

# THE LINCOLN FORUM BULLETIN

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## KROWL AND MEDFORD WIN SIMON AWARD

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Two Lincoln Forum executive committee members recently received the Ulysses S. Grant Association's (USGA) John Y. Simon Award for distinguished service to the USGA. The Simon Award is traditionally bestowed at the USGA's annual meeting, which is held each year at a different location associated with Grant.

In 2022, Michelle A. Krowl received the award at a ceremony held at the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library at Mississippi State University in Starkville, Mississippi, where the award was presented by John F. Marszalek and Frank J. Williams. Krowl is the curator of the Ulysses S. Grant Papers at the Library of Congress and serves as the USGA's vice president for advancement. "When I look over the list of past Simon Award recipients, it is truly an honor to be among such distinguished company," said Krowl. "The extended community of Grant descendants, scholars, and enthusiasts have been so welcoming to this relative newcomer to their ranks, so the suggestion that I have been able to contribute something in return to furthering Grant studies and the mission of the USGA is particularly meaningful to me."



John Marszalek, Michelle Krowl, and Frank J. Williams

In 2023, Edna Greene Medford accepted the award at the closing dinner of the USGA's annual meeting, held at the historic Decatur House on Lafayette Square in Washington, D.C. The award was presented by John Y. Simon's widow, Harriet Simon. Medford serves on the USGA's board and has played an active role in the association for many years, including as the keynote speaker in 2022 and as a member of the 2023 USGA's symposium's local arrangements committee. "One of the great pleasures of my academic career was meeting and getting to know John Y. Simon many years ago," said Medford. "John's decades-long commitment to the Ulysses S. Grant Papers project was truly inspiring. I am honored to have received the award established in his name by the Grant Association."



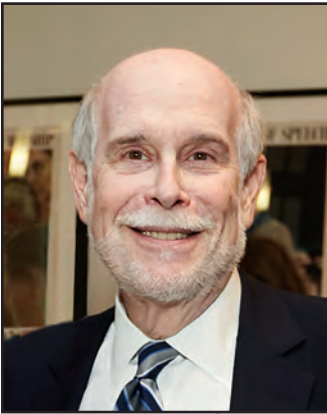
Edna Greene Medford (photo by Bruce Guthrie)

The Simon Award is named in honor of John Y. Simon (1933–2008), longtime professor of history at Southern Illinois University, editor of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, and executive director of the USGA. Krowl's award came in the form of a print portraying Grant by acclaimed Gettysburg artist and Forum board member Wendy Allen. Previous winners include Lincoln Forum

*continued on page 4*



# CHAIRMAN'S MESSAGE EIGHT SCORE YEARS AGO



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**F**or those of us who can remember the 150<sup>th</sup>, 125<sup>th</sup>, and even the centennial anniversaries of the Gettysburg Address—as I can—it’s still hard to believe that Lincoln’s “few appropriate remarks” are now eight score years old. But it’s easy to accept that they still constitute the high-water mark against which all presidential oratory is measured.

True, schoolchildren are no longer required, or even asked, to learn it by heart. A new generation of scholars—starting with one of this year’s Forum speakers, Ronald White—has persuasively argued that the Second Inaugural, not the Gettysburg Address, was “Lincoln’s greatest speech.” What’s more, Lincoln himself did not even rank Gettysburg as his “shortest, and best speech.” That phrase, in fact, was the half-serious title he gave to the comments he made to a pair of Tennessee women who visited him at the White House and irked him by requesting clemency for their disloyal, prisoner-of-war husbands.

All we know about Lincoln’s own assessment of his Gettysburg effort is that he told journalist Noah Brooks in advance that it would be “short, short, short,” and that he allegedly told his friend Ward Hill Lamont after its delivery that it was a “flat failure.” (Historians have questioned that one!)

A far surer measure of its enduring place in American memory is the frequency with which it has been so inspiringly recited since. We hear it each November at both The Lincoln Forum and the Soldiers’ National Cemetery. And it has been a highlight of nearly every Lincoln film ever made (and some that were not even about Lincoln!). Just think of the recitations that have come from Walter Huston, Charles Laughton, Gregory Peck, Sam Waterston, the British actor Oyelowo (who played the Black soldier reciting the speech to Daniel Day-Lewis in Stephen Spielberg’s *Lincoln*), and most recently from our Forum XXVIII guest Graham Sibley in the Doris Kearns Goodwin–Beth Laski production of the History Channel miniseries *Abraham Lincoln*.


Aaron Copland has written music to surround it, Bob Newhart has parodied it on a record album (remember those?), and Ken Burns produced a film featuring a who’s who reading it, including Presidents George Bush, George W. Bush, Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama—not to mention Uma Thurman and Conan O’Brien.

This year, as we reconvene at Gettysburg to remember and reinterpret Lincoln, let us pay special attention when we hear those miraculous words once again on the eve of their 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Here is still the most enduring plea ever offered for embracing and widening the concept of American democracy. And it still packs a wallop.

True, Democratic newspapers of the day predictably assailed it while the Republican press praised it. (Imagine what Fox News and, conversely, MSNBC might have made of it today!) Yet one of the most generous period appraisals came not from a Lincoln supporter, but from a man who, just three years earlier, had opposed the Lincoln ticket (as Constitutional Union candidate for vice president), and moreover had just delivered the featured, but now-forgotten, stem-winder that preceded Lincoln’s prose poem Gettysburg.

As Edward Everett wrote to Lincoln just one day after they had shared the speakers’ platform: “I should be glad, if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion, in two hours, as you did in two minutes.”

Eight score years later, as we confront fresh national perils, let us remember and embrace the central ideas that, even in the midst of “a great civil war,” so majestically redirected America toward “a new birth of freedom.”

  
Harold Holzer, Chairman



**T**he leadership of THE LINCOLN FORUM thanks all of our members who have made donations over the past 28 years. Your generosity has made our programs a success. We are pleased to announce that donations and membership payments can now be made directly at our website: <https://www.thelincolnforum.org/>

**Thank you again for your continued support!**



## EDITOR'S NOTE



Jonathan White

**T**he Lincoln Forum is a volunteer organization that runs so smoothly thanks to the members who devote their time, talents, and treasure to the success of the organization. Ron Robinson goes to such great lengths to ensure that our First Time Attendees (FTAs as he calls them) feel welcome and want to become Second Time Attendees. Angela Mayer and Emma Benun keep us present on social media. Henry Cohen reads every word of the *Bulletin* many times over and makes it as clean and readable as possible. Hank Ballone spends scores of hours designing each issue

of the *Bulletin*. Our multiple scholarship and prize committees put in countless hours to make those programs a success. Paul Ward does the books and keeps us on the level. And in retirement, Pat

Dougal has graciously continued to assist our wonderful administrator, Diane Brennan, in the tasks that make the symposium such a joy to attend.

I would like to take a moment to thank Ruth Squillace and Tom Horrocks for what they do to make the Forum *and* the *Bulletin* a success. Not only do they chair committees that take an extraordinary amount of volunteer time, but each spring they also write articles for the *Bulletin* so that our members can know about the student and teacher scholarships and the book prize. Many of you are also very generous donors to these initiatives, and without your contributions, we would not be able to bring teachers and students to Gettysburg each November.

Finally, I would like to thank the individuals and organizations who advertise in the *Bulletin*. Their generosity makes it possible for us to print the *Bulletin* in full color. I hope you will consider supporting them, just as they support us.

The Forum is a family, but it is also a team. And I know that Harold and I count ourselves fortunate to be surrounded by such wonderful people. As Lincoln once said, "Thanks to all." 📌

### FORUM MEMBERS: PLEASE RENEW NOW

**If you have not renewed your Lincoln Forum Membership for 2023-24, please do so soon. Members at all levels receive access to the annual symposium, the twice-yearly *Bulletin*, and other benefits. We need your annual support and urge you to make sure your membership is up to date.**

## CALLIE HAWKINS APPOINTED CEO AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S COTTAGE

In August, the board of directors of President Lincoln's Cottage in Washington, D.C., announced that it had named Callie Hawkins as its new CEO and executive director. Hawkins has worked at President Lincoln's Cottage for nearly 15 years, most recently as director of programming, as well as serving as interim director in 2021.

"Callie prioritizes compassion, creativity, and a deep and abiding love for this place in everything she does," said Rick Murphy, chair of the board. "We are proud and excited for the future of the Cottage under her capable leadership."

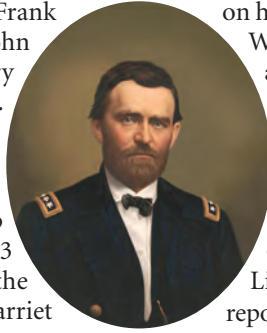
Hawkins brings extensive experience in program design, historic site interpretation, and management to the role. A staff member since 2009, she has worked to strengthen the organization's programmatic impact through the development of nationally recognized initiatives, including tours, exhibits, student and teacher offerings, and programs for the general public. "President Lincoln's Cottage captured my heart when I first came on a tour shortly after the site opened to the public," she said. "I am honored to build on the great work this team has accomplished and grateful for the opportunity to steward this unique and impactful organization, guided by the bold, brave ideas at the heart of this special place." 📌



# KROWL AND MEDFORD WIN SIMON AWARD

*continued from page 1* Chairman Emeritus Frank J. Williams (2010), Forum executive committee member John F. Marszalek (2014), and Forum favorite and honorary Board of Advisors member William C. “Jack” Davis (2016).

“The USGA could not have chosen more deserving historians to honor with the prize named for my dear late friend John Y. Simon,” said Lincoln Forum Chairman Harold Holzer. “Michelle promptly followed up her 2022 award by volunteering to run a wonderful 2023 meeting in Washington—the highlight of which was the surprise 2023 award for Edna, with John’s beloved wife Harriet



on hand. The study of Grant opens a window on both the Civil War and Reconstruction, and experts like Michelle and Edna are constantly shedding new light on these subjects. The Forum congratulates them both.”

The mission of the Ulysses S. Grant Association is to conduct research into the life of Ulysses S. Grant and preserve the knowledge of his importance in American history. The association publishes *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, and it helps support the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library at Mississippi State University as the major repository of information about Grant and his era. 📖

## HISTORICAL MARKER DEDICATED TO CHARLOTTE SCOTT



Michael Crutcher as Frederick Douglass and Marcial Cole as Charlotte Scott

On June 17, 2023, the Civil War Round Table of the Mid-Ohio Valley dedicated a historical marker to recognize Charlotte Scott, a former slave whose vision, generosity, and initiative resulted in the erection of Thomas Ball’s “Emancipation Group” in Washington, D.C., in 1876. The ceremony, which took place at the First Congregational Church of Marietta, Ohio, featured music that had been performed at the 1876 Freedmen’s Memorial dedication. Marcia E. Cole, a living historian from Washington, D.C., portrayed Charlotte Scott; and Alicestyne Turley, an educator from Kentucky, delivered a presentation entitled “African Americans in the Civil War.”

When Charlotte Scott, a freedwoman who was living in Marietta at the end of the Civil War,



Thomas Ball’s “Emancipation Group”



Plaque on Ball’s “Emancipation Group”

learned of Lincoln’s assassination in April 1865, she declared, “The colored people have lost their best friend on earth. Mr. Lincoln was our best friend and I will give five dollars of my wages toward erecting a monument to his memory.” Word of her remarkable gesture spread, and soon other African Americans made similar contributions. Together, they raised roughly \$20,000 for the project.

Frederick Douglass delivered the dedicatory remarks at Lincoln Park on April 14, 1876, with President Ulysses S. Grant, Charlotte Scott, members of Congress, and Supreme Court justices among the more than 25,000 people in attendance. 📖



## LINCOLN LIBRARIAN IN FORT WAYNE NAMED SECOND HELLER FELLOW



Jessie Cortesi, Senior Lincoln Librarian at the Rolland Center for Lincoln Research in the Allen County Public Library of Fort Wayne, Indiana, has been named the second Ross Heller Fellow. Cortesi comes to the profession with a background in public history and librarianship with a focus on exhibits. She co-curated the *200 @ 200* exhibit at the History Center of Fort Wayne, which was awarded the Indiana Historical Society's Indiana History Outstanding Project Award in celebration of Indiana's bicentennial. In 2023 her first exhibit in the Rolland Center garnered the Midwest Travel Journalists Association's GEMmy award. Cortesi stewards the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection and curates exhibits for all audiences, offering tours and programming centered on President Abraham Lincoln's life and times.

Publisher Ross E. Heller—a first-time Lincoln Forum attendee in 2021—endowed a 10-year program that will bring an outstanding Lincoln librarian, archivist, or curator to the symposium each year through 2031. Heller's gift is the largest single contribution in the organization's 28-year history. The first Heller Fellow was Olga Tsapina, the Norris Foundation Curator of American Historical Manuscripts at the Huntington Library. 📖

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## LINCOLN STUDIES CENTER APPOINTS NEW DIRECTOR

On August 16, 2023, Jacob K. Friefeld became director of the Center for Lincoln Studies at the University of Illinois Springfield. Previously he had served as the Illinois and Midwest studies research historian at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum in Springfield. As the director of the Center for Lincoln Studies, Friefeld will lead efforts to advance research, education and public understanding of Abraham Lincoln's life, legacy, and historical significance.

Friefeld's co-authored book *Homesteading the Plains: Toward a New History* (2017) won the 2018 Nebraska Book Award for Nonfiction-History and was selected as a *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title by the Association of College and Research Libraries. His latest book, *The First Migrants: How Black Homesteaders' Quest for Land and Freedom Heralded America's Great Migration*, was published in August 2023.

Friefeld earned a doctorate in history from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln (UNL), where he served as a postdoctoral research fellow at the Center for Great Plains Studies. 📖



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## LINCOLN STATUE TO SENATOR



U.S. Senate Majority Whip Dick Durbin (D-IL) accepts a Lincoln statuette by the Forum's resident sculptor, Frank Porcu. The presentation was made on April 28 by Chairman Harold Holzer and his wife Edith at the Capitol Building. The Senator—who ironically holds Stephen A. Douglas' seat—was delighted by the likeness, which he will add to the collection of Lincoln images he displays in his office. Behind them is a Lincoln painting by Freeman Thorp. (Photo by Pat Souders) 📖

By Joshua A. Claybourn

From the tender age of seven until he reached the cusp of manhood at twenty-one, the bedrock years of Abraham Lincoln's life were spent nestled within the frontier landscapes of southwestern Indiana. The Lincoln family moved there in 1816, the same year Indiana joined the Union. An entire quarter of Lincoln's life unfolded in Indiana, marked by deeply personal tribulations that indelibly shaped his worldview and character.

When Lincoln was only nine, his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, passed away. Left bereft, his father, Thomas, soon opened his heart and his home to the widowed Sarah Bush Johnston and her three children. However, a second blow struck young Lincoln—the death of his beloved sister, Sarah Lincoln Grigsby, in 1828. Sarah had been more than just a sister to Abe. When the cruel hands of death snatched their mother away, she had bravely stepped into that motherly void. Her passing marked the loss of another maternal figure in Abe's life, almost as if he'd lost a second mother.

Despite the significance of this period, Lincoln hardly reminisced, modestly referring to his early life as “The short and simple annals of the poor.” He let slip only a few clues about this formative stage during his presidential campaign in 1860. The Lincolns' exodus from Kentucky, he revealed, was driven by a distaste for slavery and a flawed land surveying and land grant system. He spoke of wilderness tamed into a home, of his thirst for knowledge, of the loss of his mother and sister, and of an enlightening flatboat journey to New Orleans. But it was through these scant glimpses that we began to understand Lincoln's youth.

The mystery surrounding Lincoln's formative years intrigued historians after his premature death in 1865. William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, took the lead in uncovering this mystery. Although Lincoln's stories from Indiana were rare, Herndon began delving deeper, interviewing those who knew the late president best, such as neighbors, Lincoln's cousin Dennis Hanks, and his stepmother Sarah Bush Johnston Lincoln.

Herndon, however, found little inspiration in Indiana, describing it as “a stagnant, putrid pool” where Lincoln was raised in “restricted and unromantic environments.” Many historians, following Herndon's lead, dismissed this frontier region as inconsequential to Lincoln's life.

John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Lincoln's private secretaries, attempted to write a comprehensive biography of the late

president, culminating in a ten-volume *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (1890). However, despite their exhaustive work, they largely neglected Lincoln's early years, sparking further interest in his youth.

Subsequently, Ida Tarbell was assigned to compile a new history of Lincoln for *McClure's Magazine*. Relying in part on Anna O'Flynn's research, Tarbell began her twenty-part series, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, in 1895. A year later *McClure's* published some of Tarbell's findings in *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln*, and in 1900, the essays were compiled into a two-volume *Life of Abraham Lincoln*.

Collectively these volumes portrayed Indiana in a more favorable light than had previous biographies. Tarbell's work suggested

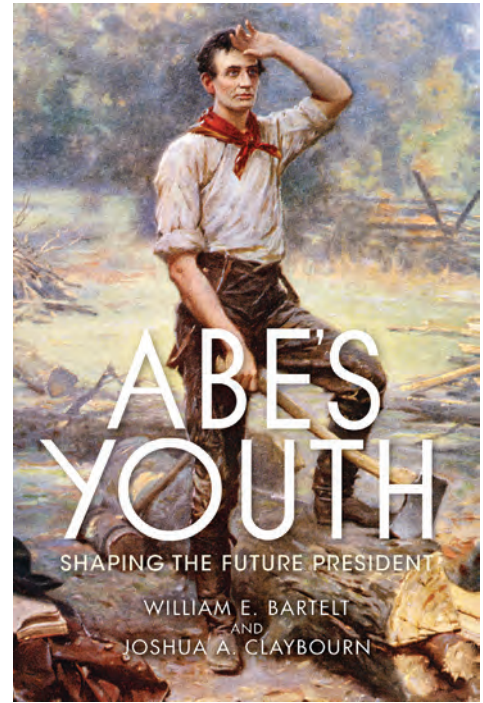
Lincoln's success was not in spite of, but because of, his time in Indiana. She dismissed allegations of Lincoln's deprived upbringing and highlighted the richness of the Hoosier frontier in nurturing Lincoln's imagination. She also sought to redeem Lincoln's father from previous characterizations as domineering and feckless.

In a 1980 essay titled “Escape from the Frontier: Lincoln's Peculiar Relationship with Indiana,” Mark E. Neely Jr. succinctly captured the two predominant perspectives on Lincoln's Indiana upbringing that were prevalent in the 1920s. These were the “dunghill” thesis and the “chin fly” thesis. The former stressed the impoverished, underdeveloped nature of the frontier, while the latter underscored the beneficial lessons and wisdom that Lincoln could garner in the Hoosier state.

The term “dunghill” thesis originated from Ward Hill Lamon and his ghostwriter, Chauncey Black. After Lamon purchased the rights to William Herndon's research, he depicted Lincoln as a gem sparkling amidst the filth, or “the diamond glowing on the dunghill.” In contrast, the “chin fly” thesis, as seen in Ida Tarbell's work, celebrated the rustic elements that surrounded Lincoln in his formative years. Tarbell's praise for the “horse, the dog, the ox, the chin fly, the plow, the hog” as integral parts of Lincoln's youth fleshed out this perspective.

William Barton, a minister from Illinois, left the pulpit and moved to Massachusetts, where he grew enamored with all things Lincoln, including Lincoln's ancestry and youth. Barton often clashed with other Lincoln scholars, but his research and publications nevertheless garnered respect.

Parallel to Barton, yet carving his own unique path, was Louis A. Warren. Born and educated in Massachusetts and Kentucky respectively, Warren embarked on his career in 1918 as a newspaper editor in Hodgenville, Kentucky. While working close to Lincoln's birthplace, he observed a recurring theme in Lincoln commentary: an overemphasis on tradition and a noticeable lack of original research. Driven by this realization, Warren delved into courthouse records across Kentucky and Indiana.



“Boyhood of Lincoln” (1868) by Eastman Johnson



# N'S INDIANA ROOTS

In 1921, Warren relocated to Elizabethtown, Kentucky, the earliest known residence of Lincoln's parents. He transcribed thousands of court records pertinent to the Lincoln family. By 1925, Warren had moved again, this time to Indiana, where he worked as a full-time Lincoln researcher. His employer, Senator Albert Beveridge, was himself a Lincoln historian. Warren frequently lectured about Lincoln's formative years and published many books and manuscripts on the subject.

Emerging during this period of vigorous Lincoln activity were several other noteworthy researchers, one of whom was J. Edward Murr (1868–1960). A Methodist minister hailing from Corydon, Indiana, Murr was raised among Lincoln's relatives and even served his ministry near Lincoln's boyhood home. This proximity provided Murr with an unparalleled opportunity to interact with Lincoln's childhood companions and understand Indiana's unique influences on Lincoln. As a result, Murr accumulated a rich and significant collection of interviews and manuscripts contributing to our knowledge of Lincoln's roots.

Although much of Murr's work remained unpublished and scattered in various archives and libraries, his research shaped influential biographies from Albert Beveridge's to Michael Burlingame's. I took Murr's most compelling works and recently compiled them into the first fully annotated edition of Murr's Lincoln research, titled *Abraham Lincoln's Wilderness Years: Collected Works of J. Edward Murr* (2023).

Murr also worked with the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society (SWIHS) in the 1920s and 1930s. The SWIHS—consisting of lawyers, historians, collectors, genealogists, teachers, and writers—undertook a project known as the Lincoln Inquiry. Its goal was to dispel prevalent myths and provide a more nuanced account of Lincoln's time in Indiana.

In its heyday between 1920 and 1939, the SWIHS spearheaded nearly 400 presentations and penned more than 200 papers. These documents, scattered across libraries and private collections for over a century, have finally been consolidated.

One book stands out as perhaps the most comprehensive single-volume overview of these formative years thus far: Bill Bartelt's *There I Grew Up* (2008). Bartelt expertly blends annotation and primary source material to recount Lincoln's Indiana years as experienced by those who lived them.

Alongside William Herndon's invaluable interviews with Lincoln's contemporaries and Bartelt's aforementioned book, the two recent collections, *Abraham Lincoln's Wilderness Years* and *Abe's*



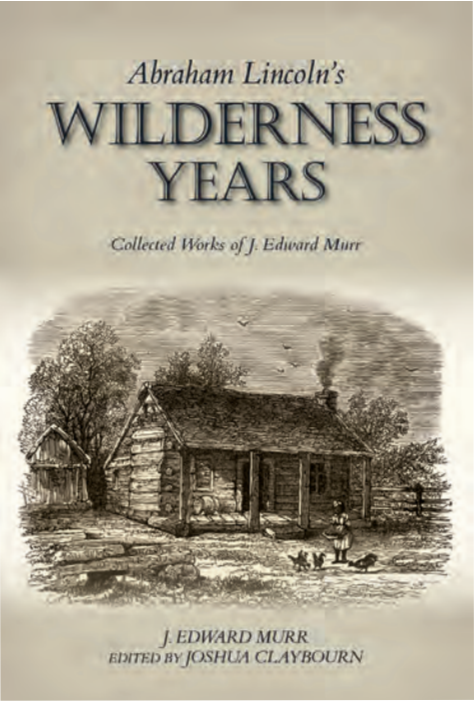
**Josiah Crawford, an Indiana neighbor who loaned Lincoln his copy of David Ramsay's *The Life of George Washington* (1807), which got wet at the Lincoln cabin.**

*Youth*, provide some of the most thorough and enlightening source material for contextualizing Lincoln's upbringing. These volumes frame Lincoln's surroundings, offering readers a vivid snapshot of his early environment and community. Moreover, they trace the nascent development of traits that would later become Lincoln's hallmarks: his sharp intellect, his fervor for individual economic freedom, his respect for the law, and his unwavering faith in the American ideal.

As with all reminiscences, readers should approach the accounts in these volumes with a degree of skepticism. Both the Lincoln Inquiry and Murr were motivated by a desire to rehabilitate the maligned image of Southwest Indiana, which was often criticized as a backward and unenlightened challenge that Lincoln needed to surmount on his path to greatness. Nevertheless, these volumes address these potential biases by including clarifying annotations and providing context for any inaccuracies.

While the early years of Lincoln's life may appear deceptively simple, the collective efforts of researchers like Herndon, Tarbell, Barton, Warren, Murr, and Bartelt, and groups like the Lincoln Inquiry, have unearthed a wealth of insight into these formative years, helping us appreciate the impact of the Hoosier state on Lincoln's life and legacy.

*(Joshua A. Claybourn is an attorney and the author or editor of several books, including Abe's Youth: Shaping the Future President and Abraham Lincoln's Wilderness Years. He serves on the boards of the Abraham Lincoln Association and the Abraham Lincoln Institute, and hosts the Lincoln Log podcast.)* 📖



# WAS LINCOLN DISINGENUOUS

By Henry Cohen

In his famous public letter of August 22, 1862, to Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln wrote, “If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that.”

The consensus among historians appears to be that, in writing this, Lincoln was being disingenuous, because he had already decided on the third of these options. He had already drafted the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation and had presented it to his cabinet a month before, on July 22, 1862. His disingenuousness, if that’s what it was, was for a good cause: to placate racist white people in the North and in the Border States so that, when he announced the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, they would not interpret it to mean that the aim of the Civil War had changed from preserving the Union to freeing the slaves. Rather, they would understand that freeing the slaves was necessary to save the Union.

Nevertheless, in the second paragraph of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln said that he would recommend to Congress that it compensate states that “adopt, immediate, or gradual abolishment of slavery,” and, during the hundred days between September 22, 1862, when he issued the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, and January 1, 1863, when he issued the Final Emancipation Proclamation, he took actions that suggest that he had not been disingenuous, but that he continued to consider the first option he mentioned to Greeley—saving the Union without freeing any slave—a serious possibility.

Historian William W. Freehling points out in *The South vs. The South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War* (2001) that “From mid-October to mid-November 1862, [Lincoln] sent personal envoys to Louisiana, Tennessee, and Arkansas.” Each of these envoys carried with him a letter from Lincoln stating that if the people of their state desired “to avoid the unsatisfactory” terms



Horace Greeley

of the Final Emancipation Proclamation “and to have peace again upon the old terms” (*i.e.*, with slavery intact), they should rally “the largest number of the people possible” to vote in “elections of members to the Congress of the United States . . . friendly to their object.”

Freehling argues that the fact that the envoys worked hardest after the elections shows that Lincoln cannot be defended as “only a crafty politician, delaying forced emancipation until after the elections of fall 1862.” Lincoln, adds Freehling, “aimed to win not just the 1862 election but also the war . . . and avoidance of federally imposed emancipation still seemed to him the wisest military course.” In addition, the fact that Lincoln had envoys deliver the letters in person rather than just mail them may be evidence of his seriousness. If Lincoln’s goal in sending the envoys had been merely to show that he’d made every effort to avoid issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, then he might have made a speech or issued a public letter urging the people of the three states to take advantage of the opportunity he instead had the envoys offer them.

But could Lincoln have thought that the envoys would be successful? What if they had been? It would have been only weeks before January 1, 1863, and surely the return to the Union of three states would not have prompted the other seven still in rebellion to rejoin the Union by that date. Lincoln presumably would not have postponed issuing the Final Emancipation Proclamation if it had applied in seven states instead of ten.

Another action Lincoln took during the hundred days between the Preliminary and Final Emancipation Proclamations was to present his Annual Message to Congress of December 1, 1862. In this message, Lincoln proposed an amendment to the U.S. Constitution providing that any state that abolished slavery before January 1, 1900, would receive compensation from the United States in the form of interest-bearing U.S. bonds. “Any State having received bonds . . . and afterwards reintroducing or tolerating slavery therein, shall



Francis B. Carpenter’s “The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet,” engraved by A. H. Ritchie



## IN HIS GREELEY LETTER?

refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.” Giving the states the option to reintroduce slavery means that Lincoln was offering to end the war without slavery ever permanently ending.



Gen. John A. McClernand

States “did free their slaves with financial help from Congress, backlash against emancipation would be minimized. If they did not, Lincoln at least wanted to appear magnanimous by demonstrating his willingness to go to great lengths in helping them avoid the shock of sudden, uncompensated emancipation.” It appears that Lincoln hoped that compensated emancipation and the Emancipation Proclamation would work hand in hand. The threat of the latter would induce the slave states to accept the former.

Perhaps Lincoln’s most puzzling action occurred on January 8, 1863—one week after he’d issued the Final Emancipation Proclamation. On that day, he wrote a letter to Major General John A. McClernand. He began by saying, “broken eggs can not be mended. I have issued the emancipation proclamation, and I can not retract it.” But then he added that “the people of the states included [in the proclamation], if they choose, need not to be hurt by it. Let them adopt systems of apprenticeship for the colored people, conforming substantially to the most approved plans of gradual emancipation; and, with the aid they can have from the general government, they may be nearly as well off, in this respect, as if the present trouble had not occurred.” Gradual emancipation? Aid? But the Emancipation Proclamation said that “all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free” (emphasis added). And it did not provide for compensation. It appears that Lincoln was willing to partially retract the proclamation.

Then Lincoln closed the letter by again essentially contradicting himself. He wrote, “I think you would better not make this letter public; but you may rely confidently on my standing by whatever I have said in it.” But, if the letter was not to be made

public, the people of the slave states would not know that Lincoln was still willing to accept gradual emancipation and to pay for it. In any event, presumably he’d have to persuade the Radical Republicans in Congress to go along with it. It seems difficult to account for this letter to McClernand.

Lincoln proposed compensated emancipation one last time, on February 3, 1865, when he and William H. Seward, to quote Michael Burlingame, “parlayed with the Confederate delegation aboard the steamer, *River Queen*, anchored in Hampton Roads.” Lincoln demanded, however, that the war would have to cease and slavery be abolished. As Burlingame reports, when Lincoln, on February 6, introduced to the cabinet a resolution “to offer \$400 million as compensation to slaveholders if the Confederacy would surrender by April 1,” the cabinet unanimously rejected it.

Let’s return to the question whether, after he issued the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln still considered saving the Union without freeing any slave a serious possibility. Lincoln could hardly have expected that the states in rebellion would return to the Union in a mere 100 days. On November 21, 1862, when Lincoln reportedly said in an interview “that he would rather die than take back a word of the Proclamation of Freedom,” he must have foreseen its taking effect on January 1, 1863.

Why, then, did he send the envoys to Louisiana, Tennessee, and Arkansas? And why did he offer a constitutional amendment providing for gradual emancipation? As Burlingame speculates, he may have wanted to appear magnanimous by demonstrating his willingness to go to great lengths in helping the South avoid the shock of sudden, uncompensated emancipation. He also, as suggested, wanted racist white people in the North and the Border States to believe that the aim of the Civil War had not changed from preserving the Union to freeing the slaves.

Yet another factor might have been Lincoln’s desire to strictly obey the Constitution and the laws. In his 1838 Lyceum Address, Lincoln went so far as to advise that “every American . . . swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country,” and that “reverence for the laws, be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap.” Even bad laws, “while they continue in force . . . should be religiously observed.”

Until the Civil War, it was widely believed that the federal government had no power to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed, except perhaps in the case of military necessity. The Constitution, therefore, permitted Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation only in his capacity as “Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy” as a war measure to save the Union. Given Lincoln’s fidelity to the Constitution, he may have wanted to be as certain as he could that the Emancipation Proclamation was a military necessity. He may have felt obliged to try every other means possible, however remote its chances of success. As Lincoln wrote in his letter to Greeley, it was his “official duty” (emphasis in original) to save the Union in “the shortest way under the Constitution.”

So, was Lincoln disingenuous in his letter to Greeley? It seems impossible to know. It appears unlikely that he could have considered saving the Union without freeing any slave a serious possibility, but he may have felt obliged to try anyway.

*(Having retired from his career as a lawyer and editor with the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, Henry Cohen is now the copyeditor of The Lincoln Forum Bulletin.)* 📖



# ABRAHAM LINCOLN

**By Michelle A. Krowl**

My Arlington Forest neighborhood in Arlington, Virginia, once lived up to its name due to the literal forest of oak trees in both homeowners' yards and the parklands and valleys surrounding us. Unfortunately, changes in the local climate and the natural lifespan of oak trees are now contributing to the oak decline the Forest is experiencing, causing many of us to lose the once-beautiful and majestic mature oak trees in our yards. But in a twist on making lemonade out of life's lemons, when Mother Nature gives you a dead tree, make it into art!



Facing the loss of two more oak trees in early 2022, I decided to commission a chainsaw artist to give a second act to the tall, straight tree next to my dining room window. Another neighbor provided me with the name of the artist (Andrew Mallon) who had transformed his dying tree into the Boston lighthouse. When a work colleague suggested "Abraham Lincoln," I had my subject. After consulting with the artist about how much tree he needed to work with for a life-sized Abraham Lincoln, stovepipe hat and all, I had the tree company leave an eight-foot spar when they removed the rest of the tree. Weather and conflicting schedules meant that nearly a year passed before work could begin on the sculpture itself. (Many of my neighbors no doubt wondered about the large tree "stump" with the spray-painted line in my yard during that time!)

It definitely was worth the wait. In March 2023, Andrew and I finally were able to consult about design specifics. From the Prints & Photographs Online Catalog at the Library of Congress, I had printed off Alexander Gardner photos of Lincoln at Antietam, as these were the best images of "full body" Abraham Lincoln. Andrew was drawn to a photograph of Lincoln holding his hands behind his back, which in a humorous twist, allowed us to incorporate into the sculpture design the ancient metal garden hose holder installed by a previous homeowner more than two decades before. We also decided to leave a faux stump at the bottom of the sculpture, which gave rise to my official and very nerdy nineteenth-century historian name for the sculpture, "Lincoln on the Stump."



Over three days at the end of March 2023, Andrew Mallon worked his chainsaw magic. What looked like a rough Easter Island head at the end of the first day was transformed over the next two days into a truly magnificent sculpture of a life-sized Abraham Lincoln. Andrew achieved incredible detail with Lincoln's face, coat buttons, and even the wrinkles at the bottom of his trousers. During the early phases of sculpting, Andrew asked me questions about Lincoln's "look," which prompted yet more printouts from the Library of Congress online catalog with details of Lincoln's profiles and close-ups of his collar and tie, all of which Andrew consulted when planning his next chainsaw cuts.

I honestly had no idea what to expect as to the final result and was just going with the flow, trusting Andrew's artistic vision. I will confess to being a little terrified when I turned around at one point and Andrew was applying a blowtorch to the natural wood, both as a sealant and to achieve the dark patina needed for all but Lincoln's face, hands, shirtfront, and the top of the stump. The flames coming out of Lincoln's eyes then looked like something from a Godzilla movie!

"Lincoln on the Stump" is now complete. Its first coat of protective sealant has been applied and will need to be refreshed every couple of years, especially as Mr. Lincoln faces the harsh afternoon western sun. (Perhaps appropriate for a man who thought of himself as a westerner in the mid-nineteenth century? Which is still an alien concept for this far west California native.) The thin brim of his hat will crack in the colder winter weather, and his coat will fade in the hot summer sun, and that is fine with me. In my own



**Andrew Mallon with his work-in-progress**



# COMES TO ARLINGTON

middle-age, I now sympathize with bodily cracking and fading.

In the meantime, I had an absolutely wonderful time watching “Lincoln on the Stump” take shape in my front yard. Many neighbors stopped by to watch the sculpting process and talk to me about the project. Some discovered that I am a Civil War historian and the curator of the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress, which then put the sculpture into further context for them. Fortunately, my immediate neighbors all love it, although I did have to promise my neighbor across the street not to hang my garden hose on the hose holder. I am not entirely sure why he objected to the hose and did not probe the reason; perhaps he thought it would be sacrilegious? But I can easily move a garden hose I rarely use, and he is fine with the occasional holiday decoration hung from the hose holder. So, through Lincolnian compromise, neighborhood tranquility has been preserved.

I later lost yet another ailing oak not far from “Lincoln on the Stump,” and I had it cut to a three-foot stump on



which I could eventually put a pot of trailing flowers, rather than have it ground down. A neighbor suggested that the stump would be the perfect size for a statue of Stephen A. Douglas. While I laughed heartily at the suggestion and appreciated the historic reference, I frankly do not want “The Little Giant” in my front yard, nor do I want to pay for the privilege.

Although Abraham Lincoln was a controversial figure in his own time, “Lincoln on the Stump” in Arlington Forest in Northern Virginia has brought nothing but great joy to both me and my neighbors, and the artist, Andrew Mallon. As a result, “Lincoln on the Stump” has been worth every single Lincoln penny.

*(Michelle A. Krowl serves as secretary on The Lincoln Forum’s Executive Committee and is the Civil War and Reconstruction specialist in the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress.)* 🏠

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## ARSON AT MARY LINCOLN GIRLHOOD HOME



**Mary Lincoln**

At 4 a.m. on June 16, 2023, Santosh Sharma, 29, poured gasoline on the back porch of the Mary Lincoln girlhood home in Lexington, Kentucky, with a lighter in his pocket and a full gallon jug of gasoline strapped to his back. Fortunately, he tripped the house’s alarm system. When police arrived, Sharma brandished a hammer. He was arrested and charged with menacing, second-degree criminal trespassing, and second-degree arson.

The Mary Todd Lincoln House was originally built between 1803 and 1806, when it operated as a tavern. The Todd family purchased the home in the early 1830s, and Mary lived in it from 1832 until she moved to Springfield, Illinois, in 1839. Abraham Lincoln visited the home



**Mary Todd Lincoln House**

several times as an adult. In the twentieth century, the home housed a brothel, a grocery, and a warehouse. It has operated as a house museum since 1977. Fortunately, Sharma’s attack caused no damage. 🏠



By **Matthew Rozsa**

Abraham Lincoln referred to it as “the ludicrous incident of sewing up the hogs eyes.”



**Shortly before leaving for Washington, the Lincolns had photographs made of their dog Fido.**

The story comes from a short autobiography that the future president co-authored for his 1860 election campaign. Lincoln had spent his young manhood working on river boats and—it seems reasonable to assume—was trying to share a “folksy” anecdote to highlight his working-class background and beliefs. Certainly he did not intend to come across as cruel, especially toward helpless animals. Yet by his own account, when he and his business associates struggled to drive “thirty odd large fat live hogs” into their boat, one of them “conceived the whim that he could sew up their eyes and drive them where he pleased. No sooner thought of than decided, he put his hands, including A. [Lincoln himself] at the job, which they completed.”

The plan did not succeed in accomplishing their primary objective. Whatever issues the men had encountered herding the pigs while they were healthy, those problems had now been compounded by their blindness. “In their blind condition they could not be driven out of the lot or field they were in,” Lincoln recalled. “This expedient failing, they were tied and hauled on carts to the boat.”

Lincoln biographer Harold Holzer, who won the 2015 Gilder Lehrman Lincoln Prize, wrote to Salon that modern readers should hesitate before judging the Great Emancipator too harshly. While he acknowledged that Lincoln’s story “of course sounds grotesque,” the man himself was a product of early 19th-century American prairie life. People from that background were raised to have a very callous attitude toward animals, particularly livestock. “Animals might be pets (Lincoln preferred cats to dogs), but more often were either living ‘investments’ or dangerous prey,” Holzer explained. “Farm animals were raised to produce dairy products (milk and eggs) and/or to be slaughtered for food. I don’t think Lincoln or his contemporaries attached any romance or sympathy to the beasts they owned or hunted.”

Analyzing his actions from this vantage point, one sees that Lincoln and the others on his flatboat crew “suddenly found their load of frightened live pigs on the run through a stream and into the nearby community” and decided that “the only way to retrieve the valuable payload and drag the poor animals back to their raft was to disable their ability to watch their own recapture.” It seems unlikely that this plan came out of nowhere; more likely, “one or all of them knew that this was the accepted way of dealing with such situations. The idea makes our skin crawl today, but we can’t—at least we shouldn’t—expect young Lincoln, barely old enough to vote, to rise to the standards of a Gen Y PETA sympathizer. That would be historically unrealistic for a youngster raised to farm labor.”

Ingrid Newkirk is president of PETA (People for the Ethical

Treatment of Animals), and Salon contacted her about the Lincoln anecdote. She noted that there were animal rights advocates from Lincoln’s time such as William Wilberforce, who had helped found the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) in 1824. As such, the notion of being kind to pigs was not entirely foreign to the young Lincoln.

At the same time, “Many people had a lot to learn about empathy, including the employer who apparently ordered a young Abraham Lincoln to sew frightened pigs’ eyes shut in a painful process that—completely unlike a human getting a tattoo or a piercing—they couldn’t possibly understand or consent to.” That is how Lincoln could be cruel to those pigs even though, as Newkirk also noted, his “overall legacy is one of compassion, including to animals.” Newkirk cited Lincoln’s decision not to accept a gift of elephants from Thailand’s King Mongkut because they would struggle to adapt to America’s climate. (She also mentioned a popular apocryphal story, dating back to the early 20th century, of Lincoln trying to rescue a pet pig from being slaughtered when he was six; Holzer says this story—along with an equally prevalent one of Lincoln as a lawyer dirtying his suit before appearing in court to rescue a stuck pig—should be taken “with a grain of salt.”)

Describing Lincoln’s overall philosophy of compassion, Newkirk observed “that’s what PETA encourages everyone to emulate.” Like Newkirk, Holzer agreed that Lincoln had compassion for animals, although he added that Lincoln was complex and his actions toward animals could seem contradictory.

“Lincoln did not like blood sports or even hunting for food,” Holzer explained. “As a youngster he shot a wild turkey and was so disgusted he claimed he never again raised a weapon to kill



**Rev. Henry Brown of Springfield, Ill., stands with Lincoln’s horse, Old Robin, on the day of Lincoln’s funeral in May 1865.**

an animal. Yet others said that as a boy he engaged in such horrific ‘sport’ as placing hot rocks on turtles’ shells to see how they relieved themselves of the destructive burdens.”

Lincoln was surrounded by animals, and as such interacted with them in a wide spectrum of ways: Sometimes he used them for food, clothing, transportation or entertainment; on other occasions, he would do things like desperately attempt to rescue a horse trapped in the White House’s burning stables, although this may have been partially motivated by the horse being regularly used by his late son.

In light of these wildly conflicting attitudes toward animal rights, it is unclear what precisely Lincoln meant with his anecdote about sewing shut pigs’ eyes — if, in fact, the tale was meant to be taken seriously at all.



# OLN A PIG TORTURER?

David J. Kent, the president of Lincoln Group of DC and author of *Lincoln: The Fire of Genius: How Lincoln's Commitment to Science and Technology Helped Modernize America*, wrote to Salon, “There is some question as to whether Lincoln was just trying to be funny writing about his flatboat trip from 30 years before, but assuming he was accurately relating the incident it does sound

from Connecticut where George Spencer and the sow with whom he had been alleged to have committed bestiality were put to death, as stipulated by Leviticus 20:15.” Animal rights as humans imagine them today—namely, the idea that it should be illegal to be cruel to animals without cause—had only just been conceived as a viable political idea.

“The laws against animal cruelty started in the United Kingdom, when two statutes were passed in 1822 and 1849 respectively: An Act to Prevent the Cruel and Improper Treatment of Cattle (1822) and An Act for the More Effectual Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (1849),” Barnett told Salon. “The Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was formed in England in 1824. Cock-fighting was only ruled as cruel to animals in the UK in *Budge v Parsons*, in 1863. The seminal case on animal cruelty (a case about de-horning cattle under the 1822 statute mentioned above) *Ford v Wiley*, did not occur until 1888.”

If there is any teachable moment to be gleaned from Lincoln’s pig torturing story, it is that humans’ attitudes toward animals have improved very, very slowly. Consequently humans who are living at any given point in time may be guilty of actions toward animals that future people will regard as horrifying—or even downright evil. Whenever such a shift in consciousness occurs, it is because we allow our sense of compassion to see in ways in which once it did not. Just as Lincoln painfully forced close the eyes of his pigs, humans have for millennia been figuratively sewing our own eyes shut when it comes to the suffering we inflict on the animals around us.

“The anecdote should reflect only the culture of the time—the total disregard for animal rights, especially animals who were raised to be slaughtered and consumed; not Lincoln’s insensitivity,” Holzer wrote to Salon. “Besides, I’m not sure pigs or cows or horses led to slaughter by the tens of thousands today fare much better than the herd Lincoln and his pals mistreated (by our standards) in the 1830s.”

Newkirk, not surprisingly, agreed.

“That need for empathy still exists today—many people still eat pork chops and hot dogs without a thought for the terrified pigs whose teeth and tails are cut off without painkillers and whose throats are slit in slaughterhouses,” Newkirk told Salon.



**Animals were ubiquitous in Civil War iconography. In this 1862 cartoon, the rebellion appears as a dog-like monster.**

shocking to 21st century ears.” Like Holzer, Kent added that in the 1830s the incident would not have seemed jarring at all because of common attitudes toward animals at the time. Additionally, like both Newkirk and Holzer, Kent pointed to stories of Lincoln’s kindness toward animals.

“Lincoln certainly cared more about animal welfare than most people of his time,” Kent argued. “In Springfield he had a dog named Fido. In the White House he had horses, donkeys, and two goats that were pets for his youngest sons. He was the first to pardon the Thanksgiving turkey because his son Tad didn’t want any more killing during the Civil War. Lincoln was also enamored of cats. One story has him feeding the pet cats at the White House dining room table with the gold cutlery. When [First Lady Mary Lincoln] complained, he replied that ‘if the gold fork was good enough for [previous president James] Buchanan, I think it is good enough for Tabby.’”

Perhaps it is this intrinsic tension in Lincoln’s personality—the undeniable reality of his compassion for animals contrasted with his own admission of extreme cruelty—that makes his story so fascinating. It illuminates not just Lincoln’s Janus-faced character, but the much broader story of humankind’s complex relationship with the animal world.

“Even very principled and decent people like Lincoln thought it was fine to be cruel to animals, and even entertaining,” explained Katy Barnett, a professor at Melbourne Law School and author of the animal law book *Guilty Pigs: The Weird and Wonderful History of Animal Law*, in an email to Salon. “This was the prevalent view everywhere, in pretty much all cultures and places until the 19th century.” Animals only had one protection in most areas of American society during this time—against being victims of sexual assault. Yet even on those occasions, animals would usually get victimized again. “The main prohibition in U.S. society at this time was not against cruelty, but against bestiality (see Leviticus 18:23–24) and usually the animal was punished as much as the person for engaging in it,” Barnett wrote. “In our book, we recount a 1641 case



**This cartoon from the election of 1864 depicts Ulysses S. Grant as a bulldog, compared with his predecessor—and the Democratic nominee for president—George B. McClellan.**

(Matthew Rozsa is a professional writer whose work has appeared in multiple national media outlets since 2012 and exclusively at Salon since 2016. He received a Master’s Degree in History from Rutgers-Newark in 2012. This article originally appeared at Salon.com on June 3, 2023.)

Lewis E. Lehrman, *The Sum of It All*. Lyons Press, 2023.

Reviewed by Jonathan W. White

Over the course of his long and impressive career, Lewis E. Lehrman has helped shape the direction of American politics, economic thought, and history education. Now, he gives readers the story behind the story in his fascinating new memoir, *The Sum of It All*.

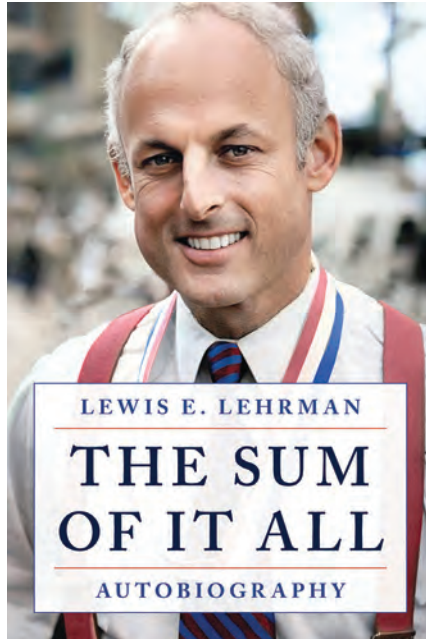
Lehrman was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1938—as he writes, “a lucky grandson of four immigrant grandparents.” As a child, he was “a feisty kid” who refused to be bullied. “I was small, and an easy target to pick on,” he writes. But one day he’d had enough. “I decided to take on the biggest bully. When he continued to pick on me, I found an opportunity to take him down in the schoolyard, right in front of everyone. No one picked on me after that.”

Growing up in central Pennsylvania, Lehrman learned to “cherish the traditional values” of “family, faith, freedom, and loyalty to the flag for which we stand.” He quickly grew to have great admiration for the American founders, the Declaration of Independence, and especially Abraham Lincoln. As a preteen he would bound over the boulders at Devil’s Den on the Gettysburg battlefield scooping up arrowheads and musket balls. These experiences helped cement his lifelong love of American history.

Lehrman eventually pursued a history degree at Yale and then a master’s at Harvard. He longed to be a history professor at Yale (he would, in fact, complete one semester in the history PhD program at Princeton), but his parents encouraged him to return home to help with the family business: Louis Lehrman and Son—a discount grocery and drug store chain that had been founded by his grandfather, a Russian Jewish immigrant who came to the United States as a teenager in 1896.

By the 1960s, the Lehrman stores were expanding rapidly in Pennsylvania, New York, and beyond. “We didn’t invent the discount health and beauty business, but we took an idea, and with more determination, energy, and system made it into a very large enterprise,” he writes. The family found ways to innovate the business to increase efficiency and decrease costs. “We understood that the American system of business was changing,” writes Lehrman. “The interstate highways made delivery accessible over long distances.” Soon they rebranded as Rite Aid.

With Lehrman as president, Rite Aid expanded dramatically. The company increased its revenue from \$1.4 million in 1964 to \$17.3 million in 1968—the year Lehrman took Rite Aid public. Lehrman writes, “I matured very quickly between the ages of 22 and 30, developing the kind of responsibility necessary to manage a public company during those years. At Rite Aid, I had to manage people who were much older than I. I had to develop a relationship of equality and respect. . . . In management, presence is vital. I looked out for



everybody. If they could see that your interest in them was sincere, they would be very loyal to the company. It wasn’t just a company. It was a team.”

In 1976, Lehrman began seriously considering a career in politics. The following year he resigned the presidency of Rite Aid, and in 1982, he organized a campaign for governor of New York—with Jonathan Bush, a college friend and the younger brother of then-Vice President George H. W. Bush, serving as his campaign chairman. It was a grueling campaign as he toured the Empire State doing events, giving speeches, and eating many, many McDonald’s burgers. In the evenings, after a long day on the trail, he would go back to a Holiday Inn and read about Lincoln.

In the end, Lehrman lost in a close race to Mario Cuomo. Reflecting on his near upset, he writes: “My campaign had been a high-risk effort. We went all out but fell short of the goal. In retrospect, I was perhaps too young.” Nevertheless, Lehrman still had great things ahead. He could certainly have sympathized with a sentiment expressed by Lincoln after losing an election in 1854: “It’s a slip, not a fall.”

In the late 1990s, the New-York Historical Society hosted a Lincoln event with both Cuomo and Lehrman in attendance (Lehrman was instrumental in providing funding that made the event possible). Harold Holzer, who helped organize the event, later reflected: “Here is a classic moment of bipartisan coalescence around Lincoln, made possible by a man [Lehrman] who is very decidedly *not* a sore loser.” Standing together for the first time since the gubernatorial race more than a decade earlier, Lehrman and Cuomo talked with each other in a friendly manner and shared a hearty, sincere laugh.

For decades, Lehrman helped found, support, and run think tanks focused on conservative political and economic policies (Lehrman devotes considerable space to his work to revive the Gold Standard). His generosity has also touched many other institutions, organizations, and causes, including several hospital systems, the Boys’ Club of New York, the American Civil War Museum, the Gettysburg National Military Park, Monticello, the U.S. Committee on Refugees, and the Audubon Society.

At the center of Lehrman’s intellectual life and endeavors are an abiding faith in God, appreciation for America’s founding principles, and a deep admiration for “Mr. Lincoln.” Over the decades, he’s read through Roy P. Basler’s 9-volume *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953) three times. “I studied Lincoln’s words,” he writes. “I wanted to be able to quote him. I instinctively knew that Lincoln was the man who opened doors. He was *the* American.”

In recent years, Lehrman has published three acclaimed books on the sixteenth president: *Lincoln at Peoria: The Turning Point* (2008); *Lincoln by “Littles”* (2013), which consists of short essays that Lehrman had written for newspapers; and *Lincoln & Churchill: Statesmen at War* (2018). Doris Kearns Goodwin praised *Lincoln & Churchill*, saying, “For years, I have longed to be in the same room with Abraham Lincoln and Winston Churchill. And now Lewis Lehrman has given all of us that chance with this sweeping, yet intimate study of the war leadership of both remarkable men. With penetrating insight, Lehrman unfolds the contrasts and similarities between these two leaders: their points of origin, their temperaments, the nature of their ambitions, their leadership styles. I savored every page of this magnificent work.”

Beyond his writing, Lehrman has a vision and passion for making history accessible—and interesting—to all Americans. “It is unlikely that one can be a fully informed American citizen without a strong foundation in American history,” he writes. “American



# REVIEW

history is composed of the stories of our heroes and heroines—the unknown soldiers, and the nameless slaves and immigrants who created this country. Many of their names were not found in my history books one generation ago. I wanted to change that, and set about doing so.”



**Lewis Lehrman and Richard Gilder**

Working with Richard Gilder—whom he had first met in 1968—Lehrman began collecting important documents from American history to be made available to scholars, teachers, and students. (Lehrman’s account of how he amassed this collection is fascinating.) “It is a transformative experience . . . when you teach students by focusing on the great documents,” he writes. “They are revealing in a way that can’t be summarized in a textbook. Dick [Gilder] and I believed that rather than presenting a liberal or conservative interpretation of American history, we should mobilize these documents for students to make up their own minds.” The Gilder Lehrman Collection—which now exceeds 85,000 items—is one of the greatest private collections of primary sources in the United States.

In the 1990s, Lehrman and Gilder also founded the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, the leading nonprofit in K-12 history education in the United States. Run by the indefatigable James G. Basker, the Institute has an important mission to promote history education through seminars and workshops, publications, internships, partnering with high schools, and many other opportunities for students and teachers. The Institute also administers the premier book prizes in the field of U.S. history, including the Lincoln, Washington, and Frederick

Douglass Prizes. In recent years, the Institute has partnered with Lin-Manuel Miranda, introducing students to the life and legacy of Alexander Hamilton. (For their extraordinary work, the Gilder Lehrman Institute was the recipient of 2014 Wendy Allen Award, which the Forum gives annually to an institution or organization that has achieved widespread recognition for bringing learning, scholarship, and enlightenment to a wide public.)

Throughout the book, Lehrman describes his interactions with many important figures, including Ted Williams, Malcolm X, Eleanor Roosevelt, Major League Baseball commissioner Bart Giamatti, Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Ronald Reagan, George W. and Laura Bush, Donald Trump, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. He recounts friendships and collaborations with many historians, including Michael Burlingame, David Brion Davis, Doris Kearns Goodwin, Harold Holzer, and Douglas L. Wilson. Lehrman’s humility exudes through the text as he praises his colleagues, collaborators, employees, and friends. He gives credit to others where it is due and always extols their best qualities.

Perhaps most importantly, Lehrman’s love for his family comes through on these pages. We read of the courtship and deep affection he has for his wife Louise, what it was like to campaign for governor with young children, and how he raised his children and grandchildren to revere American history and to work hard in life. Drawing inspiration from Lincoln and other great historical figures, Lehrman concludes the book by summarizing the principles that have guided him through life. Like Lincoln, he encourages his readers to work hard and set goals—to persevere with patience and grit when things get hard—and to find models and learn from them. As an investor, he learned to always do his homework and maintain constant vigilance. Lehrman made his first stock pick when he was about 12 years old. He writes, “I lost money on that original investment, and soon learned to do my research about companies.”

Lehrman also stresses the importance of maintaining one’s integrity. “Your reputation for honorable conduct is all-important,” he notes. “It gives you credibility to influence events without being a bully.” Along these lines, one of the primary themes of the memoir is that leaders should nurture sincerity and trust—and always tell the truth.

Lehrman hopes that his life story will offer guidance for future generations of Americans—and it should. Drawing from his decades of experience as a leader in politics, policy, education, and business, he has much to offer. The book is full of excerpts from articles he wrote and interviews he gave over the past fifty or sixty years, giving readers access to the “primary sources” of his life story. Lehrman knows that his book may elicit criticism and that some of his views may be controversial, but *The Sum of It All* should find a place on the shelf of anyone interested in Lincoln, or twentieth-century politics, business, economics, or philanthropy. There is much wisdom and insight to be gleaned from these pages.

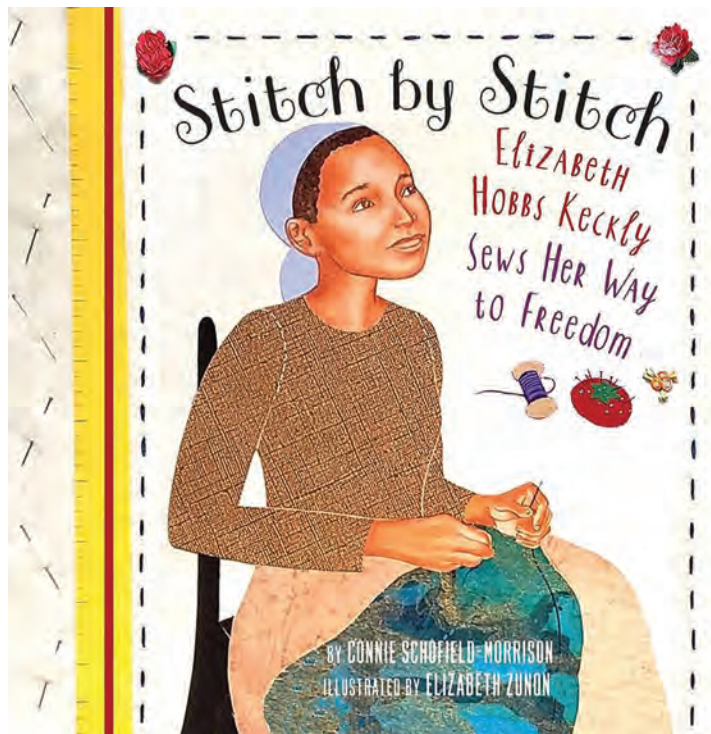
Once, in London, Lehrman regretted missing out on an opportunity to purchase a “perfect” set of Queen Anne candlesticks (they were gone when he went back to the shop the next day). “I learned a great lesson,” he writes. “When you see something you really want, and can afford, don’t hesitate. And when you make a decision, stick to it. Don’t hesitate and don’t wait.” 📖



**Lehrman at the Forum**

## BOOK REVIEW

*Stitch by Stitch: Elizabeth Hobbs Keckly Sews Her Way to Freedom.*  
By Connie Schofield-Morrison. Illustrated by Elizabeth Zunon.  
New York: Holiday House, 2021.  
Reviewed by Michelle A. Krowl



Once invoked primarily for her observations of the Lincoln White House in her 1868 book *Behind the Scenes. Or, Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House*, Elizabeth Keckly's own story has been examined more extensively by historians and other writers in recent years. This attention has now extended to children's literature, with the publication of *Stitch by Stitch: Elizabeth Hobbs Keckly Sews Her Way to Freedom*. Written by Connie Schofield-Morrison and illustrated by Elizabeth Zunon, *Stitch by Stitch* follows Elizabeth Hobbs Keckly from her birth in slavery in Virginia in 1818 to her life as a successful free woman in the nation's capital.

The title theme of "stitch by stitch" serves as a throughline in the book. The reader follows Keckly's path as she learned to sew as a child and then literally stitch by stitch became a seamstress for elite women in St. Louis, Missouri, who advanced her the money to buy her freedom and that of her son. As a free woman, each stitch Keckly sewed allowed her to repay her benefactors. She then moved to Washington, D.C., and became the dressmaker of influential ladies on the eve of the Civil War, including Sen. Jefferson Davis's wife Varina. Keckly's skill with her needle brought her to the attention of the new first lady Mary Lincoln, for whom Keckly served as a modiste and confidant throughout the triumphs and tragedies of the war. Keckly's own wartime activities, the publication of *Behind the Scenes* in 1868, the fallout from the book, and her later years are covered in a summary page at the end of the story. Throughout the text, Schofield-Morrison quotes from *Behind the Scenes* to allow Keckly to narrate parts of her own story.

The all-important illustrations in the children's book offer oil paint drawings of the people and scenes described, but also incorporate images of actual samples of fabric, ribbon and trimmings, appliqués, stitched embroidery, and lace. The mixed media presentation is appropriate to the story of a woman whose

trajectory in life was defined by fabric and tools of the sewing trade, as well as one who overcame challenges and persevered "stitch by stitch." The multiple colors and patterns also will likely engage the eyes of younger readers.

The illustrator nicely incorporates several historical ideas into a scene of young Lizzy Hobbs patiently sewing a quilt, as her mother had taught her to do on the previous page. Lizzy sews lower- and upper-case letters of the alphabet on the panels and spells out the first three months of the year, using the stitches to demonstrate her literacy. In addition to being practical items, quilts and their patterns may have served as subtle signposts for enslaved persons escaping on the Underground Railroad. Perhaps Lizzy's quilt here foreshadows her own road to freedom through literacy and sewing skills.

With both text and illustration, the "stitch by stitch" theme also introduces readers to how laborious it was for dressmakers to produce one-of-a-kind, handcrafted, complicated, and voluminous dresses in an era before electric sewing machines. Seamstresses created them stitch by painstaking stitch, even if they did have a hand-cranked sewing machine available for some of the work. Thus, Keckly's success depended as much on many hours of manual labor as it did on her artistry in design.

No doubt because *Stitch by Stitch* is intended for readers aged 7-10 (or grades 2-3), the author sidestepped some subjects that either defied brief explanations in a short book or would have been difficult for readers of this age to process on their own. For example, the circumstances that led Keckly to become a mother are not addressed—only that by the time she moved to St. Louis with the Garland family who enslaved her, she had a son. While loaned to an extended family member in North Carolina, Keckly had been sexually assaulted by Alexander Kirkland, a white neighbor, which resulted in the birth of her son, George. While Schofield-Morrison does state that Keckly suffered beatings while loaned to Robert and Anna Burwell, comprehending Keckly's rape and pregnancy would be challenging concepts for such young readers. The illustration of a tearful young Elizabeth dreaming of an embroidered image of her and her parents as a happy family is enough to convey to elementary school-aged readers the heartbreak associated with enslavement, as is the scene of a slave auction for which Keckly's own words provide the poignant narrative.



**Dress made by Elizabeth Keckly for Mary Lincoln**

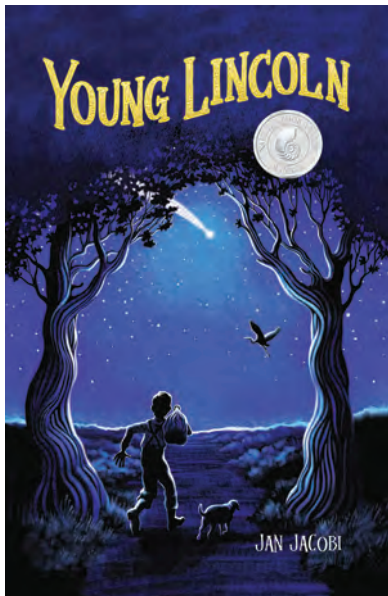
*Stitch by Stitch* introduces young readers to the extraordinary Elizabeth Keckly, who remains an important witness to intimate moments in the Lincoln White House, but whose life has always deserved further study on its own.

(Michelle A. Krowl serves as secretary on The Lincoln Forum's Executive Committee and is the Civil War and Reconstruction specialist in the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress. In 2023, she published an essay about Keckly's several gravesites in *Final Resting Places: Reflections on the Meaning of Civil War Graves*, edited by Brian Matthew Jordan and Jonathan W. White.) 📖



## BOOK REVIEW

Jan Jacobi, *Young Lincoln*. St. Louis: Reedy Press, 2018.  
Reviewed by Mark B. Pohlad



As a Lincoln scholar myself, I'll confess I didn't think I'd profit from reading a young adult Lincoln book. But this one moved and humbled me. Sure, I knew the facts of Lincoln's youth, but I hadn't imagined them as Lincoln himself might have experienced them. This is exactly the strength and contribution of Jan Jacobi's book.

Perhaps uniquely in the literature on Lincoln, the book is written in the first person. Abe speaks for himself and tells his own story. Fans of Lincoln are perennially eager to get inside Lincoln's mind, to hear him recount his past and express his feelings—something he did precious little of during his life. In *Young Lincoln*, thanks to Jacobi's skill as a writer, we hear Lincoln telling stories, arguing cases, and quoting from Shakespeare and Homer.

*Young Lincoln* dramatically charts every aspect of Lincoln's life up to the death of Ann Rutledge in 1835 and his subsequent move from New Salem to Springfield in 1837. There is a striking level of detail here, all solidly based on a careful reading of the historical record. Jacobi deftly captures a rural dialect while resisting the temptation to have Lincoln mouth the persistent myths and clichés of his life. Excerpts from Lincoln's own poetry—much of it written about his own youth—open each chapter along with charming images meant to look like old-fashioned woodcuts.

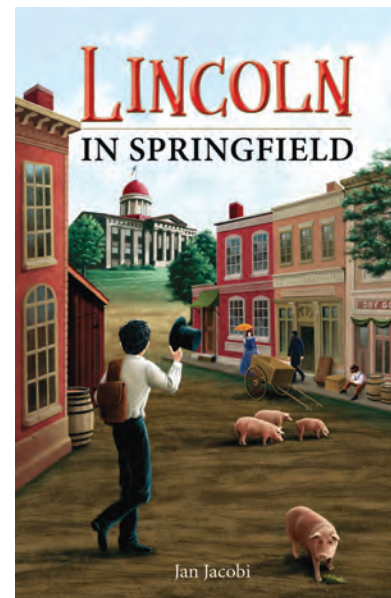
Be forewarned: This is not a kiddies' feel-good read. Not a childish whitewashing of Lincoln's rude upbringing. Young adult readers already know the world can be unfamiliar and threatening, and Jacobi respects them enough not to present it as rose-colored, even if that world is two centuries in the past. And just like them, Abe is learning that life is filled with contradictions, complexities, and harsh realities. His father agonizes him, religion confounds him, and his own feelings overwhelm him. Included are graphic passages of death and intense violence in relation to hunting, fighting, and even the desecration of dead soldiers. Jacobi bravely depicts Lincoln's genuine doubts about religion and the existential questions that won't go away. It calls to mind this year's coming-of-age film, *Are You There, God? It's Me, Margaret*.

Young readers will warm to the action-packed sequences. Readers will also appreciate the female characters throughout the book. Besides "Annie" Rutledge, we hear from or about Lincoln's

mother and stepmother, his sister, and neighbors Sarah Graham and Nancy Green—all of whom played critical roles in Lincoln's early life. And given all the historical detail about how people lived—their dwellings, travels, occupations—the book is a vivid account of the pioneer generation of which Lincoln was a part. Throughout the book Jacobi admirably demonstrates Lincoln's awareness of nature and its beauties—prairies, rivers, the night sky, and animals (watch for intriguing connections to the Great Blue Heron!).

Every passage is historically accurate and may clear up readers' misconceptions. For example, his war whoop, "I'm the big buck of this lick," did *not* occur during his fight with Jack Armstrong. He did *not* refer in an early speech in New Salem to his politics being "short and sweet like the old lady's dance"; nor did his funny military marching faux pas—his troops rapidly approaching a tiny gate—occur in New Salem either. And somehow, I'd missed that Lincoln actually competed against another soldier—one William Kirkpatrick—in his gratifying election for captain in the Black Hawk War. I wish the book had been around when I first became interested in Lincoln, for it is inspiring and trustworthy. The backmatter—notes, sources, and Jacobi's own evolution as a writer-scholar—is extensive for a young adult history book.

In 2019 *Young Lincoln* won a Best of Illinois History Award from the Illinois State Historical Society as well as a Nautilus Book Award for middle grade fiction. Jacobi published an award-winning follow-up novel, *Lincoln in Springfield* (2021), also from Reedy Press, and is currently at work on a third that focuses on Lincoln and Douglas. I feel they should be required reading in middle- and high school classes. And because they are so well written, they would make riveting audiobooks (and perhaps films?).

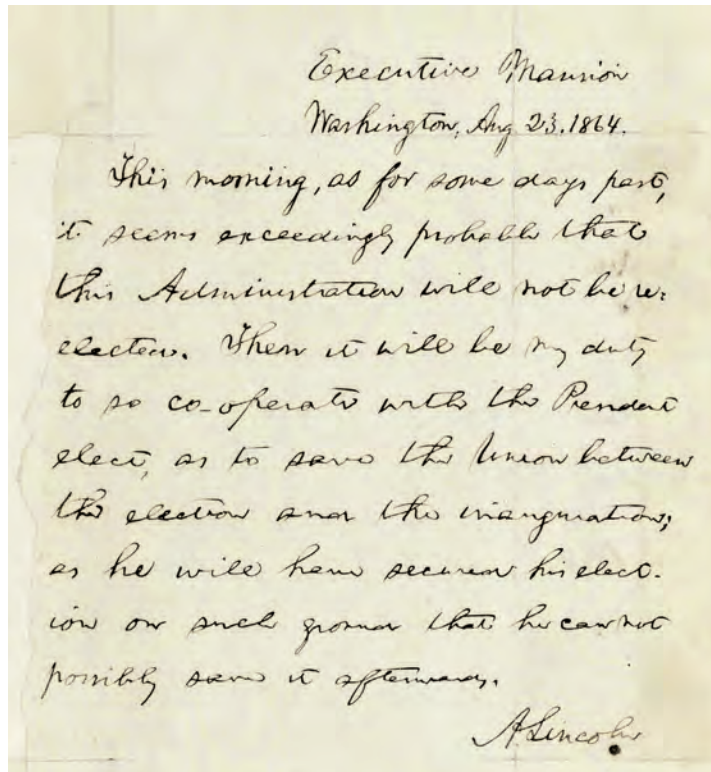


Jacobi was a middle-school teacher and principal for decades, so he clearly knows his audience. Given how Lincoln lusted after education, there's something fitting about having Abe tell his own story. But Jacobi could only do so—and do it so engagingly—because he shares two traits with Lincoln: a sharp mind and an enormous heart.

(Mark B. Pohlad is associate professor of art history at DePaul University in Chicago. He serves on the board of the Abraham Lincoln Association and is a first-time attendee at The Lincoln Forum in 2023. He is presently writing a book about Abraham Lincoln and Chicago.) 📖

By Bill Walsh

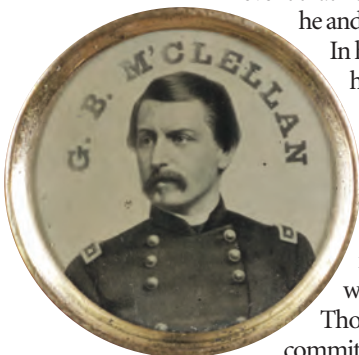
In a series of public hearings held between June 10 and October 13, 2022, the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6<sup>th</sup> attack on the U.S. Capitol shared with the public the findings of its far-reaching inquiry. Based on those findings, it recommended that the Justice Department pursue criminal charges against former President Donald Trump and others. To provide historical context for key matters of interest such as the transfer of power, insurrection, patriotism, and the danger mob violence poses for American democracy, committee members invoked the legacy of Abraham Lincoln. His exemplary conduct, sage advice, and unwavering respect for the Constitution as an expression of the people’s will offered a perspective for evaluating what transpired on January 6, 2021.



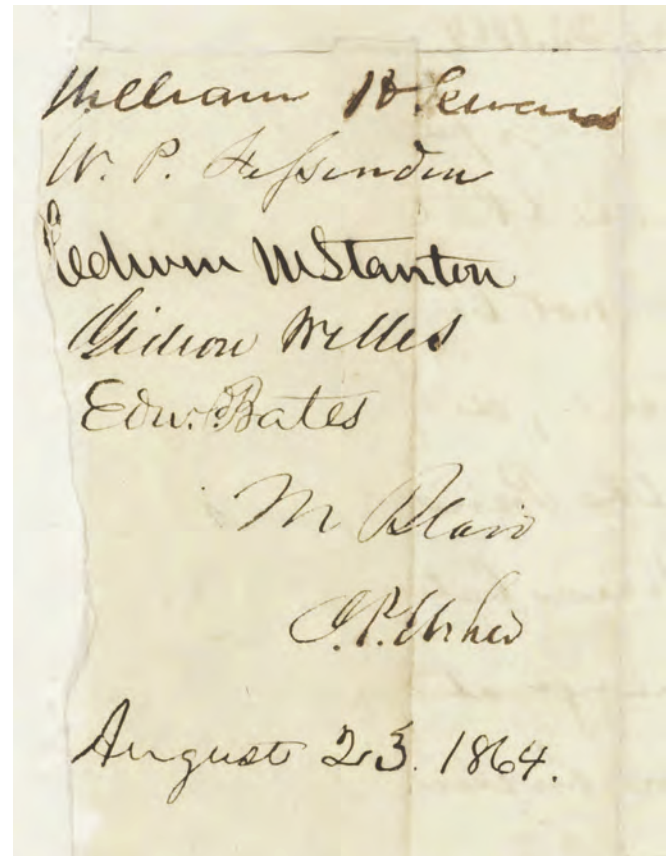
Lincoln’s “Blind Memorandum”

In his opening remarks on June 10, 2022, Select Committee Chair Bennie Thompson (D-MS) introduced Lincoln as a role model regarding the transfer of power. Quoting an excerpt from a once secret memo dated August 23, 1864—Lincoln’s so-called “Blind Memorandum”—Thompson asserted that Lincoln had made a “quiet pledge” to transfer executive power in the event that he lost his reelection bid, an outcome that he and others thought highly likely at the time.

In his exegesis on the Blind Memorandum, historian Allen C. Guelzo points out that had Lincoln lost at the polls his intent was to propose to George B. McClellan, his probable successor, that they cooperate during the interregnum to win the war before McClellan’s inauguration in March 1865. In keeping with the Select Committee’s aims, Thompson focused only on Lincoln’s commitment to the transfer of power.



George B. McClellan campaign button (1864)



The signatures on the “Blind Memorandum”

Reps. Jamie Raskin (D-MD) and Elaine Luria (D-VA) mentioned Lincoln in separate hearings by quoting the same statement from his 1838 Lyceum speech in which he warned of the acute danger domestic agitation poses for the rule of law. Raskin also spoke of Lincoln in regard to patriotism and insurgency. Concerning patriotism, Raskin quoted from a reflection Lincoln composed in January 1861 in which he expressed his thoughts on American patriotism during the Revolution. In his third Lincoln reference, the congressman mentioned a statement Lincoln made about insurgency in his Annual Message to Congress on December 3, 1861.

The uses to which Lincoln’s legacy was put by the Select Committee appear historically accurate overall. Unlike instances of abuse of Lincoln’s legacy that have been chronicled, the Select Committee members made no major gaffes when referring to Lincoln. However, there were some minor omissions and distortions.

Chair Thompson’s account of Lincoln’s quiet pledge was incomplete in two notable respects. First, it did not indicate that Lincoln eventually modified his pledge in a speech he gave on October 19, 1864. By then, Lincoln was growing confident that the Union could prevail regardless of who was elected president. Accordingly, rather than offer to cooperate with his successor, he pledged to do his utmost during the interregnum to enable his successor to “start with the best possible chance to save the ship.” Unlike in the Blind Memorandum, he publicly stated his commitment to the transfer of power. It is likely that military and political successes in the interval between the two pledges—e.g., the capture of Mobile Bay and the taking of Atlanta along with local electoral gains in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana—allowed Lincoln to envision in October what he and others could not see in August, namely that the Union would endure and that slavery would end.



# ARY 6<sup>th</sup> CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS

Second, Thompson’s account overlooked the fact that, because of his reelection, Lincoln’s resolve to transfer power was not tested. In light of the events of January 6, 2021, a modern-day skeptic might doubt whether a defeated Lincoln would have honored his pledge. Fortunately, that doubt is diminished, if not erased, by Lincoln’s honorable conduct in his failed attempt to become a U.S. senator from his home-state of Illinois in 1855, an office he fervently desired. Acting on principle rather than personal ambition, Lincoln, after several inconclusive ballots, dropped out of the three-way race releasing his supporters to vote for the other antislavery candidate, Lyman Trumbull, who went on to defeat their proslavery opponent, former Illinois Governor Joel E. Matteson. Such conduct seems consistent with the proposition implied by Chairman Thompson, which is that, faced with an electoral defeat in November 1864, Lincoln would have honored his private pledge, put his personal ambition aside, and bowed to the will of the people.



**Sen. Lyman Trumbull**

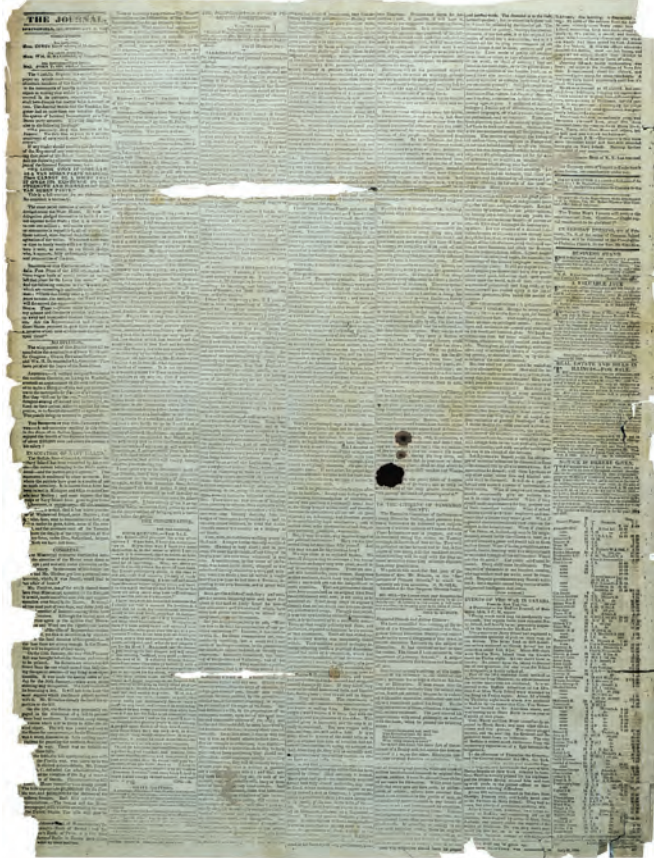
Both Reps. Raskin and Luria were on point in noting that in his Lyceum speech Lincoln vigorously opposed mob violence as an existential danger to American democracy. However, Raskin seemed to imply a degree of overlap greater than that which existed between what Luria called Lincoln’s “prescient” warning and certain features of the January 6<sup>th</sup> attack. Contrary to Raskin’s assertion, Lincoln had not explicitly referred to “politicians” inciting “racist mobs” in his Lyceum speech. Lincoln’s point was that mob violence of any sort was inimical to the rule of law and that “furious passions” whether for or against a disreputable practice were no substitute for “the sober judgement of Courts.”

Raskin’s use of Lincoln’s comments on patriotism and insurgency seemed to accord with Lincoln’s intentions and statements. Lincoln believed that the willingness of members of the founding generation to sacrifice life and limb sprang from their enthusiastic embrace of the promise of “liberty for all” in the Declaration of Independence. In a fragment written about January 1861, Lincoln symbolized that promise as an “apple of gold” in a frame of silver composed of the Constitution and the Union. Noting that the January 6 attack had jeopardized liberty and with it the bond between the people and their government, Raskin declared an urgent need to “fortify our democracy against coups, political

violence, and campaigns to steal elections away.” In this way, too, Raskin echoed the warning Lincoln had raised in his Lyceum speech.

Raskin also referred to Lincoln’s formulation of insurgency as an attack on the authority of the people. In citing Lincoln’s comment on insurgency, Raskin appeared to be making an implicit analogy between the attack on the Capitol on January 6, 2021, and the attack on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861.

Despite its mandate “to propose reforms to prevent January 6<sup>th</sup> from ever happening again,” the Select Committee was silent regarding those parts of the Lyceum speech in which Lincoln outlined strategies to mitigate social unrest. More than a jeremiad, the Lyceum speech provides a worthy analysis of conditions that contribute to the rise of mob violence. It highlights the importance of collective memory in creating social bonds and recommends novel strategies for maintaining social solidarity and the attachment of the people to their government, both of which, Lincoln argued, are essential to the continuity of American democracy. The warning Lincoln raised, while a significant feature of his Lyceum speech, was subsidiary to his focus on perpetuating American democracy at a time of increasing peril.



**Lincoln’s Lyceum Address as it originally appeared in the Sangamo Journal.**

For 158 years Lincoln’s remains have lain in a hallowed “patriot’s grave.” Nevertheless, as members of the Select Committee showed, Lincoln’s legacy can yet serve as an inspiration for our time, both as a presidential role model and as a source of wise counsel.

*(Bill Walsh, a psychologist in private practice in Westfield, N.J., is a former assistant professor of psychology and education at Columbia’s Teachers College. His interest in Abraham Lincoln dates from the sesquicentennial of the Civil War.)* 📖

# THEY SAW LINCOLN: AN ILLINOIS DOCTOR WISHED HE'D SEEN LINCOLN

By Jonathan W. White

Since becoming editor of *The Lincoln Forum Bulletin* in 2019 I have published a primary source account by someone who saw Lincoln in each issue. I've called this feature "They Saw Lincoln" as an homage to John E. Washington's classic book about African Americans, *They Knew Lincoln*. Over the past few years, I have published nine obscure or previously unpublished accounts that span the time from Lincoln's first inauguration to his assassination. In this



Humphrey H. Hood (ALPLM)

issue, I publish an account by someone who missed out on the opportunity to see Lincoln in 1858. This Union soldier regretted that he would never again have the chance to see Lincoln in life.

Humphrey Hughes Hood (1823–1903) was born and raised in Philadelphia. After graduating from Jefferson Medical College, he moved to Illinois "in search of a good location for the practice of his profession." He first settled north of Alton, about 1852, and in 1853 he moved to Litchfield. His brother, Benjamin S. Hood (1832–1904), also lived in Litchfield.

The Hood brothers were prominent Republicans in their small community. Benjamin later remarked that they were "considered the embodiment of abolitionism in this vicinity." But when the war came, the Hoods were a divided family. Humphrey joined the 117<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteers as an assistant surgeon. Their Virginian brother, John L. Hood (1825–1865), however, enlisted in the Confederate army. (Sadly, he would die at Johnson's Island Prison three weeks after Appomattox.)

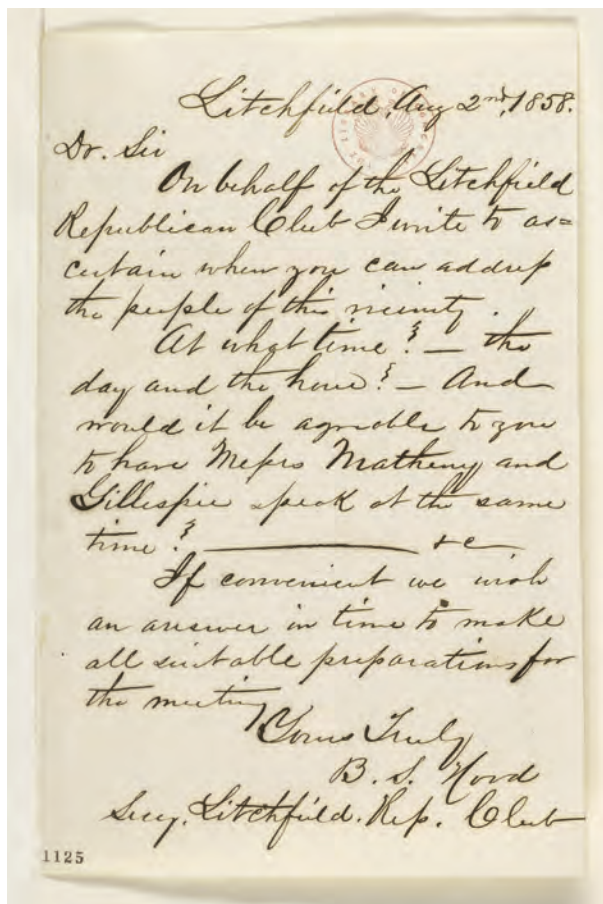
Humphrey eventually became surgeon of the 3<sup>rd</sup> U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery. Stationed in Memphis, Tennessee, he maintained an almost daily correspondence with his wife, Matilda, and also reported regularly back to his brother, Benjamin. A strong advocate of Lincoln and emancipation, Humphrey believed that the president's reelection in 1864 "would be more discouraging to the rebels and that the rebel government would be more likely to collapse from it, than from the Fall of Richmond. I would rather be assured of the election of Mr. Lincoln than the capture of Lee's army in the next ten days." (He wrote this in early August 1864 when Lincoln's prospects for reelection were dim.)

Two extraordinary collections of Hood family letters are held at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM) in Springfield, Illinois. One consists of dozens of letters received from various sources (including Humphrey) by Benjamin. The other contains 411 long and detailed letters from Humphrey to his wife, Matilda. Taken together, Humphrey's correspondence in these two

collections offers an almost daily portrait of life at Fort Pickering in Memphis from 1862 to 1865.

In the following excerpt from a May 14, 1865, letter to Benjamin, Humphrey describes his feelings at having never seen Abraham Lincoln in real life.

*I wished that I could be present at Springfield at the time of the funeral ceremonies. That I never saw Mr. Lincoln when living seems to me now a real misfortune. I remember when he spoke in Hillsboro [about nine miles from Litchfield] in 1858. I call to mind distinctly my occupation on that day and how, being so very busy, I could not spare the time to visit Hillsboro. By the*



Letter from Benjamin Hood to Lincoln (LOC)

way John came to Litchfield that same week. I cant remember that I had any knowledge of Mr. Lincoln previous to the time of the meeting of the convention in June 1858, that named him as the opponent of Douglas in the senatorial campaign. Since then my regard for him has grown into almost a passion, and the news of

his murder came home to me with all the crushing force of an appal[ing] personal calamity. From the time of that remarkable speech in Springfield in 1858 [the "House Divided" Address], I never for one moment doubted his honesty, ability or the correctness of his principles and measures; and though the advanced state of public opinion has called for modifications of the measures of his administration, yet I am not convinced that the measures he adopted at the time *continued on page 21*



Cover from Benjamin Hood to "Hon. Ab. Lincoln" (LOC)



# SAVE TAXES BY USING YOUR IRA TO DONATE TO THE LINCOLN FORUM

By Paul S. Ward

The Lincoln Forum appreciates gifts from members. Because the Forum is a 501(c)(3) organization, donors may deduct contributions to the Forum for income tax purposes.

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(Paul S. Ward, CPA, is treasurer of The Lincoln Forum.)

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## UPCOMING EVENTS OF INTEREST TO FORUM MEMBERS

Several events in the coming months may be of interest to Lincoln Forum members. Readers interested in any of these events should consult the internet for more information.

On December 5, 2023, the New-York Historical Society will host an event called “Come Join Us Brothers—The USCT in the Civil War,” featuring Edna Greene Medford, Craig L. Symonds, and Harold Holzer as moderator.

On December 6, the Lincoln Presidential Foundation will host its online Four Score Speaker Series featuring Brian Matthew Jordan and Michelle A. Krowl in conversation with Erin Carlson Mast. The three will discuss *Final Resting Places: Reflections on the Meaning of Civil War Graves* (University of Georgia Press), a new collection of essays edited by Jordan and Jonathan W. White. Krowl contributed a fascinating chapter on Elizabeth Keckly’s “not-so-final resting place.”

On February 2, 2024, Ford’s Theatre in Washington, D.C., will feature an evening of actors reading excerpts from Jonathan W. White’s Gilder Lehrman Lincoln Prize-winning *A House Built By Slaves: African American Visitors to the Lincoln White House* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2022) and *To Address You As My Friend: African Americans’ Letters to Abraham Lincoln* (University of North Carolina Press, 2021). As part of the event, White will be in conversation with Edna Greene Medford and Howard University theater professor Denise J. Hart.

In February, Harold Holzer will do several appearances for his new book, *Brought Forth on this Continent: Abraham Lincoln and*

*American Immigration* (Dutton), including the Union League Club of New York on February 12, the New-York Historical Society (in conversation with Douglas Brinkley) on February 13, and the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia on February 21.

On April 20, the McCormick Civil War Institute at Shenandoah University will host its annual spring symposium on the theme “Is the Vindictive Spirit . . . Just?: Waging ‘Civil’ War.” Featured speakers will include Jonathan A. Noyalas, Paul Finkelman, Barton Myers, and Kevin Pawlak.

On April 25–26, Lincoln Forum Board of Advisors member Patrick Anderson will host the third annual Lincoln symposium at Carthage College in Kenosha, Wisconsin. The 2024 event will feature James Oakes, Harold Holzer, Jennifer M. Murray of Oklahoma State University, and Frank J. Williams. This event is co-sponsored by Carthage College, the Kenosha Civil War Museum, the Lincoln Presidential Foundation, and The Lincoln Forum.

On March 1–3, the Central Coast Conference on the American Civil War will take place in Monterey, California. The 2024 theme is “1864: The Tide Turns” and will feature Gary W. Gallagher, Harold Holzer, Joan Waugh, Craig Symonds, and Gordon Rhea.

Gettysburg College will host its annual Civil War Institute (June 7–12), which will feature many Forum favorites, including Ronald C. White, Harold Holzer, Jonathan W. White, Jennifer Murray, D. Scott Hartwig, Elizabeth D. Leonard, and Aaron Sheehan-Dean.

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## THEY SAW LINCOLN: AN ILLINOIS DOCTOR WISHED HE’D SEEN LINCOLN

*continued from page 20* were not the best for the time. How many of our heroes of this war have lost all the attributes of heroism. The Fremonts, the Sigels, the Butlers etc. Perhaps Butler ought to be expected. He succeeded as an Executive officer but failed deplorably as a military man. But Mr. Lincoln, entering Washington almost as a fugitive 4 years ago, won the admiration of the world by the conduct of affairs of State in the midst of difficulties almost unparal[le]led, and *dying*, is mourned, not only by his countrymen, but by all peoples.

At my instigation a meeting of the officers of this regiment was convened last week to devise measures to raise a regimental contribution for the monumental fund at Springfield. If the officers do not overate [overestimate?] the interest likely to be taken by the men in this affair, we ought to raise at least \$1500. They think that each man will give, *cheerfully* \$1.00 and as our reg’t numbers about 1300 men and 45 officers it (the \$1500.) ought to be done. I am a little afraid there is not sufficient interest taken in the subject. [The outcome of this effort is unknown.]



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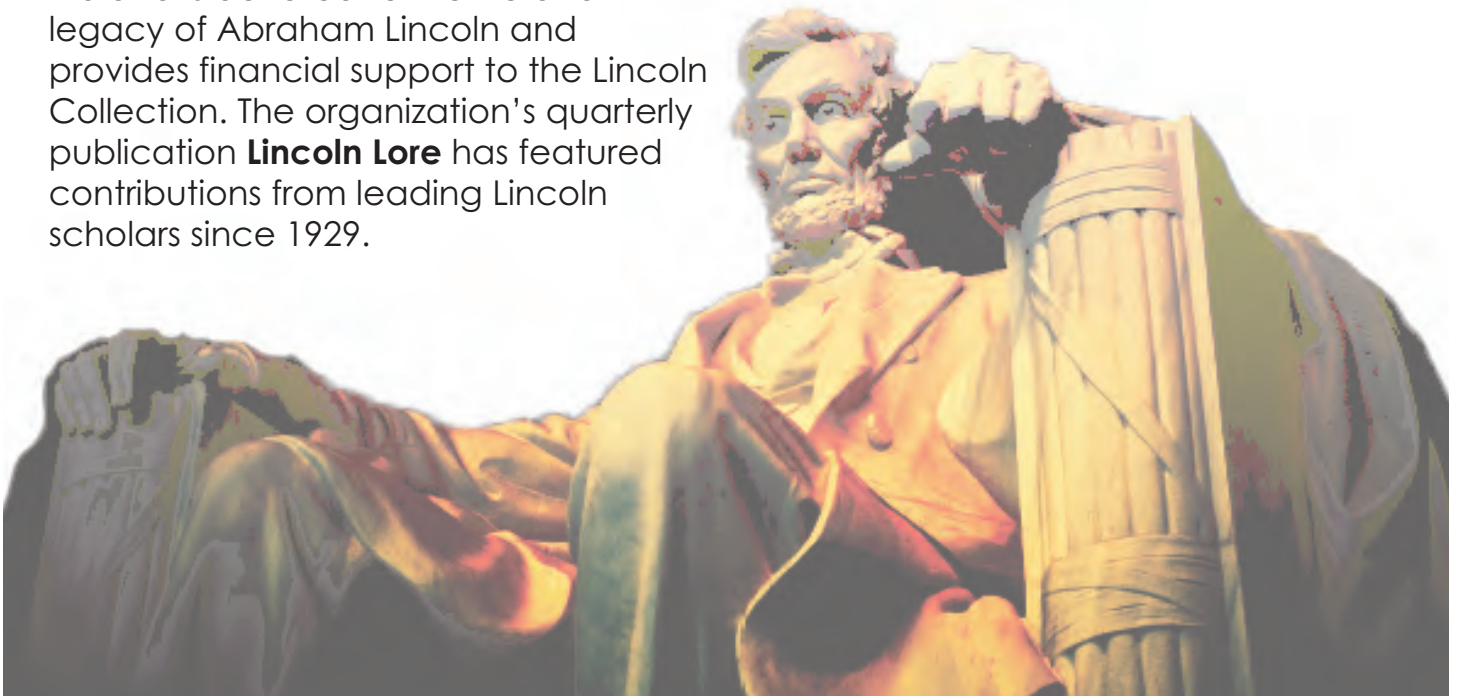
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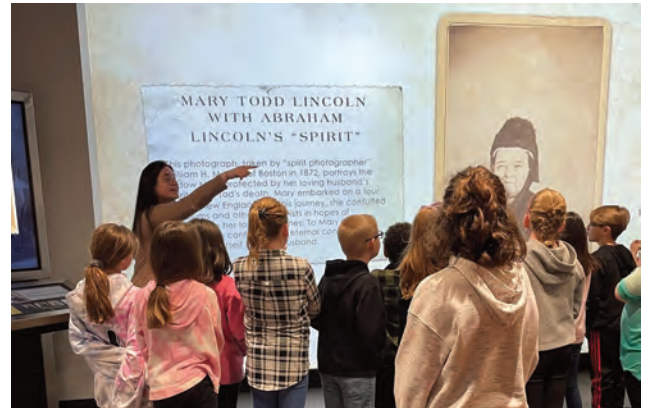


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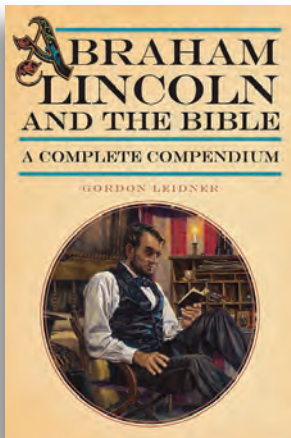
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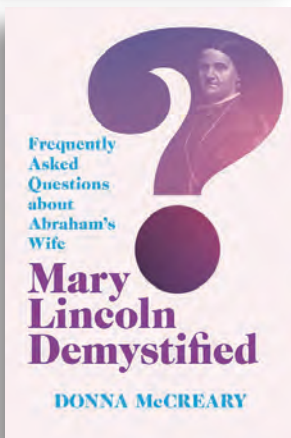
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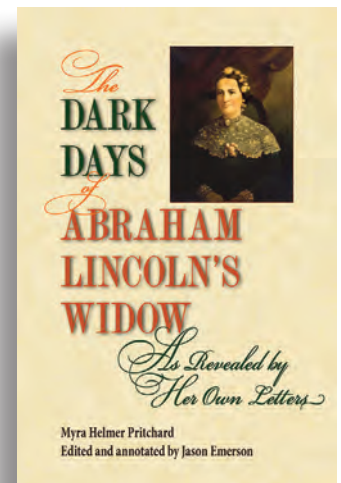
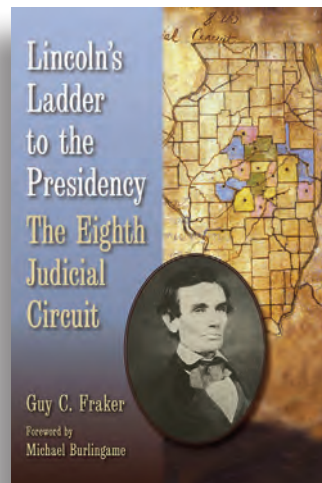
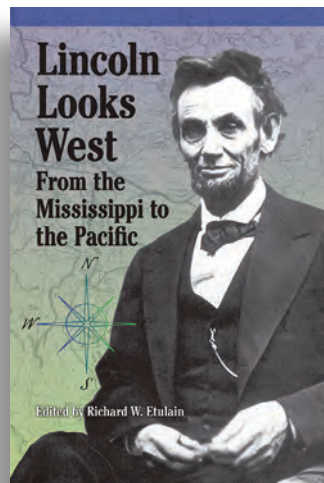
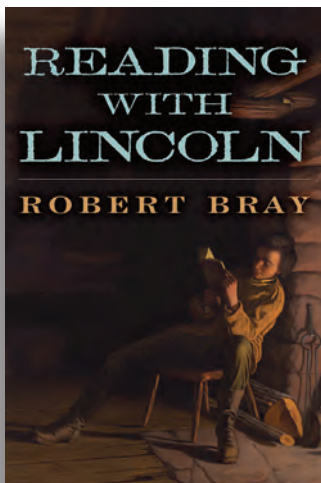
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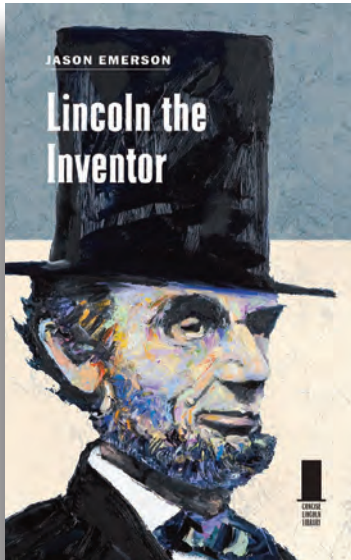


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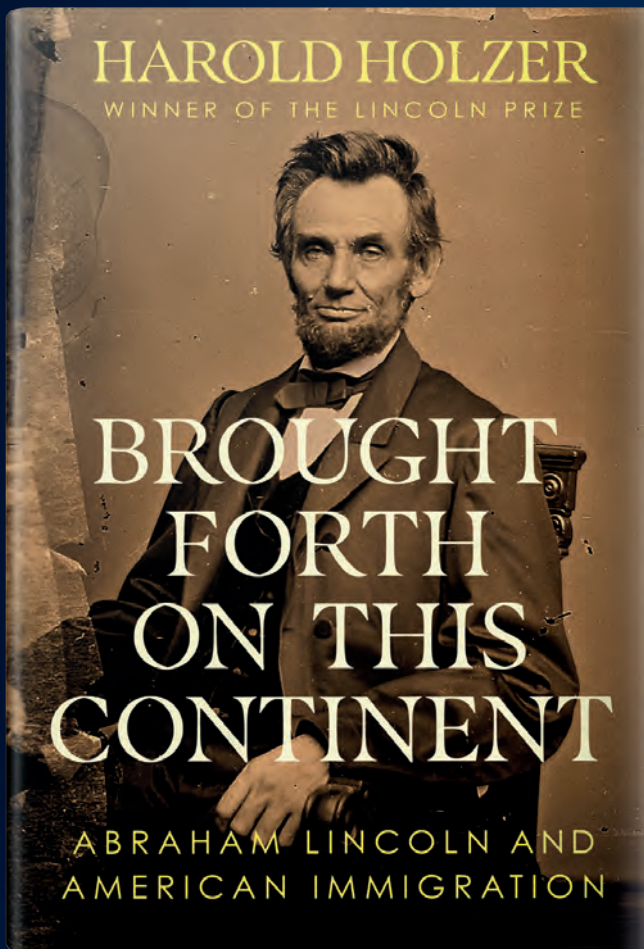
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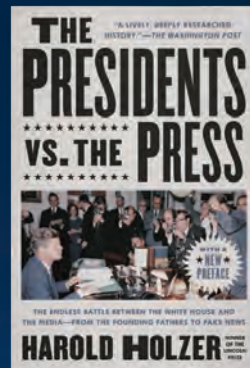
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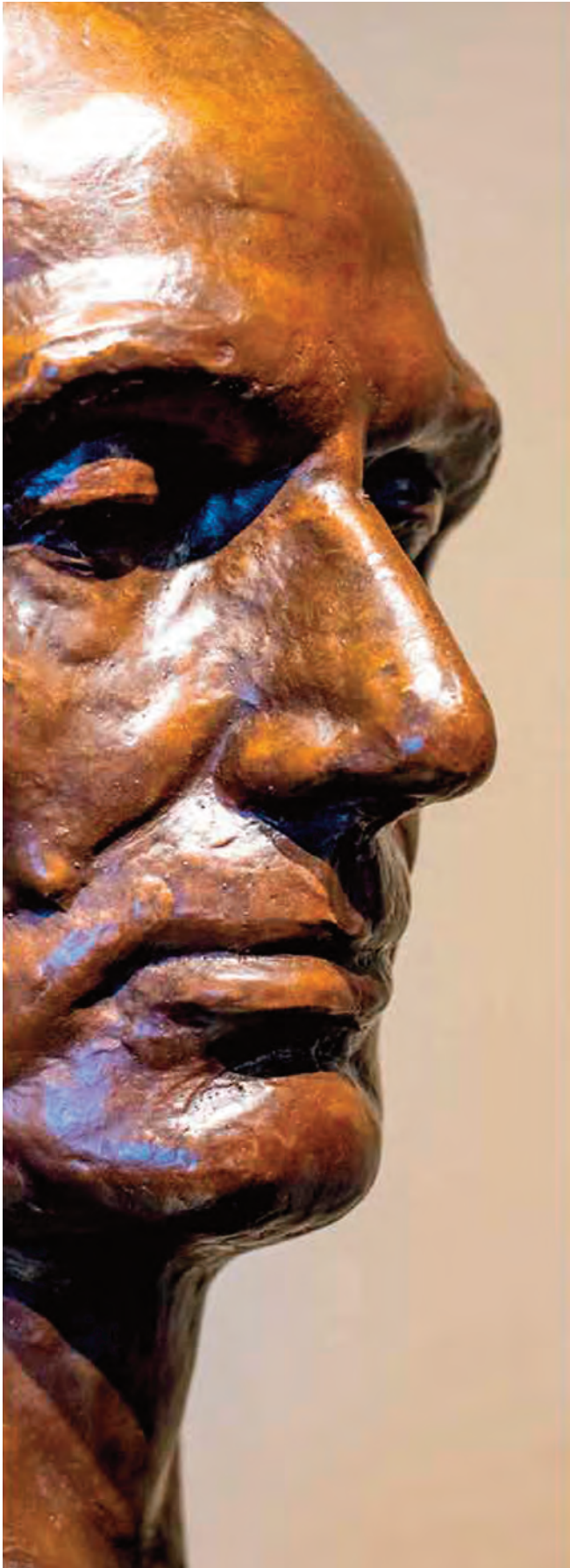
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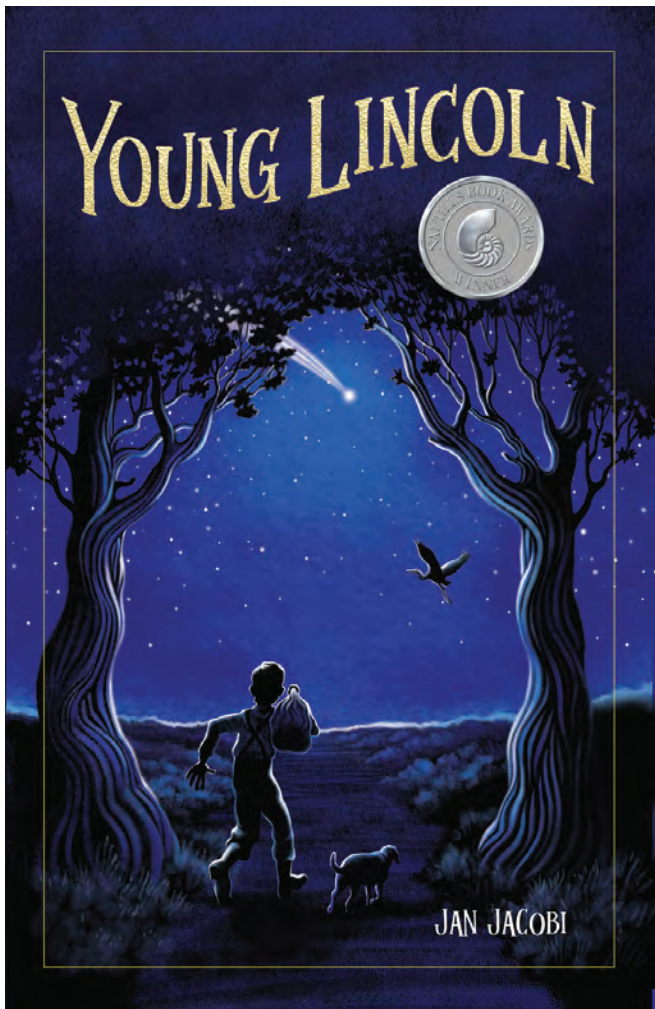
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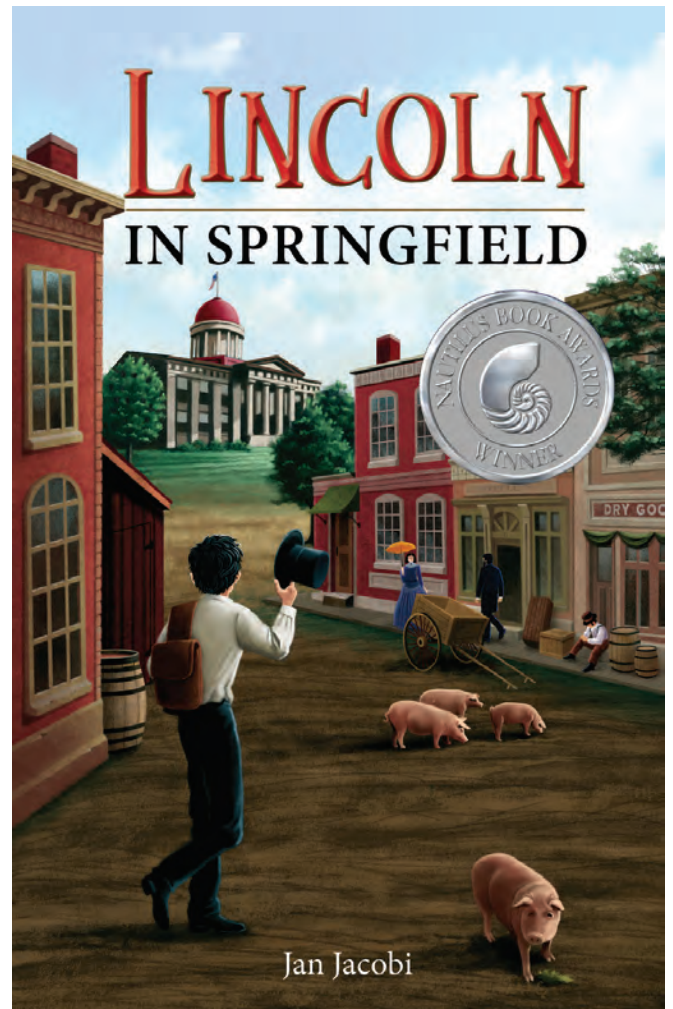




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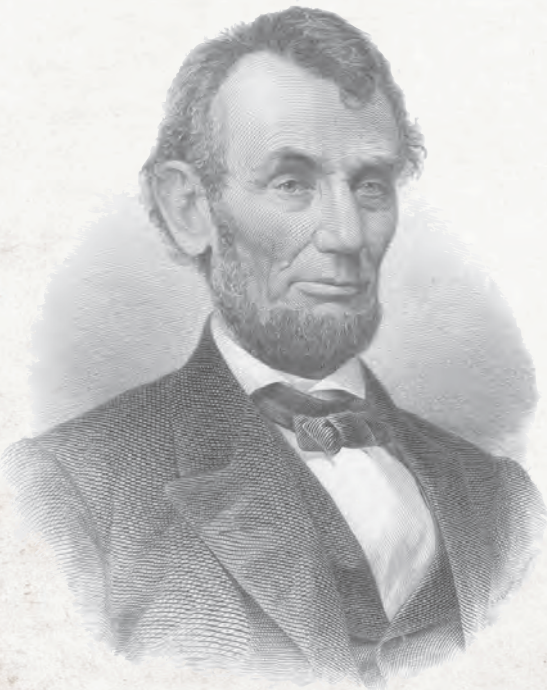




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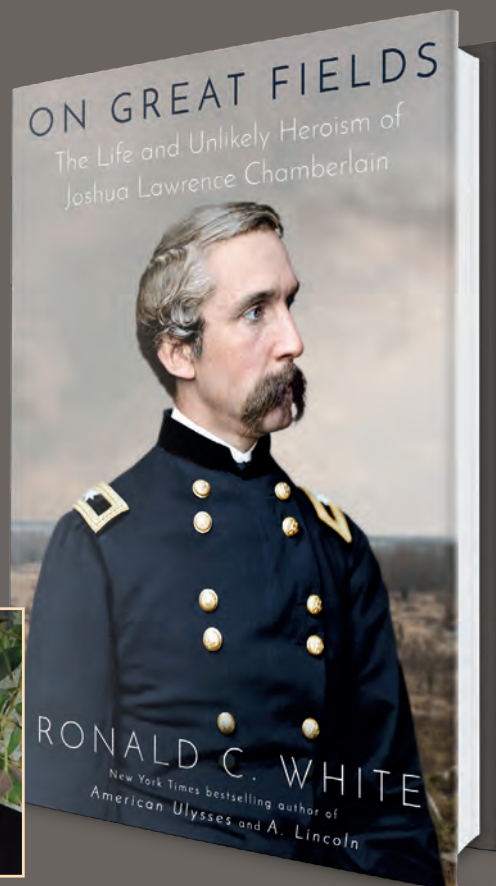
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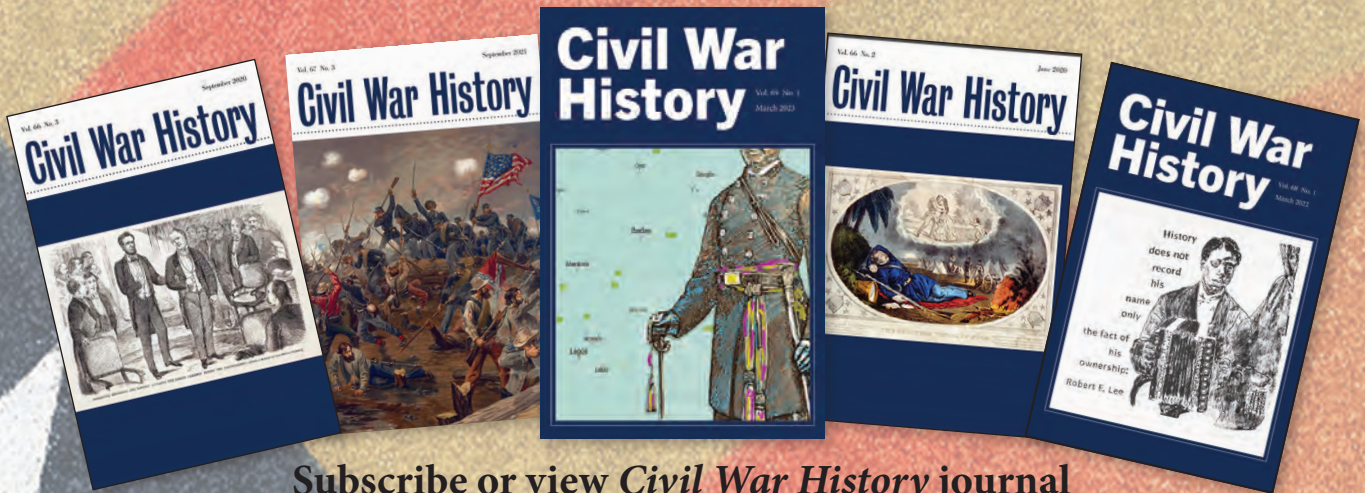
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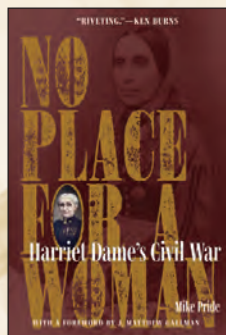
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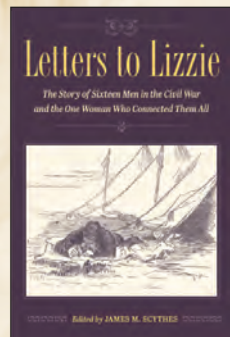
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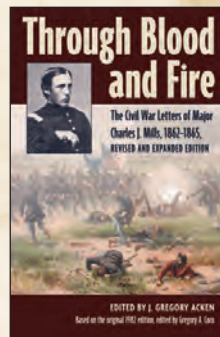
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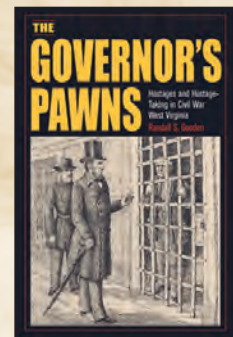
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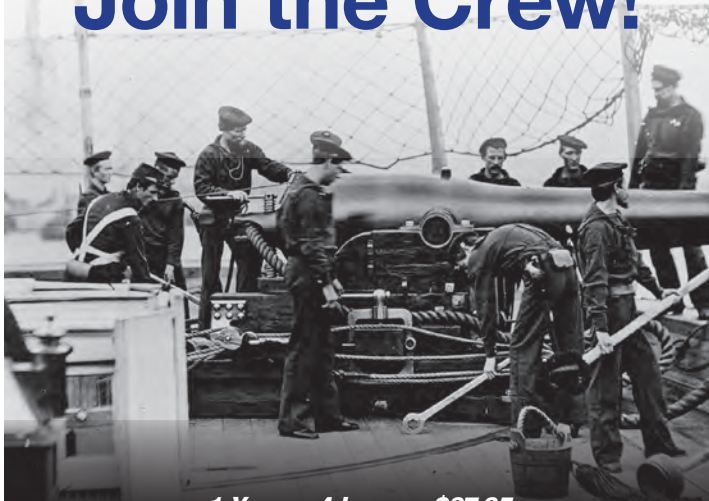


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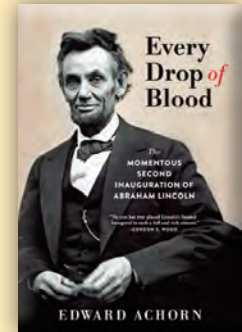
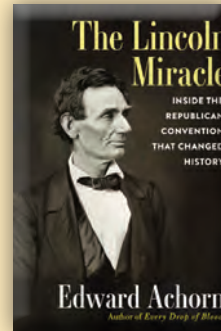


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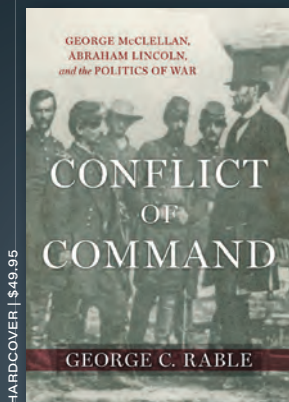
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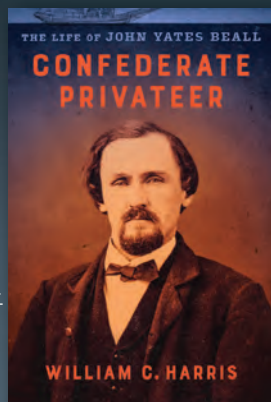
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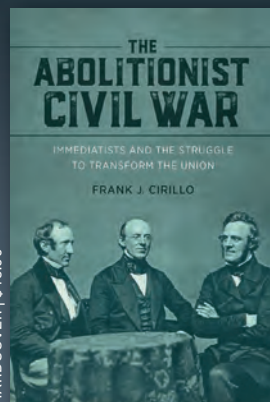
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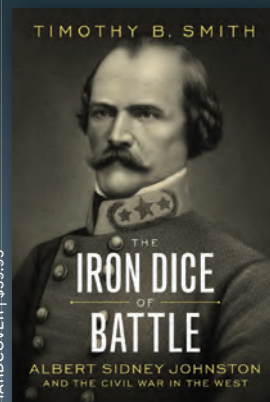
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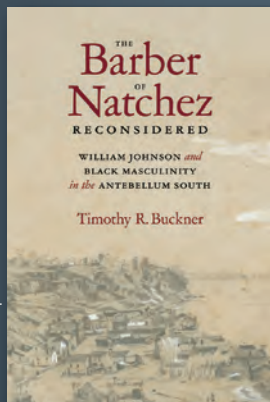
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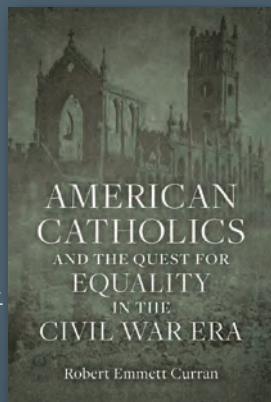
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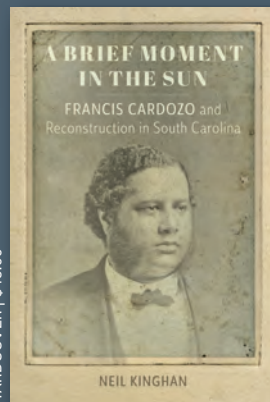
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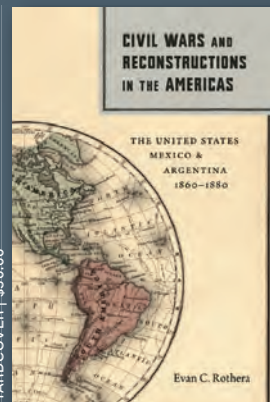
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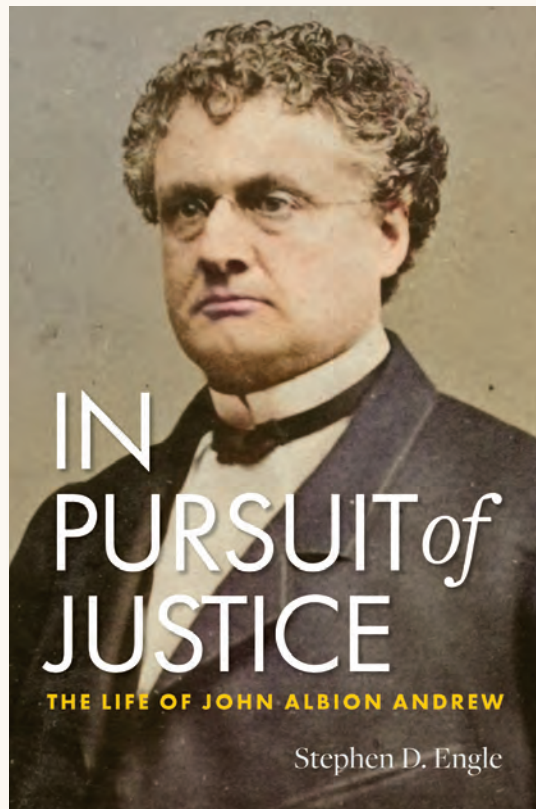
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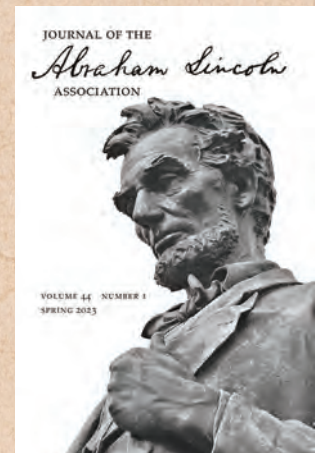
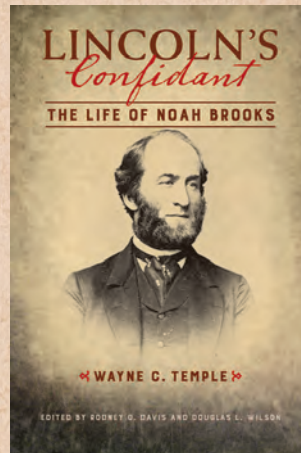
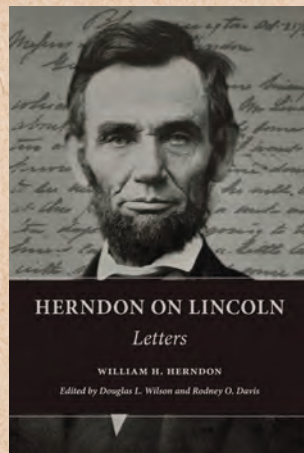
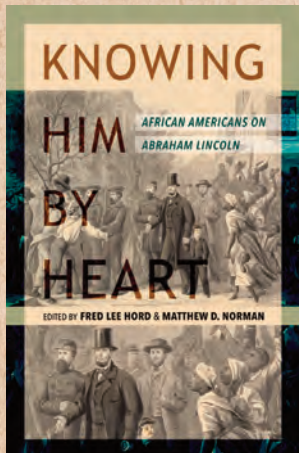
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