiter stood guard outside the room to make certain that the doctor's orders were faithfully obeyed. "She treated me as if I had small pox," quipped the guest.[16]

A newspaper account of Anna's visit reported that

> Those who had the great honor of meeting Mrs. Jackson found her a fragile little woman with keen, bright eyes and the alert air which characterizes those whose interest in life and its best endeavors is undimmed by sorrow or the passing years. Time seems to have passed over her lightly. Having known her worst grief when life was young, she has been enabled to take up the thread again and to weave some brightness into what was left. She delights in recalling old days and she speaks now with the calmness which comes only from Christian resignation."

Calmness was an Anna Jackson hallmark. A brother remembered only one occasion when his sister displayed a hint of temper. "It was when the fever of politics was running high. . .between the old-line Whigs and Democrats," remembered Dr. Robert Hall Morrison, Jr. "Sister Anna said she would never marry a Democrat, a widower or a soldier and as it turned out she did all three."[18]

Anna seldom refused an opportunity to attend a veterans reunion—Nashville, New Orleans, Memphis, Charleston, Charlotte. Willingly, she entered into the spirit of the occasion even if it meant appearing a trifle ridiculous.

At one event Anna and her sister Isabella, widow of D.H. Hill, were in the receiving line on a large veranda when Mrs. Hill's granddaughter spied Anna, immaculately attired but with an old hat pulled loosely over her head.

"What are you doing?" inquired the great niece.

"This old soldier has asked me to honor him by wearing his hat for a few moments," explained Anna, "and I'm just doing it to gratify him."[19]

When not traveling, Anna was at home on West Trade Street, receiving callers, caring for household responsibilities and conducting voluminous correspondence. She was an honorary president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Stonewall Jackson Chapter of Charlotte, as well as a founder of the Children of the Confederacy in that city.

For many of her adolescent years, Julia Jackson Christian lived with her grandmother, sharing in the domestic chores that included feeding the chickens, caring for the kerosene lamps, soaking the hominy and taking the silver upstairs at night.

Anna's day started at 7 a.m. when, clad in wrapper and slippers, she drank a cup of hot water. She always dressed for breakfast, after which she engaged in morning devotions. The remainder of the morning was spent at a small desk answering mail or working on her books, *Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson* (1891) and *Julia Jackson Christian* (1910).

After the noontime meal, she frequently went for a walk. A late-afternoon nap ,supper, a glance at the evening paper and some light conversation completed her day before retirement at an early hour.

"I never saw my grandmother hurried," observed her granddaughter.

Anna's tastes in literature ran to biography and travel, or those books circulated by the Cranford Book Club, of which she was a charter member. At one time or another, however, she had read "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which she denied to young Julia as "unfair to the South." Only after her marriage in 1907 was Julia able to satisfy her curiosity on the book.

Anna's daily routine was slightly different on Sunday. After services at the nearby First Presbyterian Church, the remaining daylight hours may have been devoted to reading "The Presbyterian of the South" or "Presbyterian Standard." Julia, on occasion, was permitted to take a walk, but never ride a streetcar. Her Sabbath reading was confined to "Sunday books."[20] Anna forswore the Sunday newspapers until after nightfall, although she would listen avidly to items that others had gleaned from them.

Some of Julia's happiest moments in her grandmother's home were provided by visits from ladies of Anna's generation when "I sat unobserved. . . and savored the talk expressed in the veiled Victorian words of that day.

"Old ladies have always meant a great deal to me. My whole young life and young womanhood was passed in their company. . .ushering them in, entertaining them in the parlor—or sitting room for those more intimate—until grandmother appeared and I could sit unnoticed, enjoying it all. When their voices were lowered, I sharpened my ears for

some bit of neighborhood gossip, or when they were skirting around the forbidden land of sex where all was taboo and hush-hush in that day, I listened more intently."[21]

While Anna was willing to receive honors and accolades "on account of my husband," she did not use her role as Stonewall Jackson's widow for personal gain or favor, except one time.

With her granddaughter, she arrived at a railroad station as the train was pulling out. Raising her voice, Anna called: "Please hold the train for Mrs. Stonewall Jackson."

Cords were jerked frantically, brakes squealed and the train backed up. Triumphantly, Anna and Julia were escorted to their seats.[22]

Widowed in her early 30s, Anna would have been a capital matrimonial catch for some fortunate gentleman, but she never considered the possibility because "I would never give up my name."

However, she acknowledged the existence of a Southern Presbyterian minister with whom she corresponded until his death. There also was a Southern governor who confessed to her: "Mrs. Jackson, if I hadn't promised my wife on her death bed never to remarry! God only knows how I suffer!"[23]

In 1907, the North Carolina legislature voted Anna a $100 monthly pension. She declined the offer, writing: "I most welcomingly appreciate the patriotic and loyal tribute in the name of my late husband, but I do not feel that I would be justified in accepting it. I am informed that the laws of North Carolina limit all pensions to those who have not five hundred dollars of personal property, and as I do not come under the law, I respectfully request that the bill be withdrawn." She suggested that the money be appropriated for the benefit of destitute widows and orphans of veterans.[24]

For years Anna suffered from neuralgia about the eyes and cheeks. Visits to eastern health spas afforded no relief. In desperation she went to Hot Springs, Arkansas, where a doctor recommended morphine. Three months later, although free of pain, she realized she would become a hopeless drug addict if she continued to use the morphine.

Returning eastward, and in the face of vigorous opposition from leading physicians, including a kinsman, she went to Baltimore where the diseased nerve was removed. The surgeon refused payment for the operation, explaining that her relief from pain was sufficient reward.

When she was eighty, Anna had all of her twelve remaining teeth removed without an opiate, then walked home unaided from the dentist's office. She could endure physical and mental pain equally well.

Although the years were eroding her strength, Anna mustered sufficient energy to attend "Stonewall Jackson Memorial Day" in Richmond in May 1910.

"Thinking not of herself but only of him," wrote Dr. James Power Smith, one-time member of Jackson's staff, "she was as gentle, unaffected and cheerful as we had always known her. More frail in body, showing the traces of her many years, she was uncomplaining, placid in countenance and peaceful in spirit. Happy in the enthusiasm of our hero-worship, she was biding her time when she would enter in through the gates and find those whom by the wise and loving will of her Heavenly Father she had lost awhile."[25]

In August 1914, Anna suffered a heart attack while at Walter's Park, a Pennsylvania resort she had visited in late years for simple food and moderate exercise. She was hospitalized in Philadelphia, but never regained full strength after returning home.

A cold, contracted while sitting outdoors, developed into pneumonia and she died at her home at 4:20 a.m. on March 24, 1915.

In her final hours Anna continued to think of others, telling her granddaughter: "When we go to Lexington [for the funeral], be sure that the children [great granddaughters Anna and Cortlandt] are in safe hands."

Public activities in Charlotte came to a virtual standstill on the day of the funeral. Mayor Charles Bland, in a proclamation, suggested that "stores be closed and all business be suspended at 4:30 that we as a city can pay tribute to the memory of the distinguished dead."[26]

After services before a capacity crowd at the First Presbyterian Church, the body was taken by rail to Lexington for interment beside Anna's husband and daughter.

Among those making the final journey was James Power Smith, who had made a similar trip with the remains of his chief fifty-two years earlier.

NOTES

[1]*Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXX, page 413. Here after abbreviated *CV.*

[2]Charlotte *Observer,* undated.

[3]Rockbridge County, Va. *News,* March-April 1952.

[4]*C.V.,* Vol. XXX, page 412. Typescript.

[5]Collected notes of Madeline Orr and Julia Jackson Christian Preston. Typescript.

[6]Henry Kyd Douglas in *I Rode With Stonewall,* pages 217-18. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940.

[7]James Power Smith in *Southern Historical Society Papers,* Vol. XLIII, page 32.

[8]Paul Barringer in *The Natural Bent,* pages 33-34. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949.

[9]Baltimore *Gazette,* cited by Anna Jackson in *Julia Jackson Christian,* page 24. Charlotte, N.C.: Stone and Barringer Co., 1910.

[10]Eugenia Hill Arnold in SHSP, Vol. XLIII, page 91.

[11]Franklin Riley in *General Robert E. Lee After Appomattox,* page 235. New York: MacMillan, 1922.

[12]SHSP, Vol. XI, page 415.

[13]Rockbridge County *News.*

[14]William Couper in *One Hundred Years at VMI,* Vol. IV, pages 154-157. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1939.

[15]Orr-Preston notes.

[16]Unidentified newspaper clipping.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]*C.V.,* Vol. XXX, page 413.

[19]*Ibid.*

[20]Rockbridge County *News.*

[21]*Ibid.*

[22]*Ibid.*

[23]*Ibid.*

[24]*C.V.,* Vol. XV, page 55.

[25]James Power Smith, SHSP, Vol. XLIII, page 324.

[26]Charlotte *Daily Observer,* March 25, 1915.

THE WINTER GUNS OF OLUSTEE

By Allen A. Witt

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

Battle of Olustee

February drops a wet chill over backwoods Florida. In the palmetto swamps west from Sanderson, fog sits low and thick above the ground. Sometimes, if the wind is right, it climbs up the half-rotted pines until all the forest is an army of tall, dark forms standing at attention in the fog. On days like that, it makes you remember. . .

It was a February morning, late in the month, and the fog rolled in from a muddy pond to the south. It was a morning like any other in the swamp near Olustee Station, except for one thing: mixed in with the army of scrub pines was another army. As the sun drove away the last of the mist from the trees, the army could plainly be seen, shivering a little from the cold (or maybe just shivering). There were over 10,000 in all. Nearly half wore gray, the rest wore blue.

All of that happened 100 years ago. The survivors, their children and grandchildren are gone. But, when February comes to Olustee, the people remember their dead.

"Forget Hell" reads a semi's bumper sticker in nearby Lake City (home of many of the Confederate dead), and truer words were never spoken. For a long weekend, the usually quiet town of 14,000 turns the clock back 118 years, and lets out all the stops.

The serene little burg is transformed into a Civil War celebration. Thousands of men in battle-worn uniforms strut across the square, muskets slung beneath their arms. Bonneted belles stir pots of original southern hopping-john.

Generals and Colonels bark orders into the snappy February air, and hand artisans of every sort hawk the goods that grandma used to make.

The costumes alone are worth the trip. (Imagine standing in line at McDonalds with a Yankee mess sergeant and three platoons of Rebel sharpshooters.) The real show, however, is the battle.

Professional Civil War re-enactors come from all over the nation for the occasion and the effect is, well, just use your imagination. Think of a low pine field littered with bodies, . . .imagine 1,000 muskets going off at point blank range, . . .imagine flags and drums and bugle calls, . . .cannons blasting in the distance, . . .and screams of the injured and dying. If you've closed your eyes and really pictured it, you have an idea of the devastating effect of the Olustee re-enactment.

For one short afternoon you could have stepped back almost a century and a quarter. No detail is forgotten. Every possible effort is made to recreate exactly what happened on this historic stretch of scrub land six generations ago. The only difference is the casualty list.

This year, officers expect only a few scraped knees and stiff backs from sleeping in the reconstructed army camps. In that other February, the numbers were staggering. The Southern casualties came close to 1,000, including the killed, wounded, and missing. The Union's numbers topped the Confederate's climbing to nearly 1,900.

But the battle is not the only reason for joining the celebration. Top national entertainers (Johnny Cash and June Carter Cash appeared last year), musket fights, Civil War displays, a 10 K run, fancy dress ball, and a full-scale, high-strutting parade also add to the local blow-out.

"Why celebrate a battle?" a young college student was heard to ask during last year's festival. A philosopher might have reminded him that "if we forget our history, we're doomed to repeat it." For the average citizens of Lake City, though, philosophy is the last thing on their minds. To them, it's simply an annual reason to have a good time, take a look at the past, and remember that, once upon a time, something very important happened here.

This year's festival was scheduled for February 18, 19, and 20, 1983. For more information, write Olustee Festival Information, P.O. Box 2135, Lake City, FL 32055.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR
Battle of Olustee

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR
Battle of Olustee Station

Lincoln News Digest

By GARY R. PLANCK, *Literary Editor*

Items for this column should be mailed to the Literary Editor at 901 Palmer Avenue, Winter Park, Florida 32789.

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The speaker "of national renown" for the Abraham Lincoln Association's convocation program on February 12, whose name was not released "for security reasons" prior to the $40 a ticket event, turned out to be not the President but William Safire, New York *Times* columnist, on the topic, "Lincoln's Pundits: If Today's Columnists Were Writing in Lincoln's Time." Unfortunately Safire became snowed in at Washington and could not appear in person. Therefore, a tape of his speech was sent by telephone line and played for the gathered assembly in the Hall of Representatives at the Old State Capitol in Springfield. Harlington Wood, Jr., of the United States Court of Appeals read excerpts from "The House Divided Speech," and a banquet followed at the Illinois National Bank. As a memento of this occasion, the Association distributed an actual-size reproduction of the first separate printing of the famous Lincoln speech given June 16, 1858, made from one of two extant original copies published by O.P. Bassett of Sycamore owned by the Illinois State Historical Society.

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To commemorate Lincoln's birthday this year, a special program, "Abraham Lincoln: A Musical Biography," was presented February 12 at Springfield's Lincoln Home Visitors Center. Music playing an important part in Lincoln's life was sung by a choral group, the Voices of Love, Joy, and Peace; Lincoln was portrayed by actor R. Frederick Klein. The celebration on February 13 with a Grand Levee at the Lincoln Home from 1:00 to 4:00 P.M. Dressed in period fashions, Springfield Junior League members, along with "Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln," welcomed guests in the tradition of the farewell party held at the house on February 6, 1861.

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Seventy-eight people attended the annual dinner of the District of Columbia Lincoln Group. Guest speaker was Mark E. Neely, Jr., on "Lincoln and the Constitution." L. Bruce Laingen, the Iranian hostage ranking diplomat, offered the invocation and remarks and Paul Cormeilson, a Gettysburg College music student, sang Civil War songs. "Mr. Lincoln's Washington," a display of 6 panels with 26 photographs, was set up by Edward Steers, Jr., and Joan Chaconas, and a program about the exhibit was distributed. Since July, 1982, the Group has secured 38 new members for a total of 87 as of February; some 37 others subscribe to the Group's publication, *The Lincolnian.*

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The 14th Annual Lincoln Pilgrimage sponsored by the Lincoln Trails Council of the Boy Scouts of America in Decatur, Illinois, (Donald L. Dickerson, District Executive) was held on February 12. Over 800 boys and leaders from 58 Scouting units (28 packs, 29 troops, 1 explorer post) marched from the Macon County Court House and heard short Lincoln presentations by Mayor Elmer Walton, Judge John L. Davis, Eric C. Brechnitz, and State Senator Jim Rupp at each of the Lincoln statues along the route. Lester Davis portrayed Lincoln and State Representative John Dunn was chairman. All participants in the 1 1/2 mile walk received a pilgrimage certificate and patch featuring "The President" statue by sculptor A.L. Van den Berger and enjoyed hot chocolate and coffee at the Old Courthouse in Fairview Park.

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Lincoln's Beardstown Almanac Case was one of his most famous trials. The late Norman Rockwell created a dramatic portrait, "Lincoln the Lawyer," based on the event. Now River Shore, Ltd. (Box 338, Caledonia, Michigan 49316), "creators of museum quality limited editions," is offering a limited edition (1000 copies) of the portrait in porcelain. It is 6 by 12 inches, 11 by 17 framed. Issue price is $175 U.S. and $250 Canada. However, C. Richard Spiegal, River Shore president, is granting 50% off the suggested retail price to those identifying themselves as readers of the *Lincoln Herald,* this is a favor to R. Gerald McMurtry, advisor to his company and former editor of our magazine. However, a $10 charge for shipping/insurance must also accompany orders. A free brochure showing the work is available.

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P. Don Kemp, Jr., prominent member of the New York Lincoln Group, has mysteriously disappeared while driving to Jackson, Wyoming, to

write a book on Abraham Lincoln. His abandoned vehicle with its motor running and stereo playing was found November 16, 1982, by a patrol officer on Interstate 80, 40 miles west of Laramie. All of Kemp's possessions were in the vehicle, and there were no signs of foul play, robbery, or other reasons for his disappearance. However, a shirt and pair of socks belonging to him were later discovered in a rancher's haystack some ten miles away. Although searches have been conducted, no further clues have been found. Members of the New York Lincoln Group have contributed funds to help with expenses incurred by Mary Kemp, Don's mother, in her personal search for her missing son.

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Actor/playwright Gary Bullock penned his one-act, one-man play, *A. Lincoln,* in 1979. Following numerous successful performances, he incorporated additional material, making it a two-act production. "I feel [it] is now a better show than the original by far," he writes. The drama, directed by Mil Nicholson, is now handled by Universal Speakers Agency, 235 Bear Hill Road, Waltham, Massachusetts 02215 (617-536-1235), aiming primarily at the college market. Currently Mr. Bullock is preparing the outline of a new play centered around the Lincoln marriage to be performed by Ms. Nicholson and himself.

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Affectionately, A. Lincoln by Jerome Alden is yet another one-man Lincoln drama, this new one scheduled to premier September 23 at Sangamon State University in Springfield. It will star singer/actor Ed Ames of the Ames Brothers fame; he has been a Lincoln student for some years. Organizations interested in presenting the play in their areas may secure details regarding available dates, fees, and production requirements by writing Columbia Artists Theatricals Corporation at 165 West 57th Street, New York, New York 10019 or by telephoning Ken Olsen collect in New York City at (212) 841-9640.

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Wayne C. Temple, Illinois State Archives Deputy Director, had a busy February 17 in Jacksonville, Illinois. That morning he was a guest on WLDS's Ron Tendick Show, talking about Lincoln and answering listeners' questions. That evening he gave the Convocation Lecture at Illinois College, speaking on "Builders and Remodelers of Lincoln's Home." Later that night he visited the Phi Alpha fraternity house. Both Lincoln and Douglas had been members, and Dr. Temple was elected to membership in 1982. While there he autographed his latest book, *Stephen A. Douglas: Freemason,* for the fraternity's house library. In the November, 1982, issue of *The Northern Light,* a publication of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, an excerpt from that book appeared under the title "A Monument for Stephen Douglas" and the book itself was reviewed at length by Alphonse Cerza. The magazine's cover carried a beautiful color reproduction of a portrait of Douglas as Grand Orator of the Grand Lodge of Illinois in 1840 painted by Lloyd Ostendorf for the Stephen A. Douglas DeMolay Chapter at Springfield's Masonic Temple.

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The 49th Annual National American Legion Pilgrimage to Lincoln's Tomb sponsored by Post 32 was held February 12. Following breakfast at the Hilton, a caravan of buses and cars carried guests to ceremonies which included wreath laying, music from the Lincoln Land Community College Choir, and a speech by National Commander Al Keller. A Lincoln Commemorative Luncheon followed with further remarks by Keller.

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Mark E. Neely, Jr., is the 1983 winner of the New York Civil War Round Table's Barondess/Lincoln Award presented at the group's February 9 meeting. In announcing its selection, the award committee, composed of George M. Craig, Betty Zinn, and R.C. Brown, pointed to the need for such a reference work in the Lincoln field as Dr. Neely has compiled—*The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia.*

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The Prairieland Stamp Store in Springfield's Cork Street Post Office was dedicated February 12. Wayne C. Temple cut the ribbon and spoke on Lincoln as a Postmaster. To commemorate the occasion, the Postal Service issued a cacheted envelope bearing a picture of Lincoln's Home and carrying a special Prairieland Stamp Store postmark. First covers were presented to Dr. Temple and Lloyd Ostendorf.

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During February Thomas J. Dyba exhibited Lincoln materials in Illinois Benedictine College's library. It featured a photographic presentation showing how the Lincoln Home Site has changed during the ten years it has been under National Park Service supervision. The exhibit also contained the life of Lincoln as depicted in art produced on first day covers and cachets.

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"[N]othing Abraham Lincoln ever did in his life quite so inspired—or profited—America's artists as did his death," writes Harold Holzer in his illustrated article, "Portraits of a Martyr: Lincoln in Death, Bigger Than Life" (*The Antique Trader,* February 9). It covers badges and sketches; murder, deathbed and funeral scenes; martyr portraits; and apotheosis scenes. Holzer's "Lincoln Mailbag" appears in the same issue.

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A new President's Day medal designed by Frank Gasparro, former United States Mint chief sculptor-engraver, depicting Washington and Lincoln on one side with the monument and memorial on the other is available from Design Pak, Inc., 175 Maple Street, Marlboro, Massachusetts 01752. The coins in gold ($1250), gold vermeil ($50), and silver ($35) show the men in three-quarter profile with Lincoln to the left.

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A program on whether Lincoln suffered from the Marfan syndrome featuring historian Gabor Boritt and physician Adam Boritt was held at last year's meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Philadelphia. Present in the audience was Dr. Harold Schwartz to hear the Boritts argue against the theory he has advocated for many years; all "participated in a most lively fashion."

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Elijah Hanks, a cousin of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, was pastor of Knob Creek Baptist Church, Maury County, Tennessee, in the late 1820's. After his death in 1871, a brief biography of this respected religious leader was published. Robert Holloway (383 Tamarack Drive, Henderson, Nevada 89015), a descendant of Reverend Hanks' sister, has for sale ($8.00) xerox copies of a typewritten version of the biography.

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"They all came to ruination," says Tom Payton, Ford's Theatre assistant manager, of the April 14, 1865, Box No. 8 occupants in Barbara Rehm's "The Lincoln Legend Thrives" (New York *Daily News,* February 6). "[Lincoln's] wife. . .went insane and died in an asylum." Either Payton's knowledge of Mary's life is deficient or he has been seriously misquoted. The article focuses on Ford's Theatre, Petersen House, and Lincoln Memorial.

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The February, 1983, issue of *Illinois History: A Magazine for Young People* is devoted entirely to Abraham Lincoln again. This thirty-page illustrated periodical supervised by Kay MacLean contains eleven articles by Illinois junior and senior high school students and one by Mark E. Neely, Jr., "Why I Write About Abraham Lincoln." Copies are $.25 from the magazine at Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois 62706.

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Masaham Mochizuki has given his Tokyo Lincoln Center collection to Meisei University. To celebrate its opening, the school has issued two catalogues in both Japanese and English entitled *Abraham Lincoln Collection* and *A Collection of Abraham Lincoln Pamphlets on American Civil War.* The story of this collection has been told in the past columns and reviews in the *Lincoln Herald.*

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Slide Factor (75 Gardner Street, West Roxbury, Massachusetts 02132) has issued a folder with four brown-tone Lincoln photographs as an advertisement for its service—putting together "anything from a window display to a lobby exhibit, from a short set of slides to a full-blown multi-media show" to help commemorate Lincoln's 175th birthday. It is run by the Gutmans, authors of *John Wilkes Booth Himself.*

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The Seventh Annual Schwengel Lincoln Contest sponsored by the Lincoln Foundation of Northeast Missouri State University at Kirksville was held this spring. Elementary, secondary, and college students competed in three categories—art, oratory, and essay writing related to Lincoln. Fred Schwengel, United States Capitol Historical Society president, gave awards to the winners on April 16.

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Lloyd Ostendorf contributed "Was This Photo of Lincoln Taken in Daytona? Maybe Yes Maybe No" to the Dayton *Daily News*'s *The Magazine* of February 6. This article about photographer Thomas Walker Cridland and artist Charles W. Nickum marks the thirtieth consecutive year the *Lincoln Herald* art editor has had a Lincoln feature in the Sunday magazines of the newspaper.

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One of the most beautiful Lincoln articles to appear in a long time is Harold Holzer's "If I Had Another Face, Do You Think I'd Wear This One" in the February/March, 1983, *American Heritage.* It contains seven pages of likenesses in color and black and white of Lincoln as candidate, nominee, and President. "Lincoln was the first campaigner and President to be aware of the potential of mass communications," Holzer observes. "With a

technological revolution taking place in the graphic arts. . .Lincoln first came to realize that portraiture could help him win elections." And he also understood it could help him maintain support once in office. Therefore, Holzer finds that the "variety and volume of Lincoln art helped transform him from a relatively unknown prairie lawyer into the most familiar face of his or succeeding generations."

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The second annual National Forum on Lincoln and the Union sponsored by Jerry Russell's Civil War Round Table Associates was held in Springfield, Illinois, April 14-16, 1983. Speakers and their topics specifically relating to Lincoln were Wayne C. Temple on "Captain A. Lincoln in the Militia" and "Builders and Remodelers of Lincoln's Home," Thomas L. Vince on "Lincoln and John Brown," and Robert Meinhard on "Lincoln: Was He the Great Emancipator?" Mark E. Neely, Jr., addressed two banquet sessions, and the Lincoln Home Staff offered two programs, "The Real Lincoln? Dramatized Interview with Mr. Lincoln's Law Partner and Biographer, William Herndon" and "Finding Mrs. Lincoln: Dramatized Interview with Mary Lincoln's Older Sister, Elizabeth Todd Edwards." Other speakers included Carrol Hall ("The Four Lives of Camp Butler"), Richard Schachtsick ("Winslow Homer: His Paintings on the Civil War"), John Y. Simon ("The Paradox of U.S. Grant"), Everett E. Quanstrom ("The General Who Prolonged the Civil War"), Richard Lemal ("The Springfield Rifle"), Herman Hattaway ("How the North Won"), and John Satterlee ("The Journal and the 114th Illinois"). Those attending also toured local historical sites—the Old State Capitol, Lincoln Home, Lincoln Tomb, Lincoln Law Offices, and New Salem State Park.

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The Coles County Historical Society held an Abraham Lincoln Symposium April 16 at Eastern Illinois University in Charleston. Speakers included Lloyd Ostendorf on "Historical Authenticity for Paintings About Abraham Lincoln," Robert Sterling on "Union Army Desertions and Pardons in the Civil War," and Basil Moore on "The Wit and Humor of Abraham Lincoln." Ralph Y. McGinnis served as General Chairman. The registration fee included admission to the symposium and a packet containing the printed addresses from the sessions and an Ostendorf Lincoln sketch print.

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The first Gettysburg Civil War Institute was held June 26-July 2 at Gettysburg College. Directed by Gabor S. Boritt, the Institute's central themes were the Civil War, the Gettysburg Battle, and Abraham Lincoln approached from a variety of perspectives—history, literature, film, art, music, tours, etc. The nationally known faculty included William C. Davis ("The Civil War—The Long View"), Robert L. Bloom ("The Gettysburg Campaign: Then and Now"), William A. Frassanito ("Gettysburg A Journal in Time"), Mark E. Neely, Jr. ("Abraham Lincoln: The Looming Presence"), John K. Lattimer ("The President Who Died in 1865"), Harold Holzer ("Lincoln and the Artists"), Steven Sylvia and Mike O'Donnell ("Collecting Civil War Relics"), and Adam Boritt and Gabor Boritt ("The President Who Was to Die in 1866: Lincoln and the Marfan Syndrome"). Also included were viewings of *The Horse Soldiers* starring John Wayne and *The Red Badge of Courage* with Audie Murphy and visits to the Electric Map/Cyclorama, a Civil War encampment/reenactment, and the Gettysburg National Cemetery. The program concluded with a picnic by the pond featuring Civil War music performed by the West Orrtanna String Band.

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Constance Head attended the January 9, 1983, performance of *John Wilkes Booth* by Chris Dickerson featuring William L. Sanders mentioned in our last column. "The research is impeccable," she reports to John Brennan; "the presentation is extremely fair; and best of all, JWB comes across as so human and understandable." She found "no real nastiness toward Lincoln" in the characterization, but he is "not idolized either." Dr. Head had an opportunity to speak with Dickerson and Sanders after the performance and learned that the actor had grown up about five miles from Tudor Hall although has not visited it yet. He has always been interested in Booth, and "very definitely LIKES him." However, both playwright and actor were "stunned" to learn from Dr. Head about Clinton Case's one-man Booth play activities.

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Clinton Case has been made aware of William Sanders' one-man Booth play. "The info is mildly distressing . . . ," he told John Brennan, "although I've always had a feeling I couldn't have been the only one doing a one-man on Booth." Recently he has been performing his show for west coast high schools and colleges. And he has dropped Sanders a note wishing him well with his production.

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A kit of medical instruments used for the autopsy on Lincoln's body went on permanent display

last February at the Smithsonian Institute's National Museum of American History. It was given by the King's County [N.Y.] Medical Society which had owned it since 1935. "The gift will fill a gap in what is already a pretty complete exhibit on Lincoln's life and death," a Smithsonian official observed.

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Lincoln was acutely aware of the importance of his photographs, Harold Holzer is quoted as observing in an interview by Paul Kirby appearing in the February 11 Rye [N.Y.] *Daily Item*. According to Holzer, the Sixteenth President actually exploited developing technology to enhance his image in the public eye, taking full advantage of new photographic inventions and techniques.

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"Abraham Lincoln on Race, Slavery, and Emancipation" was a program held at the Southern Historical Association's annual meeting in Memphis last November. David L. Lightner spoke on "Lincoln in the 1850's: Egalitarian Ideals and Political Realities" and Richard O. Curry on "President Lincoln and Slavery: The Problem of Rhetoric v. Reality." Ludwell Johnson and Mark Neely offered comments.

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On May 8, 1862, a number of individuals witnessed two personal precedents for President Lincoln—it was his first exposure to enemy fire and his first opportunity to directly exercise his powers as commander-in-chief. These are recalled in Robert H. Joynt's February, 1983, *Civil War Times Illustrated* article, "Commander Lincoln at Norfolk: The President Captures a Confederate Post."

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Anne Arundel County Community College at Annapolis, Maryland, offered last March a two session course, "The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln." Its first three-hour class covered the plot, conspirators, murder, and aftermath; the second all day meeting consisted of an excursion to Washington, D.C., and southern Maryland to visit historical sites associated with the assassination story.

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Frank J. Williams, president of the Boston Lincoln Group, spoke on "Abraham Lincoln: The Making of a Constitutional Lawyer" at the February 9 meeting of the New York CWRT. The group's February issue of *The Dispatch* contains "The Assassins of a President" by Benn Pitman from a newspaper of about 1899, "Entries Reviewed by the Barondess/Lincoln Award Committee," "The Barondess/Lincoln Award," and "Directory of Lincoln Groups."

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On Lincoln's birthday, 1982, 1000 people in St. Albans, Vermont, shaped over 200 truckloads of snow into Abraham, the world's tallest snowman. It was 148 feet in base circumference and 47 feet 10 inches tall with a stove pipe hat measuring 10 feet high. This giant snow Abe will appear in the 1984 Guinness record book and is pictured in the February, 1983, issue of *Yankee*.

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"If you collect Lincoln postcards, you have chosen a specialty that you can never finish," writes Roy Nuhn in "Historical and Beautiful: Lincoln Postcards" (*The Antique Trader*, February 9, 1983). "It will consume you for a lifetime." With 7000 to 8000 in existence issued by 1000 companies, he may well be correct. Along with Uncle Sam and George Washington, Lincoln's image dominated patriotic postcard publishing for many years.

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The State Department is thinking of leasing a 40-room Georgetown mansion as the temporary residence for visiting foreign dignitaries while Blair House is undergoing extensive renovation. The house located at 3014 N Street N.W. now owned by real estate broker Vicki Bagley was built in 1799 and purchased by Robert Todd Lincoln (in 1918) who lived there until his death in 1926.

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Copies of Thomas J. Dyba's new booklet, *Seventeen Years at Eighth and Jackson*, are still available. Two hundred of the autographed, registered first edition are $10.00 each and remaining regular copies are $5.00 mailed. Proceeds go to the Lincoln Humanities Scholarship Fund at Illinois Benedictine College. Write Mr. Dyba at the school, 5700 College Road, Lisle, Illinois 60532.

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And speaking of Mr. Dyba, an article ("A Lincoln Collector's Labor of Love" by M.W. Newman) containing beautiful color photographs of his 1:12 Lincoln home model and collection appears in the March/April issue of *The Franklin Mint Almanac*. The model will be unveiled to the public in 1984. Dyba's next project is to be a model of the original 1 1/2 story Lincoln house before its expansion.

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Over the past half century, Earl C. Kubicek, Executive Director of the New Mexico Historical

Society, has accumulated a personal Lincoln-Civil War library of over 1300 publications which he is currently interested in selling. A bibliography for inspection will be made available to interested individuals and institutions. Write him at 1918 Fort Union Drive, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

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Lincoln publications have been flowing from Massachusetts' Bridgewater State College recently. These include *Books About Mary Todd Lincoln: A Contribution to a Bibliography* by George A. Fiore and Jean F. Stonehouse, *Bridgewater Review's* first volume containing "Myth and the Lincoln Assassination: Did John Wilkes Booth Escape?" by Thomas R. Turner, and *Abraham Lincoln Collection* supplement.

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Additional articles to report: DEANE and PEGGY ROBERTSON-"The Plot to Steal Lincoln's Body;; (*American Heritage,* April/May, 1982). . .PERCY E. MARTIN-"Samuel Bland Arnold Revisited" and JOHN C. BRENNAN-"Excerpts from Lt. Col. Rath's Account of the Execution" (*Surratt Society News,* January, 1983). . .GABOR S. BORITT-Civil War section (*World Book Encyclopedia,* forthcoming edition). . .GUY W. MOORE-"Questions and Answers" (*Surratt Society News,* February, 1983). . . R.R. MORRISON-"Continued Visitation of Homes in Springfield, Illinois that Lincoln Would Recognize Today;" THOMAS J. DYBA-"An Expanded Chronology of the Lincoln Home, Settling Into a Routine;" and ARTHUR C. HANSON-"The Rall Family and Abraham Lincoln" (*The Lincoln Chronicle,* February 6, 1983). . .GEORGE KACKLEY-"The Tie That Binds" [Lincoln and Stanton] (*The Lincolnian,* March/April, 1983). . .JOHN C. BRENNAN-"The Three Versions of the Testimony in the 1865 Conspiracy Trial" (Surratt Society News, March, 1983). . .

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Additional speeches to report: JOHN A. LLOYD-"Mr. Lincoln Defines America" (Lincoln Club of Delaware, February, 1982). . .WAYNE C. TEMPLE-"New Research on A. Lincoln" (American Legion Post 32, February 4, 1983). . .THOMAS J. DYBA-"Abraham Lincoln, Homeowner and Neighbor" (West Suburban Council of Teachers, February 9; Wheaton Lions Club, March 8; Naperville Rotary International, March 10; Children of the American Revolution, March 26; and Cantiguy War Memorial and Museum, May 4, 1983). . .JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN-"Lincoln's Evolving View of Freedom" (Lincoln Club of Delaware, February 10, 1983). . .BASIL MOORE-"Entertaining and Inspirational Stories By and About Will Rogers and Abraham Lincoln" (Sangamon Education Conference, February 25; Coles County Historical Society, February 27; and Rotary International District No. 651 Conference, May 13, 1983). . . JOSEPH GEORGE, JR.-"The Days Are Yet Dark': Louis J. Weichmann's Later Years" (D.C. Lincoln Group, March 15, 1983). . .JOHN Y. SIMON-"The Grant-Lincoln Relationship" (Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin, April 17, 1983). . .HERMAN J. VIOLA-"Lincoln and the Indians" (D.C. Lincoln Group, April 20, 1983). . .GRANT ROMER-"Methods Used to Determine If Certain Daguerreotypes Show Lincoln" and RICHARD GUTMAN-"The Assassin's Act" (New York Lincoln Group, April 27, 1983).

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Additional books to report: RICHARD D. MUDD-*Dr. Samuel A. Mudd and Descendants,* fifth edition (Richard D. Mudd, 1001 Hoyt Avenue, Saginaw, Michigan 48607). . .HARRY V. JAFFA-*Crises of the House Divided: An Interpretation of the Issues in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates,* reprint (University of Chicago Press, 5801 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637. . .TAYLOR JONES-*Add-Verse to Presidents,* Lincoln section (Red Dembner Enterprises Corporation, 1841 Broadway, New York, New York 10023). . . VIRGINIA BRADLEY-*Holidays on Stage: A Festival of Special Occasion Plays,* Lincoln play (Dodd, Mead and Company, 79 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016). . .ANDY VAN METER-*Always My Friend: A History of the State Journal-Register in Springfield,* Lincoln sections (*State Journal-Register,* P.O. Box 219, Springfield, Illinois 62705). . .ROBERT PHILIPPE-*Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon,* Lincoln references (Abbeville Press, 505 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022). . .VAUGHAN SHELTON-*The View From Eternity: Biography of a Clairvoyant,* Ruth Shelton's clairvoyant revelations on the Lincoln assassination (Forbes Nichols, P.O. Box 996, Pocatello, Idaho 83204). . .ROY MEREDITH-*Mathew Brady's Portrait of an Era,* 150 portraits (W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10110). . .

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Forthcoming publications to report: MARK E. NEELY, JR., and R. GERALD McMURTRY's *"Furnace of Affliction": Mary Todd Lincoln Declared Insane* will be published later this year or early next by the University of Tennessee Press. . .

HAROLD HOLZER and LLOYD OSTENDORF's *By the People, For the People: Lincoln and the Printmakers' Art* is scheduled for publication in 1984. . .EDWARD SULLIVAN (University of Hartford, Hartford, Connecticut) is preparing a book relating to Lincoln campaign badges. . . HELEN B. CROCKER (Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky) is working on a study of the Lincoln cult in the 1920's. . . DANIEL E. PEARSON (P.O. Box 58, Beaver Dam, Wisconsin 53916) is preparing a new pamphlet on the Lincoln home. . .JOHN C. BRENNAN has contributed "John Wilkes Booth's Enigmatic Brother Joseph" to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (University of Maryland, Catonsville, Maryland 21228). . .ARNOLD GATES' *The Rough Side of War,* the edited Mosman Civil War journal, is seeking a publisher among university presses. . .ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois) is expanding a 1978 paper into a full-length book on the life-long association of Carl Sandburg with Abraham Lincoln. . . LAURIE VERGE's proposed booklet on the Surratt House has been "put on the back burner" pending completion of the kitchen restoration, acquisition of additional funds, and additional time to edit the completed research. . .JAMES O. HALL estimates that his book, *Murder at Ford's Theatre,* should be published within the next eighteen months. . .

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Names in the Lincoln news: JOHN C. BRENNAN and five guests were allowed to visit Fort McNair's Quarters 20-5, the site of the Lincoln Conspiracy Trial. . .GETTYSBURG HOTEL, the 183 year old structure in Lincoln Square, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, was destroyed by fire on February 10, 1983. . .GEORGE L. CASHMAN, former Lincoln Tomb curator, died in Springfield, Illinois, on March 27 at age 85 and was buried at Oak Ridge Cemetery. . .CITIZENS STAMP ADVISORY COMMITTEE is considering issuing a Lincoln commemorative stamp for the 175th anniversary of Lincoln's birth. . .FRANK J. WILLIAMS has been added to the New York CWRT's Barondess/Lincoln Award Committee Advisory Board. . .RALPH Y. McGINNIS (1910 University Drive, Charleston, Illinois 61920), author of *Quotations from Abraham Lincoln,* is available to lecture on various Lincoln subjects. . . CHUCK LEVITAN displayed his giant portraits of Lincoln during February at the New York University Graduate School of Business Administration. . . ABRAHAM LINCOLN BOOK SHOP (18 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611) has issued Catalog 105 containing sections on Lincoln and Civil War publications. . .NATIONAL PARK SERVICE opened a new book shop in the Lincoln Home Visitors Center at Springfield in April. . . JOHN K. LATTIMER took his Lincoln assassination collection to Washington on April 15 for the benefit of the D.C. Lincoln Group, Surratt Society, and Mudd Society members. . .FATHER KEESLER has secured a CDV of the assassination poster photo of a man now identified as Isaac Surratt with a pencil signature on the back that looks like John Surratt. . .BOOTH ESCAPE ROUTE TOURS were held April 16 (Surratt Society narrated by James Hall), April 30 (Lord Baltimore Middle School of Clinton narrated by Joan Chaconas), and May 14 (D.C. Lincoln Group narrated by Edward Steers). . .ART LOUX has located the graves of Harry C. and Blanche Ford in Clifton, New Jersey. . .

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The Holland-Zeeland Civil War Round Table met Tuesday, March 15 at 7:30 in the New Groningen School, located at 10542 Chicago Drive near Zeeland.

Edgar G. Archer, Director and Chief Conservator of the Abraham Lincoln Museum, Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee was the speaker, his topic was "Surgery and Medicine in the Civil War."

Ed Archer is highly trained in the sciences involved with restoration and preservation of historical and archaeological objects and is working on a doctorate in Forensic Medicine. He is the great grandson of Brigadier General James J. Archer, Confederate States Army.

BOOK/RECORD REVIEW

ATTACK AND DIE
CIVIL WAR MILITARY TACTICS AND THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE
By Grady McWhiney & Perry D. Jamieson

Book, cloth, 6¼" x 9½", 209 pp, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1982. Price $17.95.

Innumerable books have been written on why the South lost the Civil War, but this latest one takes a new and unusual tack. McWhiney and Jamieson attempt to explain how Civil War tactics were well behind weapons development and how Southerners' geneology made them more predisposed to using outdated tactics than their Northern counterparts. Therefore, they were susceptable to the wasteful bloodbaths which eventually proved fatal to the Confederacy. While the authors succeed in the first part of their endeavor, they do not in the second.

This work covers the subject of tactics before and during the war quite thoroughly. Theories and recommendations of Antoine Henri Jomini, Dennis Hunt Mahan, William Hardee, Winfield Scott, John Gibbon, and others are examined meticulously as to their effect upon the way the war was fought. Weapons development undergoes equal scrutiny. The authors painstakingly point out that changes in weapons shortly before the war, particularly the advent of rifled ones, gave the individual soldier a much greater capacity for killing. The failure, and in many cases refusal, of officers and commanders to compensate for this increased capability by altering offensive tactics offered an overwhelming advantage to the soldier and army on the defensive.

This is nothing new to students of the Civil War. The rapid development of weapons coupled with antiquated codes of honor and chivalry has long been one of the most interesting and appealing aspects of the war. Despite its failure to break new ground with respect to the consideration of tactics, the compendious nature of the volume would seem to make it ideally suited for a textbook in Civil War or military history courses. The main thesis of the book, however, is seriously flawed in its conception and, therefore, precludes any consideration for using this work in the classroom.

The authors contend that Southerners, being primarily of Celtic lineage, were more prone to using tactics that were brave, glorious, and manly, but foolish in view of the weapons employed by defenders. They were partial to the charge, be it bayonet or saber, as a means of carrying the enemy's position. McWhiney and Jamieson's reason for asserting this is that the ancient Celts themselves favored these very same traits of bravery and manliness, using tactics that would exhibit them. Southerners being descendants of these glory-seeking warriors inherited these traits. But what the authors fail to recognize is that the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon ancestors of the Northerners admired the same traits and sought to glorify themselves by using them, too. No one familiar with the battles of Brunanburh (937) and Maldon (991) would accuse the Anglo-Saxons of not favoring "emotional, foolhardy and romantic" tactics. To contend that Southerners inherited these traits from their forerunners while Northerners did not is rather arbitrary.

On more technical points, the reading is tedious at times. The text is composed to an excessive degree of quotations and examples intended to bear out the authors' contentions. The first chapter is composed almost exclusively of innumerable statistical tables reflecting the comparative losses of both armies, many of which seem not only ambiguous but superfluous. The fact that the authors repeat themselves throughout the book with maddening frequency coupled with not infrequent grammatical errors implies that they were in need of a good editor. The book is not without its attributes, but ineffective presentation and an ill-conceived thesis leaves it seriously flawed.

William J. Miller
University of Delaware

ABE LINCOLN LAUGHING
By P.M. Zall

Book, cloth, 6 1/4" x 9 3/16", 193 pp., University of California Press, 2223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, California, 1982. Price $15.95.

First there was *Old Abe's Joker* (1864), later McClure's *"Abe" Lincoln's Yarns and Stories* (1901), and more recently Jennison's *The Humorous Mr. Lincoln* (1965). Over the years many volumes have been devoted to Lincoln's appreciation for and frequent use of humor. Now P.M. Zall, Professor of English and American Studies at California State University has assembled a new book on the subject—*Abe Lincoln Laughing.*

As the late Ray Allen Billington points out in his Foreord, "this is no uncritical, helter-skelter assembling of Lincoln yarns." While it is rich in humor, it is also a work of scholarship. Its basic purpose is "to separate the authentic from the apocryphal Lincoln stories." And his anecdotes both "mirror the times in which Lincoln lived" and "shed light on Lincoln as a warm, compassionate, witty, and earthy human being."

Professor Zall, who is no newcomer to the humor field with such books as *Comical Spirit of Seventy-Six: The Humor of Francis Hopkinson* (1976) and *Ben Franklin*

Laughing (1980), indicates that his work is not an exhaustive one. Rather it represents only those stories having a semblance of authenticity, each given in its earliest form available with notes indicating earlier sources that Lincoln could have known.

"While not intended to be a 'final authority,' "writes Zall, "the present edition is designed to resolve some of the confusion by providing reliable tests along with alternative choices from credible witnesses." Lincoln was more of a "performer" than a "creator;" about sixty percent of the stories assigned to him can be linked to earlier printed sources—books, newspapers, and periodicals.

Abe Lincoln Laughing, which includes sections on "Sources: Main Entries," "Resources: Notes," "Topical Index," and "Subject Index," offers readers 325 anecdotes by and about Abraham Lincoln in a well-designed format, except perhaps for the rather small, light-colored type style for this size of volume. Nevertheless, it should appeal to serious students of Lincoln and of humor as well as to those who would just enjoy laughing with Lincoln.

Professor Zall has performed a useful service for Lincoln scholarship in his attempt to document what Lincoln really said and did not say. But as he somewhat sadly points out, no one living can truly recreate the way Lincoln told his stories—the tone of voice, the timing of the tale, the facial expressions and hand gestures. "[W]e are at the mercy of cold print," he laments. But that is better than nothing.

Gary R. Planck

ABE LINCOLN: THE YOUNG YEARS
By Keith Brandt

Book, cloth/paper, 7 5/8" x 9 3/16", 48 pp., Troll Associates, Mahwah, New Jersey, 1982. Price $5.89 reinforced library edition, $1.95 paperback edition.

"The poor backwoods boy grew up loving people, the land, and the law," writes Keith Brandt in his new book, *Abe Lincoln: The Young Years,* aimed at readers in grades four through six. Dealing only with the Kentucky and Indiana years, this volume depicts Lincoln as an unusual frontier child—one who found books, people, and the law more interesting than farming. Although the publisher claims that "young readers discover how these interests led to [Lincoln] becoming the 16th president," this reviewer is not so certain the connections will be made from the text as written.

Nevertheless, the author does no damage to historical fact. His prose is clear and concise. And it is illustrated with numerous drawings by John Lawn. There is an extremely eye-catching one in color on the book's front cover of a bare-footed Lincoln reading. Those inside are all in black and white and not nearly as satisfying. Most of the faces are too pretty or idealized to give the impression of frontier reality a century ago. Although youngsters may enjoy these pictures, Mr. Lawn is no threat to outstanding Lincoln illustrators such as Lloyd Ostendorf.

Gary R. Planck

NEW HAMPSHIRE FIGHTS THE CIVIL WAR
By Mather Cleveland, M.D.

Book, 7 1/2" x 12", cloth, 230 pp., New London, New Hampshire, 1969. $20.00.

Dr. Cleveland has created with his book *New Hampshire Fights the Civil War* a unique regimental that will appeal to both the regional historian and the general Civil War buff. It is a summation of brief outline histories of each of the eighteen infantry regiments and four support units raised by the state during the war, thumbnail biographical sketches of some of the native New Hampshiremen who led them, and, perhaps best of all, excerpts from the letters and diaries of many of the common soldiers who served in those units.

The book is put together in a manner which could easily classify it as a reference work. The chapters are not arranged in a historical chronological order following all New Hampshire units' contributions as the war progressed from 1861 through 1865, but rather they treat each regiment's entire history separately. Each regiment's story is presented in order of its numerical designation and by the theater of operations in which they served. This arrangement causes a little confusion at first; however, once the reader sees the arrangement for what it is it becomes natural. The Special support units such as the cavalry, artillery and sharpshooter companies are covered in a separate section at the end of the book.

The book is filled with many interesting surprises. One of the most shocking is the educational background of not only the enlisted men but the officers as well. Dr. Cleveland has reproduced their letters with the original spelling and grammar unedited. These men, from a region highly regarded for its emphasis on educational and universal literacy, sound through their writings hardly any different from those Civil War participants who were reared in the rural South or along the Western frontier. Another surprise is the statistical research that shows that this small state contributed one of the highest percentages of war related deaths among all the states sending substantial numbers of troops to the Union armies. About eighteen percent of the 28,000 men who served in the Union Army, Navy and Marine Corps failed to survive the war. This figure includes three regiments who served only for a short time and never saw any combat. Three of the remaining regiments lost more men in battle than they did to disease which over all was the leading cause of death during the war.

One of the best features of the book is the twenty-six pages of photographic plates at the end of the book. It includes portraits of many prominent New Hampshire officers as well as a fine representation of lesser known figures and common soldiers. The eminent war photographer Henry P. Moore produced an excellent and historically valuable pictoral record of Union activities at Hilton Head, South Carolina. This is the only book known to this reviewer to contain his entire collection.

New Hampshire Fights The Civil War is expensive and may be hard to find but it is worth it if your interest lies in how the ordinary man from an ordinary New England state fought the war and their personal reactions to it.

Robert I. Newsome

BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM
Military Music of Union Army Bands

Performed On Original Civil War Instruments
By Heritage Americana

Record, Heritage Americana, Inc., Washington, D.C., 2 sides, 12 Inch, 33 1/3 RPM-CP STEREO, $750.

Those who have been interested in the music of that most tuneful of our military conflicts, the Civil War, are aware of the immense outpouring of music-vocal and instrumental - that the war inspired and that was heard everywhere, especially on the battlefields. Such musically inclined people were also aware of the music that was played, reproduced and recorded during the late 1950's. The very fine recordings made by the National Gallery Orchestra under the direction of Richard Bales ("The Union," and "The Confederacy") come to mind; and who, having heard "The Lonesome Train" can forget the mournful whistle of that train as it sped across mid-America with its very special cargo, the mortal remains of Abraham Lincoln. But it was not until 1964, during the later part of the Civil War Centennial that we were given the chance to hear the music of the Civil War as it was played/sounded on original instruments. In October of that year Milwaukee Rendent Fred Benkovic and a group of musicians and Civil War collection formed a band to play 1860's period musical instruments and compositions. Several different groups have come forth since that time but none have attained professional quality until Heritage Americana came on the scene. The sounds/music produced by Heritage Americana are far superior to any 19th century reproduction attempted yet.

All instruments used by the band are originals dating to 1865 or earlier. Band members dress in 1860's period uniforms and play only original Union and Confederate music. The group's long-playing stereo record album, Battle Cry of Freedom, consists of 19 selections, the actual arrangements of each having been played for Lincoln during his lifetime. These include "Hail to The Chief," "Battle Cry of Freedom & Kingdom Coming Quickstep," The Star Spangled Banner", "When This Cruel War is Over and Hoist Up the Flag Quickstep", and "Dixie Medley Quickstep."

All music has been methodically researched by Mark Elrod and therefore it is even more fascinating to hear the music the soldiers heard as they heard it from the period instruments and arrangements. Dr. Robert Garofalo, Bandmaster, has conducted his group in a series of rousing numbers. The album jacket, and a 12 page insert, contain an interesting history of each selection as well as appropriate illustrations picturing bands and instruments of the 1860's.

Here is presented a good opportunity to hear music exactly as the Union soldiers heard it. A band that plays with feeling and understanding, a band that puts real meaning into each rendition of these manifestations of grief that overwhelmed the American people in mid 1860. They have re-created the mood, the atmosphere, the tragedy of that time - one is caught up in that mood and atmosphere, and the tragedy takes on new emphasis. The recording is expertly done, and is clear and distinct.

Edgar G. Archer

THE VIEW FROM ETERNITY
By Vaughan Shelton

Book, paper, 6 1/2" x 9 1/4", 186 pp., Forbes Nichols, P.O. Box 996, Pocatello, Idaho, 1982. Price $5.95.

Almost twenty years ago Vaughan Shelton's *Mask For Treason: The Lincoln Murder Trial* was published to mostly negative reviews. As Lincoln students recall, it offered a rather controversial theory about those allegedly involved. In Shelton's new book, *The View From Eternity* (subtitled on the cover "Biography of a Clairvoyant," and on the title page "The Outlines of Reality According to Ruth"), a biography of his late wife, he reveals for the first time that his research for *Mask* was pursued in collaboration with her. "Though the book itself was based entirely on documentary evidence," he states, "The value of clairvoyant collaboration can't be exaggerated."

The contributions of Shelton's wife wook two major forms—an analysis of evidence with clairvoyant insight and a knowledge of when preliminary conclusions were solid. He believes that the intellectual mechanics of historical research involve reasoning from cause to effect. "But being able to establish the validity of reasonings as one goes along," Shelton observes, "allows one to build progressively to valid conclusions. . . ." In an appendix he presents a ten-page summary of the Lincoln case according to the Sheltons as it was "reconstructed by a combination of conventional research and clairvoyance."

However, the summary omits "the tedious documentary references included in *Mask*." That seems appropriate, since those interested can turn to that work for such citations. But another comment by Shelton is somewhat disturbing. He writes: "Painstaking documentation is a waste of time in any case. No one takes the trouble to check it out." That is probably true for most lay-persons and even some so-called historians. But there are many professional and amateur historians around today who are taking the time—for example, James O. Hall's recent research into Robert H. Fowler's 1961 article, "Was Stanton Behind Lincoln's Murder?"

It is not clear from Shelton's summary exactly what Ruth specifically contributed to his research. In an introductory chapter he tells us that when they first met she "referred to a heretofore unknown conspiracy" and gave him several clues. One was that Louis Paine and George Atzerodt were entirely innocent. He collected the pieces of the "historical jig-saw" and she helped him put them together. *Mask*'s publication was a double satisfaction to the Sheltons. "It was both a significant historical work," he says, "and the end-product of a successful, four-year experiment in psychic research."

However, some might suggest that these conclusions are highly debatable ones.

Gary R. Planck

COLLECTORS–DEALERS–HISTORIANS–WRITERS–LIBRARIES–MUSEUMS

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Summered in Vermont Mansion

Robert Lincoln: He Guarded His Famous Father's Papers for More Than 50 Years

By RICHARD H. STEWART, *The Boston Globe*

MANCHESTER, Vt.—Each spring for seven years, beginning in 1911, a train that included two private cars pulled into the station in this New England village.

In one car were eight trunks containing some of the most sought-after documents in American history, the personal papers of President Abraham Lincoln.

Nearly 50 years had passed since Lincoln's assassination in 1865, yet the personal papers of one of the world's most famous men remained shrouded in secrecy.

In the second car, a private coach, sat an imposing, bearded man who controlled the fate of the documents and who guarded their contents with the zeal of a man protecting a priceless legacy.

Only Surviving Son

The man was Robert Todd Lincoln, the eldest and only surviving son of Abraham Lincoln. For 22 years, he spent his summers here at Hildene, the mansion that he built at the turn of the century.

Each spring from 1911, the trunks with their precious cargo would accompany Lincoln to Vermont from Washington or Chicago; each fall, they would be loaded aboard the train again for the return trip.

Then, in 1919, Lincoln turned over his carefully guarded legacy to the Library of Congress with instructions that the trunks not be opened until 21 years after his death.

It was at Hildene that Robert Todd Lincoln would die in his sleep July 25, 1926, at the age of 82, the last of President Lincoln's family and the last survivor among the men who stood around the bed that held the dying President in April, 1865.

Hildene, sitting in quiet splendor surrounded by the Vermont hills, is New England's most prominent link to the 16th President of the United States. But it is a little-known link.

Hildene is built on a rise that provides a panoramic view of a sprawling valley and the Battenkill River. The 24-room Georgian Revival mansion with its eight fireplaces and formal garden was Robert Lincoln's retreat from the pressures of his corporate duties in Chicago and the oppressive heat and humidity of Washington summers.

Constructed at a cost of $63,000 by a Boston architectural firm, Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, Hildene is the centerpiece of the 412-acre estate Lincoln purchased in 1902. Most of the furnishings in the splendidly restored mansion are the originals.

The "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the song that has come to be associated with President Lincoln and the Civil War, still resounds throughout the majestic home by virtue of the 1,000-pipe Aeolian organ installed by Lincoln in 1908. It is played for tours and the occasional weddings and other social events held at Hildene.

Conducted Office Business

It was from an office in Hildene (a mixing of the words "hill" and "dene," the old English word for valley) that Robert Lincoln for many summers conducted the business of the Pullman Co. of Chicago, first as president and later as chairman of the board.

In that office, behind a glass partition, are, among other things, one of President Lincoln's stovepipe hats and a hat box lined with an Indiana newspaper dated 1852.

It was in the library of the mansion, according to one report, that Robert was discovered burning some of his father's documents in the fireplace. Nicholas Murray Butler, then the president of Columbia University and a friend of Robert's, claimed to have been alerted and dissuaded Robert from burning any more papers.

Butler's story is greeted with some skepticism because he insisted the event occurred in August, 1923, four years after the trunks filled with the President's papers had been turned over to the Library of Congress.

Tenacious Guardianship

But the question remains, given Robert's tenacious guardianship of the presidential papers, as to whether these were documents that Robert had purposely withheld from the Library of Congress because he believed them to be too sensitive or embarrassing to share with history.

After the death of Robert's wife, Mary, Hildene was retained as a year-round home by Mary Lincoln Beckwith, Robert Lincoln's grand-daughter, until her death in 1975. It is now maintained by the Friends of Hildene as a public memorial to the Lincoln family.

While it is the most obvious connection, the mansion is not New England's only association with the Lincoln family, though much of that association has been clouded by time.

President Lincoln traced his heritage to New England. His father, Thomas Lincoln, was a descendant of Samuel Lincoln, who came to Massachusetts from England and settled in Hingham in 1636.

Abraham Lincoln was a congressman from Illinois when his son Robert, then 16, journeyed to Massachusetts in 1859 to take the entrance examination for Harvard. He flunked, but was determined to win acceptance. Robert later wrote of the experience. "I was determined not to be beaten. I entered the well-known academy at Exeter, N.H." He enrolled Sept. 15, 1859, for one year, one of 134 students attending Phillips-Exeter Academy. The tuition was $24 for the year.

Five months later, his father, Rep. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, who was gaining national notoriety from the much-publicized Lincoln-Douglas debates on the slavery question, journeyed to New Hampshire to visit his son.

En route, Lincoln stopped in New York City to deliver a speech (the fee was $200, plus expenses) at the Cooper

Please see LINCOLN, Page 2

LINCOLN: Guardian of Father's Papers for More Than 50 Years

Continued from First Page

Institute, which historians have credited with enhancing his popularity in the Eastern United States and helping him win the Republican nomination for President three months later in Chicago. In the audience that night were such luminaries as William Cullen Bryant and Horace Greeley.

In his New England visit, Lincoln delivered speeches in Exeter, Concord, Dover and Manchester, N.H.; Providence and Hartford, R.I.

Witness Describes Speech

A witness to the speech in Exeter wrote of Lincoln:

"He rose slowly, untangled those lanky legs from their contact with the rounds of the chair, drew himself up to his full height of 6 feet, 4 inches, and began his speech. Not 10 minutes had passed before his uncouth appearance was absolutely forgotten by us boys, and, I believe, by all of that large audience."

Robert won acceptance at Harvard in the fall of 1860.

His mother, Mary Todd Lincoln, twice journeyed to Harvard, in the spring and fall of 1861, to visit her son. On her first visit, she was tendered a reception at the Paul Revere House in Boston hosted by Sen. Charles Sumner.

Robert's First Visit

Mrs. Lincoln also summered in the White Mountains of New Hampshire in 1863 and in August of the same year traveled to Manchester, Vt., with her sons, Tad and Robert, and a servant. They stayed at the then-fashionable but now decaying Equinox House.

It was Robert's first trip to the community that was to become his summer home and the place of his death.

Mrs. Lincoln returned to Manchester the following year, 1864, with Tad. President Lincoln was scheduled to make the journey to Manchester with them the next summer, plans thwarted by the President's assassination.

Following his graduation from Harvard in 1864, Robert spent a brief time at Harvard Law School but left to enter the Army. He became a captain on the headquarter's staff of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant and was present at Appomatox when Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered to Grant.

Robert went on to become a successful Chicago lawyer and head of the Pullman Co. Though he never held elective office, Robert Lincoln served as secretary of war in the cabinets of Presidents Garfield and Arthur.

Please see LINCOLN, Page 3

LINCOLN: Father's Papers Accompanied Son on Summer Trips

Continued from Second Page

and minister to England under President Benjamin Harrison.

On at least two occasions, he was promoted for the presidency by Republican leaders such as Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt. But Lincoln denied interest.

In 1887, he told an interviewer:

"I have seen too much of the wear and tear of official life to ever have a desire to re-enter it. Though I was but a boy when my father became President, I can well remember the tremendous burden he was called on to bear . . . . The presidential office is a gilded prison. The care and worry outweigh, to my mind, the honor which surrounds the position."

In addition to that of his father, two other presidential assassinations touched Robert Lincoln's life. He was present at the train station in Washington when Garfield was shot. He was getting off a train in Buffalo when he received word that McKinley had been shot. He went to McKinley's bedside to console him.

There is one other touch of irony in the life of Robert Lincoln.

In 1864, when a student at Harvard, Robert was in a crowd of people on the platform at the New York train station. He was spun off his feet by the crowd as the train began to move and fell in the space between the train and the platform.

He was "personally helpless, when my collar was seized and I was quickly pulled up and out to secure footing on the platform." As he turned to thank his rescuer, he recognized him immediately as one of the most famous actors of the day, Edwin Booth.

Within a year, Edwin's brother, John Wilkes Booth, would become infamous as the slayer of Abraham Lincoln.

(Independent Press Service)

Friday, December 27, 1985

R. Beckwith, 81; President Lincoln's Great-Grandson

From Times Wire Services

HARTFIELD, Va.—Robert Todd Lincoln Beckwith, the last direct descendant of Abraham Lincoln, has died at age 81.

Beckwith, the great-grandson of the 16th President, died Christmas Eve in a nursing home in Saluda, about 45 miles from Richmond.

Elizabeth Young, the family's attorney, said that in later years Beckwith had been afflicted with Parkinson's disease.

"Yes, he was a direct descendant of Abraham Lincoln, the last living descendant of Abraham Lincoln as far as I know," Young said.

Young said Beckwith never discussed his feelings about his famous heritage.

"We didn't talk about anything like that," she said. "Socially, it's not done, and in business I talked about what I was paid to talk about."

Last year, Beckwith told an interviewer for Life magazine that in his youth he had enjoyed sailing on Chesapeake Bay, raising Black Angus cattle on his ranch in Hartfield, Va., and car racing.

"I'm a spoiled brat," he said.

Young said that Beckwith never did work steadily. "He lived off his wealth. As far as I know, all the money came from the Lincoln family.

Beckwith's death ended the line Abraham Lincoln and his wife, Mary Todd, began with their four sons. Only one, however, survived to manhood. Edward died in infancy, William Wallace died in 1862 at age 11, and Thomas died in 1871 at age 18.

The eldest, Robert Todd Lincoln, had a law career in Chicago, served as secretary of war under President James A. Garfield, was minister to the Court of St. James and was president of the Pullman company. He died a multimillionaire in 1926 at age 82.

Robert Todd Lincoln and his wife, Mary, had three children. A son, Abraham Lincoln II, died at age 16 while on a trip to Europe in 1890. A daughter, Mary, married Charles Bradley Isham in 1891. They in turn had a son, Lincoln Isham, who died in 1971 in Dorsett, Vt.

The third and youngest of Lincoln's grandchildren, Jessie, eloped in 1897 with Warren Beckwith, a classmate and football star at Iowa Wesleyan College.

They had two children: Mary Lincoln Beckwith, who died in 1975, and Robert Todd Lincoln Beckwith, who was born in Riverside, Ill., on July 19, 1904.

The great-grandson received a law degree from what is now Georgetown University. Beckwith was married three times, but his lawyer said he was childless. His widow, Margaret, lives in Chevy Chase, Md.

Associated Press

Robert Todd Lincoln Beckwith

Thursday, December 26, 1985 The Orange County Register

OBITUARIES

R. Beckwith, great-grandson and last descendant of Lincoln

Associated Press

HARTFIELD, Va. — Robert Todd Lincoln Beckwith, the last surviving descendant of Abraham Lincoln, died on Christmas Eve at 81.

Mr. Beckwith, the great-grandson of the 16th president, had lived in a nursing home in Saluda, said officials of the funeral home where the body was taken. The community is about 45 miles from Richmond, which was the capital of the Confederacy.

Mr. Beckwith was married three times, but his lawyer said he was childless.

Last year, Mr. Beckwith told an interviewer for Life Magazine that in his youth, he had enjoyed sailing on the Chesapeake Bay, raising Black Angus cattle on his Virginia ranch and racing cars. "I'm a spoiled brat," he said.

Abraham Lincoln and his wife, Mary Todd, had four sons, but only one survived to adulthood. One son, Edward, died in infancy; another, William Wallace, died in 1862 at age 11 and a third, Thomas, died in 1871 at age 18.

The eldest, Robert Todd Lincoln, had a law career in Chicago, served as Secretary of War under President James A. Garfield, was ambassador to England and president of the Pullman company. He died a multimillionaire in 1926 at 82.

Robert Todd Lincoln Beckwith
Lincoln line ends with his death

Robert Todd Lincoln and his wife, Mary, had three children. Their youngest, Jessie, eloped in 1897 with Warren Beckwith, a classmate and football star at Iowa Wesleyan College.

They had two children: Mary Lincoln Beckwith, who died in 1975, and Robert Todd Lincoln Beckwith, who was born in Riverside, Ill., on July 19, 1904.

Elizabeth Young, the family's attorney, said that in later years, Mr. Beckwith was suffering from Parkinson's disease.

Mr. Beckwith's widow, Margaret, lives in Chevy Chase, Md.

Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial

The Lincoln Notebook

THOMAS LINCOLN

January 6, 1778 - January 15, 1851

Thomas Lincoln moved from his birth place, Rockingham County, Virginia, to the state of Kentucky in the 1780's with his parents -- Abraham and Bathsheba -- and with his brothers and sisters. In May, 1786, Thomas witnessed the murder of his father by Indians "...when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest." That fall, his mother moved the family to Washington County, Kentucky (near Springfield), where Thomas lived until the age of eighteen. From 1795 to 1802, Thomas held a variety of jobs in several locations -- jobs that increased his earning power and helped to feed the Lincoln family. In 1802 he moved to Hardin County, Kentucky, where one year later, he purchased a 238-acre farm. Four years later, on June 6, 1806, he married Nancy Hanks. Their first child, a daughter named Sarah, was born a year later. In 1808 Thomas bought a 300-acre farm on Nolin Creek. There, on February 12, 1809, his son Abraham was born. A third child, named Thomas, died in infancy.

Thomas was active in community and church affairs in Hardin County. He served as a jury member, a petitioner for a road, and as a guard for county prisoners. He could read a little, was a skilled carpenter, and was a property owner. Thomas was a member of the Little Mount Separate Baptist Church. In 1815 he purchased -- for cash -- still another farm, the Knob Creek farm. This Knob Creek farm was the first home Abraham Lincoln could remember in later life. Dozens of Kentucky farmers, along with Thomas, fell victim to Kentucky's chaotic land laws. The title to each of the three farms he had purchased proved to be defective. He lost land or money in each case and in disgust moved to Indiana in December 1816. There, the land ordinance of 1785 ensured that land once purchased and paid for was retained. Abraham Lincoln claimed many years later that his father's move from Kentucky to Indiana was "partly on account of slavery, but chiefly on account of the difficulty of land titles in Kentucky." Slavery was outlawed in Indiana. It is interesting to know that in Hardin County, Kentucky there were 1007 slaves and only 1627 white males over the age of 16 in the year 1811. The Little Mount Separate Baptist Church separated with the Regular Baptist Church over the issue of slave ownership. Thomas Lincoln, a carpenter, farmer, and laborer was forced to compete for wages against wageless workers.

In Indiana, the Lincolns settled near Little Pigeon Creek in what was then Perry County, later part of Spencer County. Here, Thomas farmed and sold his skills as a carpenter. He put his unusually strong and tall eight-year-old son to work -- planting, harvesting, cabin building, and wielding an axe. Autumn frosts of 1818 had already colored the foliage of the huge trees of oak, hickory, and walnut when Nancy Lincoln became desperately ill. She was stricken with milk sickness, a poisoning caused by the plant, white snakeroot. Cows occasionally ate this abundant weed and passed the poison on in their milk. People who drank this poisoned milk or ate its products faced death. On October 5, 1818, Nancy died.

Left without a wife and mother for his children, the resourceful Thomas remarried on December 2, 1819. He chose a widow from Elizabethtown, Kentucky, Sarah Bush Johnston. These two hardy pioneers, Thomas and Sarah, united their two families. Sarah's three children -- Elizabeth, Matilda, and John -- joined Abraham, Sarah, and cousin Dennis Hanks to make a new family of eight. Besides trading his carpentry skills, managing a farm, and looking after his family, Thomas found time during the next few years of his life in Indiana to assist in building the Little Pigeon Creek Baptist Church, become a member of the church, and serve as church trustee. By 1827 Thomas realized his dream by becoming the outright owner of 100 acres of Indiana land.

Fear of white snakeroot poisoning, news of the fertile Illinois soil, and the possible breakup of his family, lured Thomas westward in March 1830. Thomas sold his Indiana land and moved first to Macon County, Illinois and eventually Coles County in 1831. His son Abraham left home to make his way in the world during the family's move to Coles County. Thomas Lincoln remained a resident of the county for the rest of his life. His record as a citizen in Illinois seems to be less commendable than that in Kentucky and Indiana. He was a defendant in five lawsuits, four of which he lost. In all the suits but one, John D. Johnston, his stepson and a notorious idler, was co-defendant. Johnston was obviously a bad influence. By 1841 Thomas owned 120 acres of Illinois land, but within a year he had to sell a third of his land to his son Abraham to get out of financial difficulty. Thomas used the money from the sale of his land to get his stepson out of trouble.

Thomas Lincoln's status as a respectable, responsible, and talented citizen is now secure from his detractors. He, no doubt, did leave a mark on his famous son. Thomas, was by all accounts well liked by his neighbors, and he was a good storyteller, as was his son. Thomas's evident dislike of slavery created an atmosphere in Lincoln's youth that would allow Abraham to say many years later that he could not remember a time when he was not antislavery in sentiment.

The house where Thomas Lincoln died in 1851, and where his widow died in 1869, stood three miles from Shiloh Cemetery where they are buried. Thomas Lincoln had reached the age of 73 years. He and his family had lived in the states of Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. He had paid his taxes regularly, and left no unpaid debts behind him. He was a good man, a good husband, and a good father.

For the record...

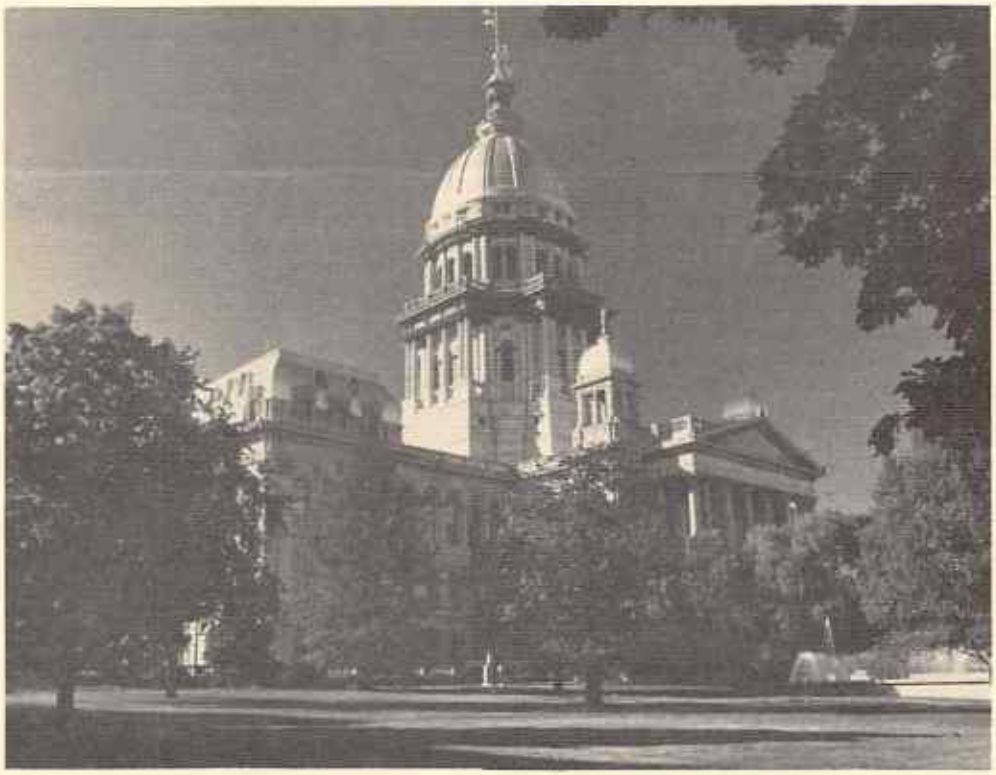
NEWSLETTER OF THE ILLINOIS STATE ARCHIVES
Jim Edgar, Secretary of State and State Archivist
Springfield, Illinois 62756

VOLUME 10, NUMBER 2 | ISSN 0891-2653 | WINTER 1989

State Capitol

The year 1988 marked the one hundredth anniversary of the completion of the Illinois State Capitol Building. Archives staff assisted the Secretary of State in observing this event. For a Fourth of July weekend ceremony it assembled more than sixty items which went into a time capsule. These items ranged from a current Springfield High School yearbook to the No. 34 football jersey of Chicago Bear Walter Payton. Staff also prepared the nomination which placed the Capitol on the National Register of Historic Places. A plaque indicating this accomplishment was affixed to the Capitol's facade at its east entrance and was first displayed at this ceremony. Inside the Capitol's east hall was another Archives contribution. "One Hundred Years Beneath The Dome" is the title of a display prepared by Archives staff. Standing over eight feet tall, its center and two flanking panels highlight the structure's construction, artwork, reconstruction, and renovation. Also treated are the General Assembly, the Offices of the Governor and the Secretary of State, and the history of room 309 which successively has been home to the Natural History Museum, the State Library, a legislative lounge, the Secretary of State's Automotive Department, a legislative lounge again, a press room and, currently, the Senate Minority Leadership Office. The display is now located outside the Governor's Office on the Capitol's second floor where it will remain for the next two years.

Also in 1988 the Secretary of State in his capacity as State Archivist issued a call for papers in observance of the centennial of the dedication of the Capitol Building. The Observation Committee consisted of E. Duane Elbert, Eastern Illinois University; Maynard J. Brichford, University of Illinois at Urbana/Champaign; Perry Duis, University of Illinois at Chicago; Leslie J. Stegh, John Deere and Company; and John Daly, State Archives. The result of this call was a special session at the Ninth Annual Illinois History Symposium, sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society and held on December 2, in the Capitol Building. The session was entitled, "The Architect and Architecture of the State Capitol," and was chaired by Mark Sorensen of the State Archives. Presentations included "David Littler vs. the Statehouse Commissioners (1885-1888)," by Mark Plummer, Illinois State University; "Alfred H. Piquenard, Architect," by Wayne C. Temple, State Archives; and "Carton Pierre: A Lost Art Used to Decorate the Illinois Statehouse Interior," by Robert Williams, University of Illinois at Urbana/Champaign. Comments were provided by Mark Heyman, Sangamon State University. These three papers will be published by the Secretary of State to commemorate the Capitol's centennial.



ILLINOIS STATE CAPITOL

Supreme Court Case Files

When the Illinois State Archives first published the **Descriptive Inventory of the Archives of the State of Illinois** in 1978, its entry of Record Series 901.1, Supreme Court Case Files, covered the period 1820-1936, and consisted of 4,714 cubic feet of material. Publication of the **Supplement** to the **Descriptive Inventory** in 1985 reflected the accession of an additional thousand cubic feet which covered the years 1946-1970. Another 600 cubic feet was accessioned in 1988 from the Law Library at the University of Illinois at Urbana/Champaign where for a number of years these files had been in basement storage and infrequently consulted by law students. This recent accession filled in the period gap of 1937-1945. Consequently the case files now run uninterrupted from 1820 through 1970 and in total bulk at 6,314 cubic feet. This record series is extremely large and its importance is obvious. The following summary of these case files is taken from the Archives' **Descriptive Inventory.**

Records consist of individual files for every case appealed to the Supreme Court. The quantity and substance of material in each file varies greatly and depends both upon the disposition of each case and on the removal of material in accordance with Supreme Court rules. However, for those cases in which the Court did make a ruling, the official opinion of the Court forms the core of the record.

Material relating to action of lower courts includes record of lower court proceedings, including briefs and abstracts filed; opinions of lower courts.

Documents filed with the Supreme Court by appellant, appellee, petitioner, or respondent include briefs and reply briefs; briefs amicus curiae; abstracts, additional abstracts, and short abstracts of record; notice of intention to file petition for rehearing; petitions and motions, including petitions for rehearing; respondent's reply to petitions; suggestions in support of and in opposition to motions; affidavits filed in support of motions; counter suggestions and objections to motions; cross motions; proof of service of brief and abstract and affidavit of service; declaration of intent to argue orally before Court; application for supersedeas; appearance by attorney or by counsel; assignment of error (often a part of lower court proceedings).

Files also include opinions of Supreme Court; report of commissioners of Supreme Court, approved and promulgated as official opinion of Court, 1927-1933; Supreme Court orders, often to effect ruling on motion; writs issued by Court; transcript of testimony for cases in which Supreme Court exercised original jurisdiction; abstract of agreed facts; stipulations, consisting of agreements between appellee and appellant or petitioner and respondent; notice that trial records were returned under Rule Forty-Two. Files also include incoming and outgoing correspondence to Clerk of Supreme Court concerning individual cases.

Much of this documentation has evidential value in that it shows the functioning of the Court. Of wider interest is the informational value of these files. Besides demonstrating court procedures, they provide insights into the subjects the Court has dealt with. This is particularly true of the testimony transcripts from the lower courts which in bulk dominate most of these files.

The problem now becomes one of intellectual access. The Archives has defendant indexes to these files for the years, 1920-1936, and the Supreme Court itself has similar indexes for more recent cases. But this type of index is only useful if one knows the defendant's name as it applies to his or her research purposes. Leslie Reagan, a doctoral candidate in history from the University of Wisconsin at Madison, came to the State Archives last year and asked to examine a large number of Supreme Court case files which she had identified as relating to abortions in Chicago. Archives staff were naturally interested in knowing how Reagan had been able to identify these particular cases as pertaining to her topic. She indicated that a law librarian had used the LEXIS data base to conduct an on-line search of **Illinois Supreme Court Opinions,** using the appropriate key words. LEXIS is a product of Meade Data Publishing. Its courterpart is WESTLAW, a property of West Publishing Company. Both are tools currently used routinely in legal research. Although certain Archives staff members had knowledge of these commercial data bases, none had ever considered them as powerful subject access systems to the informational content of the Supreme Court Case Files, the Archives' largest records series. Now that staff has been made aware of these valuable finding aids, we will be able to direct users to these outside resources.

Lincoln Document

A heretofore unknown Lincoln document was discovered recently at the IRAD depository at Sangamon State University. It was found in an accession of Sangamon County Probate Court Case Files which span 1821-1894, forty cubic feet of material. The document found associated with Lincoln was an 1838 estate administrator's bond. The bond was for Henry Lucas to administer the estate of David Cloyd. One of the bond's signatories had been A. Lincoln. However, his signature had been struck off boldly and another's substituted.

Probate Court Judge James Adams probably had been the one who struck out Lincoln's signature. Adams was born in Hartford County, Connecticut in 1783. He married Harriet Denton in 1809 and at that time they lived in Orange County, New York. By October, 1813 he was sitting as a justice of the peace in Onondaga County and four years later was admitted to the New York State Bar. Through political connections he was appointed colonel in the state militia in 1816 and promoted to brevet brigadier general the year following. Again through political clout, the governor appointed him Road Commissioner for the Westmoreland and Sodus Bay Turnpike Company in 1818. But also in 1818 the Court of General Sessions at Oswego indicted him for the forgery of a deed. After posting bail he fled the county and by 1821 he was living in Springfield, Illinois, and there he was licensed to practice law. His family later joined him in Springfield where he became active in Democratic Party politics. By 1823 he was appointed a justice of the peace and early in 1825 he was appointed Judge of Probate in Sangamon County. In his early attempts at elective office Adams was not successful. He was consistently defeated in his races for Lt. Governor, 1826; Sangamon County Justice of the Peace, 1827; Lt. Governor, 1830; Governor, 1834; and Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds, 1835.

The law was changed so that probate justices of the peace became elected instead of appointed officials in 1837. That year Adams, a Democrat, sought to retain his position in a race against Dr. Anson Henry, a Whig and Lincoln's personal physician and political ally. The race was heated. Beginning in June the **Sangamo Journal** began a series of articles purportedly authored by "Sampson's Ghost." The deceased Andrew Sampson had once owned the land on which Adams lived. In a total of six articles by the specter, Adams was accused of fraudulently acquiring his own homestead and of defrauding the widow of Joseph Anderson of a land tract by means of a forged mortgage. These letters probably were composed jointly by Lincoln and his cohorts, Edward Baker, Stephen Logan and John Stuart. Further, Lincoln publicly filed a court suit against Adams on behalf of the widow Anderson and with just two days remaining before the election, he personally circulated a signed handbill opposing the sitting probate judge. Despite Lincoln's and others' efforts, Sangamon County went solidly Democratic in 1837 and Judge Adams was elected to retain his seat on the bench. However, his opponents were not quieted. Whig leaders obtained a copy of Adams' indictment in Oswego and published the same in the **Sangamo Journal** on November 25, 1837.

David Cloyd died intestate on March 31, 1838 and his estate went into the probate court of Judge Adams. The judge selected Cloyd's daughter's husband, Henry Lucas, to administer the estate. Lucas was required to post a $1,000 bond. Thomas Neale and Lincoln affixed their signatures as sureties to Lucas' bond on August 21, 1838. (This date in Lincoln's life has not been previously accounted for in **Lincoln Day by Day, A Chronology, 1809-1865.**) Judge Adams no doubt knew that Lincoln was in debt from his New Salem mercantile adventures and therefore not a reliable surety. And in all probability he consequently crossed out Lincoln's signature with some personal pleasure and caused Lucas to find another to sign. George Bridges, Cloyd's neighbor and a farm owner, came forward as a substitute.

Despite highly unfavorable publicity, Adams, the Democrat, was reelected in 1839. Early in 1841 he joined the Mormon Church and began to spend more and more time in Nauvoo. There in 1843 he successively took a second wife while still married to his first, was elected as a probate court justice for Hancock County, and died of cholera. His estate was considerable.

Because Lincoln's signature was struck out on the document in question and because of the circumstances outlined above, the monetary value of this estate administrator's bond is significantly larger than it would have been had Lincoln's signature been accepted.*

**This article is an abstract of a paper prepared by Archives Chief Deputy Director Wayne C. Temple. His paper is entitled, "An Aftermath of 'Sampson's Ghost:' A New Lincoln Document."*

Records Disposals

The Archives's Records Management Section supervised the disposal of an unprecedented number of state and local records in 1988. After records have been inventoried and scheduled for disposition by Archives' staff, and these schedules approved by the appropriate State, Local or Cook County Records Commission, agencies can proceed with actual disposals of obsolete records. Using approved schedules, agency records officers complete Records Disposal Certificates which identify records series to be destroyed. After these Certificates are approved by Archives' staff, physical disposals take place. Last year 109,698 cubic feet of state records and 62,998 cubic feet of local records were approved for disposal by the above procedure. In total the 172,696 cubic feet figure represents a 2.5 percent increase over 1987 and stands as an all time high to date.

Lincoln Family

NHPRC Application Deadlines

The following is a revised schedule of grant cycles issued by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. The brochure, **Records Program Guidelines and Procedures: Applications and Grants,** may be requested by mail or by phone: Records Program, NHPRC-NPR, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. 20408, (202) 523-5386.

RECORDS PROGRAM GRANT CYCLES
(Effective October 1, 1988)

NHPRC February Meeting
(Application Deadline: October 1)

National, Regional, and Statewide Projects

Archival Programs: College and Universities

Archival Programs: Local Governments

Proposals Addressing Native American Initiative

NHPRC June Meeting
(Application Deadline: February 1)

Archival Programs: Local Governments

Archival Programs: Museums, Service Organizations, Religious Institutions, and Similar Applicants

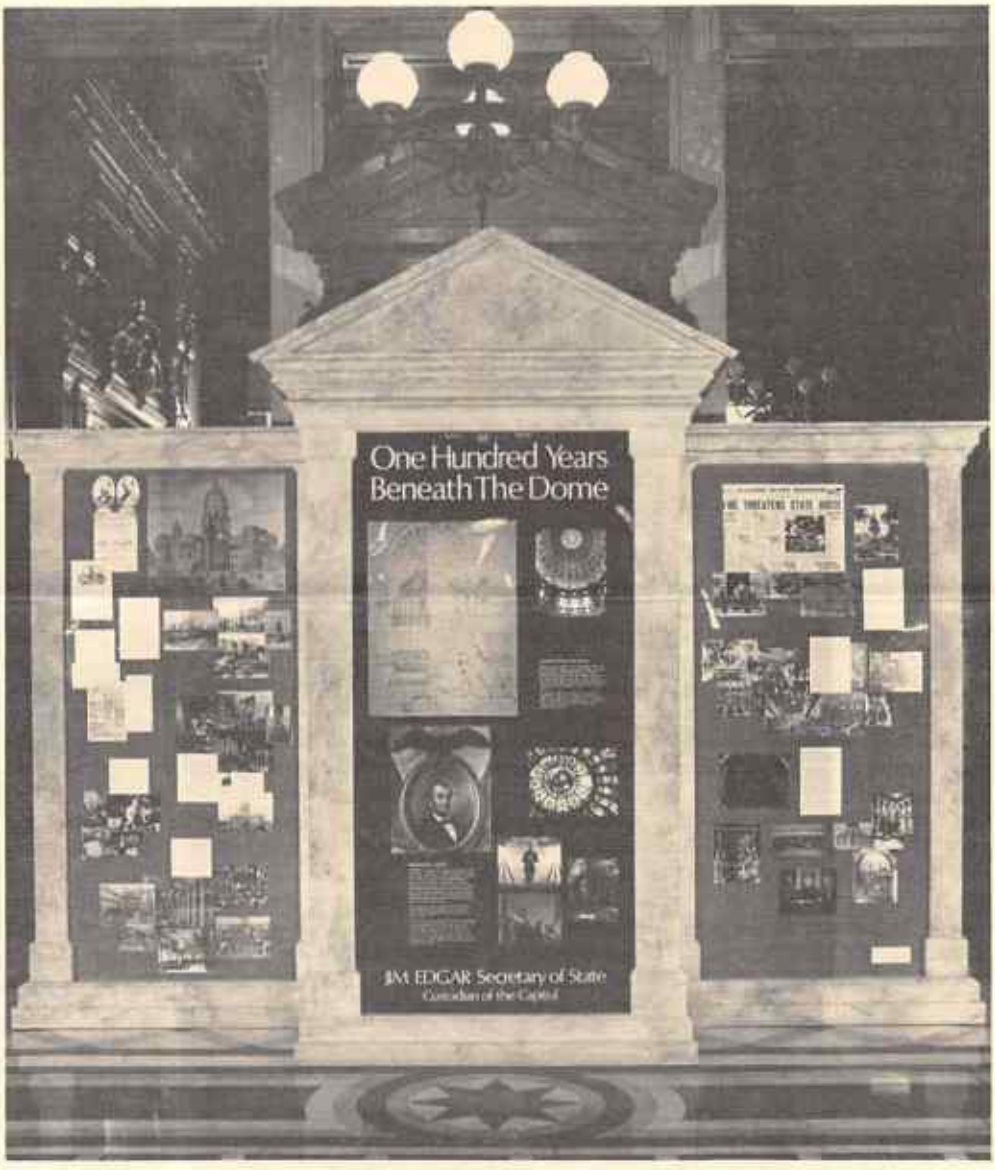
Historical Photographs, Motion Pictures, and Sound Recordings

Collection Projects: Arrangement and Description, Preservation, etc.

NHPRC October Meeting
(Application Deadline: June 1)

National, Regional, and Statewide Projects

State Board Regrant Proposals



CAPITOL DISPLAY

Editor's Notes

This issue of **For the Record . . .** is the first since summer 1987 (vol. 10, no. 1). This lapse is due to more pressing projects on which the editors have been engaged. In the last year and a half, routine Archives activities have continued at pace and some of the special projects that have been completed are reported herein.

Of particular note in this issue is the article on Supreme Court case files. It reminds us that archivists are but a small component of the larger field of information management and consequently we need to inform ourselves of the activities of our associates.

Kennedy Library Gift

The John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library, a presidential library administered by the National Archives, recently donated two November 4, 1856 election tally lists to the State Archives. One is from Petersburg and the other Locust Grove, both precincts in Menard County. In that presidential election James Buchanan ran as the Democratic candidate, John C. Fremont as the Republican one, and Millard Fillmore as a Know-Nothing. A. Lincoln was listed as an elector for Fremont, the first candidate of the new Republican Party. In each of these precincts Fremont came in a poor third with Buchanan leading in Petersburg and Fillmore in Locust Grove. Statewide in 1856, Buchanan received 105,528 votes, Fremont, 96,278, and Fillmore, 37,531. These two tally sheets complement the Archives' holdings of similar election records at the precinct level.

System NEBO

Previous issues of this newsletter (spring 1982 and winter 1987) have described System NEBO, the Archives' automated data processing system which provides a high level of control over county records in the IRAD system. This automated system was expanded in 1988 to include municipal, township, town, and village records as well. Since the Illinois Historical Records Advisory Board's report of 1982 recommended more attention to local records other than those at the county level, IRAD staff increased efforts to make significant accessions from these other levels of local government. Successes in these areas made enhancements to the NEBO System necessary and now they have been implemented. NEBO remains limited to local government records from all Illinois counties with the exception of Cook. For the City of Chicago, Cook County, and other local government entities therein, a separate system has been developed for control at the record series level. Because an IRAD depository for Cook has not yet been opened, this system remains to be fully implemented.

ILLINOIS REGIONAL ARCHIVES DEPOSITORY
CARBONDALE

Southern Illinois University IRAD

The IRAD depository at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, was moved to new quarters in May. The current facility is located at the new Morris Library Annex on McClafferty Road. Because SIU's region encompasses the earliest settled part of the state, IRAD records there are the oldest in the system. St. Clair County Wills, for instance, date back to 1772. As a consequence of the richness of the collection at the Carbondale depository, reference demand there is the highest of the regional depositories. The new facility is most welcome because it offers a larger and more attractive reference space; an expanded, environmentally improved, well lighted, and secure records storage area; and convenient parking access.

IRAD Microfilming

The Archives has engaged a contractual employee, Don Baptist, to assist the IRAD Unit in its microfilming activities. By the terms of an agreement with the Genealogical Society of Utah, the Archives has agreed to identify types of local and state records which the Society wishes to microfilm and to negotiate with local officials for the Society's filming of certain of these records. The Society has targeted vital, census, probate, land, military, naturalization, immigration, and divorce records. In return for these services, the Archives will receive one silver negative copy of each reel filmed. Part of Mr. Baptist's responsibilities will be to make positive copies from these master negatives, one each for: the appropriate IRAD depository, the local official involved, and the State Archives as a use copy. Additionally he will be engaged in microfilming county, municipal and township records that the c[illegible] IRAD office has borrowed for filming. R[illegible] will film are of the type nc[illegible] Genealogical Society of Ut[illegible] include the minutes of vario[illegible] bodies.

Illinois State Genealogical Society

As part of recent initiatives to increase cooperation between the Archives and the Illinois State Genealogical Society, the Society's business office has been located in the Archives Building. Joyce Standridge, Executive Secretary for the Society, occupies this new office. In addition to processing memberships, her responsibilities include promotional activities such as workshops, membership drives and publications other than the Society's journal and newsletter.

Publications

Several publications are available for purchase from the Information Services Section, Illinois State Archives, Archives Building, Springfield, Illinois, 62756. Please make checks payable to: Secretary of State.

Descriptive Inventory of the Archives of the State of Illinois (1978), 708 pp. Also includes **Supplement** (1985), 224 pp., and an **Index** (1978), 131 pp. A revised index will be automatically sent to purchasers when completed.

Price: $20.00

A Guide to County Records in the Illinois Regional Archives (1983), 376 pp.

Softcover Price: $ 5.00
Hardcover Price: $12.50

Illinois Public Domain Land Sales (1985), 7 pp. explanatory booklet, 144 microfiche (538,750 entries).

Price: $25.00

Two publications are available free of charge to Illinois school teachers. Please make requests for these secondary school curriculum packets on school letterhead stationery.

Windows to the Past, 1818-1880: A Selection of Illinois County Records from the Illinois State Archives (1982), teacher's manual and 38 document facsimiles.

Early Chicago, 1833-1871: A Selection of City Council Proceedings Files from the Illinois State Archives (1986), teacher's manual and 50 document facsimiles.

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ORANGE COUNTY GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
HUNTINGTON BEACH CENTRAL LIBRARY
7111 TALBERT AVENUE
HUNTINGTON BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92648

LEGS

Lake Elsinore Genealogical Society
P.O. Box 807, Lake Elsinore, CA 92330

LINCOLN LINEAGE submitted by Bob Butterfield

Friday November 15, 1912

Dear Mrs. Butterfield:

According to my promise made during a call of courtesy recently, I herewith send you a copy of the Lineage of your husband, Charles Lincoln Butterfield, for the information and use of your sons when they may marry and have families of their own. The figures after each name indicate each generation; Thus:- Thos. Lincoln, 2nd generation was the son of Thos. Lincoln, 1st Generation; Thos. Lincoln of 3rd Generation was son of Thos. Lincoln 2nd Generation and he the son of Thos. Lincoln 1st Generation, so down all along the Line of Lincolns until your own people are reached. Where the blank lines appear in the Butterfield line, effort should be made to secure date of birth, marriage, and death, giving full name in every case, also places of birth, marriage, and death. Nicknames are not allowable in Genealogical records. If records are not perfectly kept, their value is impaired for future Generations.

The first of your sons to marry will insert his name at the foot of his father's record, adding the lineage of his progenitors; name in full of wife, date of birth, also place and date of marriage. Then the lineage line will become his own, and can be copied with his name at the head as on page one.

Your sons should know that it is a proud privilege to show a correct lineage of nearly 300 years and very few are able to produce such a record. It is to be hoped that it will inspire them to keep their "honor bright".

After leaving your home I called on Mr. Bert Henry, 3608 E. 27th St., K.C. I then went to St. Joseph, Mo. and called on John W. Henry and W. M. Henry. I partook of supper at the latter's home, and have mailed him a copy of our family lineage which he is to perfect as to his own people, and supply copies to his brothers and sisters.

And you may desire to know something of my own family history; I will state that I am the second son of Charles (R.) and Lucretia Burtsell Lincoln, who in 1835 went to Greece as missionaries of the

Protestant Episcopal Church. My only sister, Frances Rogers Lincoln, was born at the mission station, and died while on a visit to England several years ago. On their return from Greece, my parents settled in Flushing, N.Y., where my father established the "Journal". a weekly newspaper. It was here that Edward Butterfield learned to set type prior to the Civil War. He then was an orphan boy, who ultimately left our home for the West, and was lost to our acquaintance thereafter.

I would be pleased to have a receipt of this letter and inclosures acknowledged in the enclosed stamped envelope bearing my address.

With best wishes for yourself and sons, I remain sincerely,

Henry F. Lincoln

In this connection will say that I came to Missouri in 1890 and published newspapers in Unionville, Lamar, and Brunswick. Was appointed to my present position during the Spanish American War. While living in Missouri, I was not aware that descendants of my Aunt Cornelia Lincoln were residents of K.C., and St. Joseph. I came into possession of an old letter of my Aunt, 5 or 6 years ago (written to my father in the 50's). In this letter she mentioned her marriage to William Greer, and that she had a baby boy, and was living in Independence, Mo. I wrote to the County Clerk there and was given the address of Alice Bridges with whom I have occasionally corresponded; calling upon her during my recent visit to Missouri; Alice has the letter referred to in her possession - a gift from myself.

Remind your sons that all their ancestors were truly devout Christian people people and with them should "honor their father and their mother and remember their Creator in the days of their youth.

****

A friend of ours took her eight-year-old son to visit his grandmother in Texas. When they arrived, the boy ran to a loarge pecan tree in the front yard, put his arms around the massive trunk and asked, "Is this the family tree?"

Reader's Digest

LEGS

Lake Elsinore Genealogical Society
P.O. Box 807, Lake Elsinore, CA 92330

LINEAGE

of

Charles Lincoln Butterfield

from records of
The Lincoln Historical and Genealogical Association
of
Taunton, Massachusetts
Family Bible and other sources

Presented by
Henry Freeman Lincoln, Washington, D. C.

Thomas Lincoln[1] born in England about 1603, Died October 1683 aged about 80 years. He was a miller in Hingham, Massachusetts about 1635. Moved to Taunton, Mass., before 1650, established a mill, iron works and acquired large tracts of land. Married in England, 1627; name of first wife unknown. Had five children:

Thomas[2], b England 1628; d 1695
John[2] b England 1630; d 1719
Samuel[2], baptized February 1637
Mary[2], baptized October 16, 1642
Sarah[2], baptized December, 1645

Thomas Lincoln[1] (on) December 10, 1665, married 2d wife, Elizabeth Street, widow of Francis Street of Taunton, Massachusetts, by whom he had a daughter, Mary[2].

Thomas Lincoln[2] (Thos[1]) born England, 1628. Settled in Taunton, Massachusetts (in) 1649; died 1695 aged about 67 years. He was a farmer, miller & owner of iron works. Married Mary Austin. Had ten children:

Mary[3]	b 1652	Sarah[3]	b 1654
Thomas[3]	b 1656	Samuel[3]	b 1658
Sarah[3]	b 1660	Hannah[3]	b 1663
Constant[3]	b 1665	Marcy[3]	b 1670
Jonah[3]	b	Experience	b before 1694

Thomas Lincoln[3] (Thos[2],Thos[1]) born Taunton, Mass., April 21, 1656. He was a farmer and married Mary Stacy, of Taunton, Mass. Had seven children:

Thomas[4]	b 1680	Jonathan[4]	b 1687
Benjamin[4]	b 1681	William[4]	b 1689
Nathaniel[4]	b 1684	Lydia[4]	b
	Hanna[4] b 1692		

Jonathan Lincoln[4] (Thos[3],Thos[2],Thos[1]) born Taunton, Mass., 1687, died January 15, 1773, aged 86 yrs. He was a farmer. Married Hannah Andrews, b 1690. d. in Norton, May 23, 1762, aged 72 yrs. Had seven children:

Jonathan[5]	b 1713	Hannah[5]	b 1723
James[5]	b 1715	George[5]	b 1727
Elkanah[5]	b 1718	Job[5]	b 1730
Abiel[5]	b 1719		

Abiel Lincoln[5] (Jonathan[4],Thos[3],Thos[2],Thos[1]) born Norton, Mass., 1719, d 1808 He was a farmer. Married Sarah Fisher, 1747. Had eight children:

Sarah[6]	b 1748		b 1763
Abiel[6]	b 1750	Mollie[6]	b 1766
Asa[6]	b 1752	Lucy[6]	b 1770
Timothy[6]	b 1760	Abner[6]	b 1774

Abiel Lincoln[6],Jr., (Abiel[5],Jonathan[4],Thos[3],Thos[2],Thos[1]) born Norton, Mass., May 26, 1750; d Sept. 3, 1821. He was a farmer and served in the Massachusetts Militia during the Revolutionary War; 1775-1780. Married Hannah Wetherell, April 5, 1770; she died February 27, 1774. Had two children:

Calvin[7]	b 1770	and	Oliver[7] b 1772

Abiel Lincoln[6] (on) January 22, 1778, married 2d wife, Lois Smirh. She died February 25, 1795. Had six children:

Lois[7]	b Feb. 9, 1779	Charles[7]	b April 22, 1783
Eunice[7]	b May 3, 1780	Preston[7]	b August 31, 1784
Calvin[7]	b June 23, 1781	Stillman[7]	b July 27, 1787

Abiel Lincoln[6] married 3d wife, (on) December 10, 1795, Mrs. Hannah (Morey) Smith, widow of Dr. Tim Smith. Has three children:

Ebanezer Morey Lincoln[7]	b November 5, 1796
Lois Smith Lincoln[7]	b December 28, 1798
Charlotte[7]	b July 9, 1804

Charles Lincoln[7] (Abiel[6],Abiel[5],Jonathan[4],Thos[3],Thos[2],Thos[1]), born Norton, Mass.; Monday April 21, 1783, died at Copake, New York March 1841, aged 56 years., 11 mos. Buried in Hudson, N.Y. Cemetery (Lot 105, sec. 1B, Quaker section) March 21, 1841. He was a builder and contractor. Married Nancy Coney (b Boston, Mass. Friday October 31, 1788). She died in Brooklyn, N.Y.; aged 58 years, and was buried September 16, 1846, in Greenwood Cemetery (Grave 47, Lot 951). Had ten children:

Charles[8]	b Feb. 9, 1806	Cornelia[8]	b May 27, 1819
Eunice[8]	b Dec. 20, 1806	Stillman[8]	b Nov. 2, 1821
Oliver[8]	b Dept 14, 1810	Franklin B[8]	b April 30, 1825
George[8]	b June 6, 1812	Eugene M.[8]	b Feb. 14, 1832
Harriet N.[8]	b Nov. 1, 1814		

Cornelia Lincoln[8] (Chas[7],Abiel[6],Abiel[5],Jonathan[4],Thos[3],Thos[2],Thos[1]) born Poughkeepsie, New York, Thursday May 27, 1819; Married[9]. . . . . [9] Butterfield. Married 2d husband, William Greer; had children William[9] and Alice[9]. Cornelia Lincoln died at St. Joseph, Missoure.

Cornelia Lincoln and her 1st husband . . . . . Butterfield had children:

Harriet[9]	born	married
Rosa[9]	born	married
Charles[9]	born	married
Edward[9]	born	married

Edward Butterfield[9] (Cornelia Lincoln[8],Chas[7],Abiel[6],Abiel[5],Jonathan[4],Thos[3],Thos[2],Thos[1])

born:_____

married_____

died_____

Had children:

Charles Lincoln Butterfield[10] born _____

Robert Butterfield[10] born_____

Charles Lincoln Butterfield[10] (Edward Butterfield[9],Cornelia Lincoln[8],Chas[7],Abiel[6],Abiel[5],Jonathan[4],Thos[3],Thos[2],Thos[1])

born_____

married_____

had children (11th generation)

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BAD SEED....

A man was boasting of his ancient lineage and his distinguished ancestors who had come over on the Mayflower.

The farmer, listening patiently, finally said, "That's too bad, friend, vecause in my business we say: 'The older the seed, the worse the crop.'"

Tal D. Bonham. The Treasury of Clean Country Joke, 1986.

Lincoln Family

LEGS

Lake Elsinore Genealogical Soc
P.O. Box 807, Lake Elsinore, CA 92330

FALLEY COLLECTION

Margaret Dickson Falley donated her collection of books on Irish and American geneology in 1980. In her study of family history and geneology she acquired over 3,000 volumes, published in both the United States and the British Isles. The collection includes more than 1600 American reference books, and nearly 200 volumes from other parts of the United Kingdom, as well as 170 microfilm reels of parish records, deeds, and emigration passenger lists from Irish sources.

Mrs. Falley is the author of a two-volume guide to geneological study, IRISH AND SCOTT-IRISH ANCESTRAL RESEARCH (Evanston, 1962), which suggests methods of research and oulines the nature of records and sources for the American student of Irish and Scott-Irish family history. "The geneologist must first locate the geographical area of of his earliest known branch of the family, and also the geographical origin of the earliest known ancestor, whether he lived and died in Ireland or emigrated." (p. iv) He must exhaust all-American sources to trace the ancestor who actually emigrated: his place of birth, residence at the time of emigration, householder status both in America and Ireland, the names of a wife and her parents and any other family members, etc. Published sources are as vital to this search as private family records: probate and marriage records, deeds, mortgages, chancery and court records, pension documents, emigration passenger lists, naturalization and alien registration lists, and records of indenture.

The Falley Collection contains many of these published materials which would aid a geneologist's early research. Included are more than 100 family histories tracing early American families and their descendants. State and local histories with information on wills, marriages, census records, and other vital statistics of public record are traced over 450 volumes. Represented are the New England states, particularly Massachusetts, the Midwest, and a few of the Southern states.

Reference books of a broader scope include U.S. Bureau of Census information inventories, guides by such organizations as the D.A.R., the Mormons, and the Quakers; the INDEX OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR PENSION APPLICATIONS (Washington, 1966); the National Archives' PRELIMINARY INVENTORY OF THE LAND ENTRY PAPERS OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE (1949); and general books on methodology with suggestions for research procedures.
When American research has been completed, the geneologist must consult materials in principal Irish repositories which house published works, manuscript collections, and microfilmed records. The Falley Collection contains Irish reference books including atlases and gazeteers, army records, published census statistics, and THE CIVIL SURVEY, a.d. 1654-1656. Also represented are more than 50 indexes to marriage records, baptisms, school and chancery rolls, deed, tombstone inscriptions and memorials, wills, calendars of state papers, and the reports of Ireland's Public Record Office which alone run to nearly 60 volumes.