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The Angel Inn, Swanton Morley, site of the original Lincoln House.

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The Life and Legacy of Abraham Lincoln

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Abraham Lincoln's Non-Conformist Norfolk Origins

By Jenny Rose and Martial Rose

[Editor's note: This article focuses on the religious and cultural background of Abraham Lincoln's ancestors in Norfolk, England, and their eventual migration to Massachusetts. It is abridged from a paper presented at the International Lincoln Center, Shreveport, in October 2006. Photographs, including cover, courtesy of Bruce Benedict. Thanks to David Long for arranging for Lincoln Lore *to carry this material.]*

Introduction: Setting the Scene

The two villages in England associated with the early history of the Lincoln family are Swanton Morley and Hingham, both situated in the east of England in the central part of the county of Norfolk. They are about nine miles apart, several miles to the west of Norwich. For nearly a thousand years both parishes have been under the control of the diocese of Norwich, which, from 1091 until 1914, comprised the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk and parts of Cambridgeshire.

There is evidence that the parishes of Swanton Morley and Hingham had their own church buildings soon after the Norman Conquest, but in the 14th century both villages engaged in the construction of impressive new churches, which are still standing today.

It was in these flourishing villages of Swanton Morley and Hingham that we have the earliest mention of some of Abraham Lincoln's forebears. Church records from All Saints' Swanton Morley, dating between 1557 and 1625, inform us that twenty-four Lincolns were buried in the churchyard. There are, unfortunately, no family grave-markers to indicate where.

The English Reformation under Henry VIII (born 1491, reigned 1509–1547) did not have a major effect on parishes such as Swanton Morley and Hingham. They did not experience a

On the cover: Bust of Abraham Lincoln in St. Andrew's Church, Hingham, Norfolk.

straightforward adoption of Protestantism, and many of the early reforms introduced by Henry VIII were later withdrawn.

After the five turbulent years of Queen Mary's reign (1553-1558), the long reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) brought relative stability, despite the constant threat from Spain. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 dashed that country's aspirations to conquer England and return it to Catholicism.

The Norfolk Roots of the Lincoln Family

Born in Hingham during these tumultuous times was one Richard Lincoln (c1550), who inherited lands in both Swanton Morley and Hingham from his father, Robert. Richard chose to live in the former parish, where he appears to have been a man of considerable standing. He was churchwarden of All Saints' from 1599, and a constable there in 1616. As constable he would have been elected by his peers for a fixed period to oversee the keeping of the peace in his district. Richard married four times, and the parish register of All Saints' records the baptism of his three children by his fourth wife. The seal of Richard Lincoln to be seen in the east window of the church is a replica of the one used when he signed his will in 1615. The Angel Inn in Swanton Morley is thought to incorporate the "new mansion" built by Richard for his family. An earlier Lincoln home lay to the west of this site. Interestingly, some beams on the interior of the Inn are believed to have been taken from the ships of the Spanish Armada that were wrecked along the Norfolk coast.

The Lincolns and the Parish of Hingham

Richard Lincoln of Swanton Morley died in 1620, the year that the first "Pilgrims" landed on the coast of North America. He had been churchwarden at a time when the tenets of the Church of England were being increasingly challenged by non-conformist beliefs from home and abroad. During the last years of Richard's life, the theatre in London, through the plays of William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, attracted a great deal of laughter at the expense of such sectarian attitudes.[1] Fun was made of the Puritan weaver, the bigoted Separatist, the hypocritical Pastor from Amsterdam, "Tribulation Wholesome," and his English counterpart, "Zeal-of-the Land Busy." But in rural Norfolk, far from the greater license tolerated in the capital, the situation was very different and the choice stark: conform to the requirements of Church and State or face dire consequences. Such restrictions were the prime reason for the increase in the exodus of men and women to New England at the beginning of the 17th century.

Richard Lincoln had bequeathed his property in Swanton Morley, including the house and a farm, to the children of his fourth marriage rather than to his earlier offspring. The gift of a Bible to All Saints' Church by Richard's grandson, Henry, also a churchwarden, perhaps indicates a reason for the bias of Richard's will. Before his death, Richard had already gifted 33 acres of land in Hingham to his son, also called Richard, by his second wife. But to his son, Edward, by his first wife, he left only two acres in Hingham, a cottage, and £20 in cash. Edward contested the will, but lost his case and moved with his family to Hingham. It is not known exactly where in Hingham this branch of the family lived. Edward's family seems to have been more intractable in terms of their religious allegiance, a notion supported by the subsequent departure of some of its members from Hingham to Massachusetts, following in the steps of recalcitrant clergy from their parish.

All Saints' Church , Swanton Morley , from the west. The Lincoln graves may be in this part of the churchyard.

In the 1620s, the parish of St. Andrews in Hingham would have undergone several changes in its routine. With the accession of Charles I in 1625 with his Catholic French Queen Henrietta Maria, much greater pressure was exerted against any sign of non-conformity. Those with Puritan sympathies sought to uphold the established church, but were deeply distrustful of Charles I, whose religious policies were divisive. The king's royal chaplain was William Laud (1573-1645), who was appointed Bishop of London in 1628. To combat the Puritan element within the church, he tried to introduce religious conformity throughout the country, impressing upon all priests and their parishes the need for church services to be in strict accordance with the Book of Common Prayer, for the clergy to wear surplices, for the communion table to be railed off from the congregation, at the east end of the chancel, for the two sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion to be observed, and for all to bow at the name of Jesus. For many Puritans, these "reforms" seemed like unacceptable moves on the path back to Roman Catholicism.

Laud exercised wide authority over much of the country, and in 1633 he became Archbishop of Canterbury, based at Lambeth Palace in London. This was the same year that Thomas Lincoln, one of Edward's sons, crossed to New England with his cousin Nicholas Jacob. (In 1635 Thomas received a grant of five acres of land in Hingham, Massachusetts, where he lived until his death).

A general order by Archbishop Laud, intended to curtail Puritan practices, led to strict supervision of English parishes. One of the churches found troublesome was St Andrew's, Hingham. It was here that Edward Lincoln's youngest son, Samuel, was baptized on August 24, 1622. The parish had become notorious for its independently minded preachers, such as the young Peter Hobart.

Richard Lincoln's seal reproduced on the east window of All Saints' Church, Swanton Morley.

After leaving England for Massachusetts in 1635, Hobart became the first minister of the church in Bare Cove, which was renamed Hingham that year. He retained his independence of thought and action in the new Hingham. In 1646, he was accused of having encouraged a petition seeking the "abolition of the distinctions which were maintained here both in civil and church estate." Along with nearly a hundred other "rebels" who supported him, Hobart was called before the Massachusetts General Court and fined. Governor Winthrop referred to Peter Hobart as a "strong man" who "would speak his mind." Hobart refused to pay the fine, whereupon it was increased. Eventually the town paid his fine, which indicates that Hingham at this point was more "Pilgrim" than "Puritan," in its policy of supporting the concept of equality of status for all, rather than just paying lip-service to it. In this context, it is significant to note that Peter's daughter Jael later married Joseph Bradford, the younger son of William Bradford (who played such a prominent part in establishing the first Pilgrim colony at Plymouth, Massachusetts) by his second wife.

Another targeted clergyman from St. Andrew's was Robert Peck, who was brought before an ecclesiastical consistory court, accused of "disobedience to the orders and ceremonies of the church." He lost his position, and about 18 months later, in 1638, boarded the freight carrier *Diligent* with his family and 133 of his parishioners, to sail to New England. The number of parishioners departing with Peck was sizeable. Peck became Peter Hobart's assistant, with the title of "Teacher", at the church in Hingham, Massachusetts. But Peck's remaining parishioners in England petitioned for his return and he made the journey home in 1641, after the English Parliament had been recalled and the power of Charles I was seen to be waning.

While it is impossible to give an exact number of emigrants who left this general area for Massachusetts, it is known that by this time, over two hundred Norfolk residents had migrated to new Hingham. One consequence of this emigration was increased unemployment among the poor, since most of those leaving England for the New World were prosperous craftsmen or tradesmen with their families and, often, their apprentices and servants. East Anglia was disproportionately represented among the Puritan elite in New England. This group played a significant role in the subsequent history of the development of the colonies. An obvious example is John Winthrop, who was born in Suffolk, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and became the first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Most of those who left England did not expect to return, but some such as Peck, did, when they knew that Puritans were gaining the upper hand in their fight against Charles I and the royalists. A few returned to fight alongside the "Roundheads" in the Civil War.

Samuel Lincoln Leaves for New England

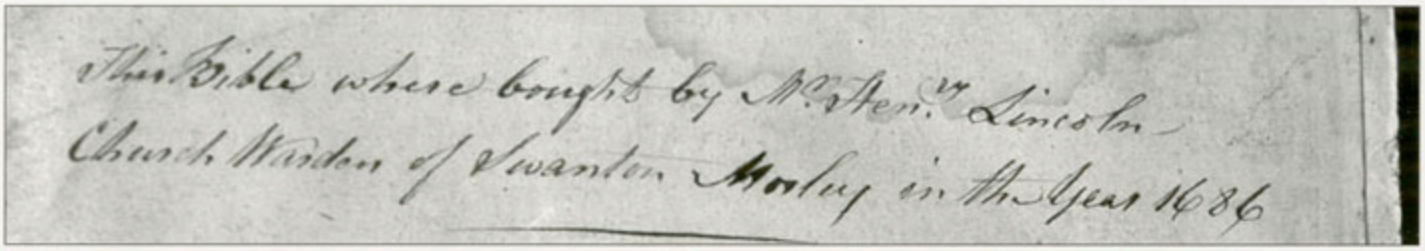
The political and religious changes brought about by the Roundheads were not sufficient to tempt the majority of the settlers in New England to return. The Lincoln family, for instance, was there to remain. When Robert Peck had sailed in 1638, amongst the parishioners accompanying him were Edward Gilman and his family. Edward Gilman's sister was Bridget Gilman, the wife of Edward Lincoln of Hingham, Norfolk, and the mother of Samuel Lincoln. After Edward Lincoln's death around 1638, Bridget is thought to have married a Thomas Cooper Lincoln. She later migrated to Hingham, Massachusetts, where she died in 1665. When Samuel Lincoln sailed for America in 1637, at least one of his brothers, Thomas, had already preceded him. The non-conformist element of the Norfolk family was regrouping in the New World.

Despite some discrepancy in the records, it is now largely accepted that the "Samuel Lincorne" who sailed on the *John and Dorothy* from Yarmouth to Boston as the apprentice of Francis Lawes, a Worsted Weaver and Freeman of Norwich, is the same Samuel Lincoln from whom Abraham's descent is traced. The name is not attested elsewhere at that early date, and orthographic variation for surnames is common for this period. The Lincoln name appears in such diverse forms as Linkhorn, Linckhorn, and Linkon in early documents such as baptismal records, in both Hinghams.[2]

The age of this Samuel in April 1637, when the boat left Norfolk, is given as 18, which seems to be at odds with the date of baptism of Edward Lincoln's son in 1622. Although it is unlikely that baptism would have been deferred until a child was three or four years old, this may be the case; or the records of passengers, which were compiled in an age of amateur bureaucracy, may be in error.

Francis Lawes, Samuel's employer, is mentioned in the articles of impeachment against Bishop Wren, as one of the important manufacturers who had been driven away by the Bishop's "rigorous prosecutions and dealings."[3] It seems that Lawes and others had objected to Wren's imposition of Anglican hierarchy and ritual, particularly "the suspending, silencing and driving away of painful preaching ministers."[4] This stand by Lawes is in keeping with the tendency towards non-conformity found amongst weavers and clothiers throughout the 16th and 17th centuries in both England and the Netherlands.

Samuel first settled with the Lawes family at Salem, presumably until he had finished his apprenticeship and was able to set up as a journeyman on his own, and then moved to join his brother and Robert Peck in Hingham.[5] In 1649, at about the same time he married Martha, there is a record that one Samuel Lincoln bought a house and several acres of land. Since he was not in



The dedication on the "Lincoln Bible," a 1674 reprint of the King James Bible, given to All Saints' Church by Richard Lincoln's grandson, Henry in 1686.

Hingham when the original plots were allocated in 1635, he had to purchase one.

Large families were common, and eleven children were born to Samuel and Martha. It is through their fourth son, Mordecai, that Abraham Lincoln is descended. Samuel died in Hingham on May 26, 1690, but it is not recorded where he was buried. The cemetery above the Old Ship Church, which was built in 1681 to house the Hingham congregation, contains several Lincoln graves from a later date.

The residents of both Hingham in Massachusetts and Hingham in Norfolk, England, are keenly aware of their revered scion. Abe, on the other hand, seems to have been one of the few American presidents who did not take an earnest pride in his non-conformist English descent. On one occasion, he is said to have quipped to an old friend: "The first ancestor that I know anything about was a Tom Lincoln, who came over in 1634 and settled at a place—Hingham—or perhaps Hanghim. Which is it judge?"

It is telling that Samuel Lincoln chose to depart England with his master, Frances Lawes, and then to move to Hingham, Massachusetts. He had made a conscious decision to ally himself with those who had no fear in standing up to the authorities for what they believed, particularly in matters relating to the religious conviction that all are equal under God.

Such a notion is seen in the design of the Old Ship Church, the oldest surviving church in the United States, modeled on the secular town halls and the markets of East Anglia. The building is in sharp contrast to the Anglican Church architecture of the time, epitomized by the work of Christopher Wren (the nephew of Matthew Wren, Laud's Bishop of Norwich, 1635-38), in his construction of various new parish churches following the Great Fire of London in 1666. Wren's most monumental building, St. Paul's Cathedral, was modeled on the grand edifices of Louis XIV, and it was regarded by many as echoing the French adherence to absolute monarchy and the Roman Catholic church.

Old Ship Church, Hingham, Massachusetts.

The Old Ship Church was a symbol of a different, more egalitarian, order. It is so named because its arched roofing resembles the inner hull of an inverted ship. The perilous transatlantic crossings of the *Mayflower*, the *John and Dorothy*, the *Diligent* and the many other small ships with their cargo of men, women, children and animals, may well have been compared to the deliverance provided by Noah's Ark. To early voyagers, such as Peter Hobart and his congregation, it must have seemed that they had been miraculously preserved to set their footprint in a new world.

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Prior to his retirement, Martial Rose was a teacher, lecturer, then a college president. He continues to publish widely in the fields of drama and medieval art history, with a particular interest in ecclesiastical iconography. Martial lives in Norfolk, England, and has written a guidebook entitled The Parish Church of All Saints, Swanton Morley, *published in Dereham, Norfolk, 2005.*

[Editor's note: Thanks to the family of R. Gerald McMurtry for sponsoring publication of this article.]

Endnotes

[1] See, for instance, Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (II.iii.63 and 136, III.ii.30) and *Henry IV* (I.iiv.133)

[2] George Lincoln, *The History of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts, The Genealogies*, Hingham, 1893.

[3] C.B. Jewson, ed., "Transcripts of Three Registers of Passengers from Gt. Yarmouth to Holland and New England 1637-39," *Norfolk Record Society* 25 (1954), 8.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] "Daniel Cushing's Records for Hingham, Plymouth Co., MA," *NEHGR*, Vol. 15 (January 1861): 25-26.

[6] D. Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*, (Oxford: New York, 1989), 836.

Lincoln, Race, and Moral Strategy

By Richard Striner

Ever since the days in the 1850s when Abraham Lincoln was accused by his political rival Stephen A. Douglas of being a secret "Negro lover," the problem of attempting to guess the real nature of Lincoln's own thoughts on the issue of race—or more pointedly, his innermost feelings—has remained contentious. Douglas kept complaining that the stealthy intention of Lincoln was to launch an incremental assault against the ways of American white supremacy. Compare this contemporaneous charge with the recent polemics of Lerone Bennett, Jr., who alleges that Lincoln was *in favor* of white supremacy. The problem of Lincoln and race has continued to challenge us.

Professional historians and scholars have been arguing about this subject for a very long time. The basis for the argument is simple: Lincoln said certain things in the 1850s that *appear* to be racist in intention.

Three distinct possibilities confront us: (1) the possibility that Lincoln was indeed a white racist, though clearly an unusual one; (2) the possibility that Lincoln was pretending, for political reasons, to emotions he did not really have on the subject of race (that is, he was consciously deceiving the public); and (3) the possibility that Lincoln was truly ambivalent in regard to the subject of race—that is, he was struggling both with his conscience and with deep and persistent inner bigotry.

It may be tempting for a number of reasons to embrace this third possibility as somehow the likeliest one. But a vigorous review of all the evidence suggests that the likeliest scenario is actually the second: that Lincoln was twisting the truth for political reasons as he uttered what *appeared* to be white supremacist sentiments.

It is vital to remember two historical facts as we begin. By the 1840s, the American anti-slavery movement comprised much more than just the sorts of idealistic abolitionists who embraced full equality for blacks: it also comprised a diverse coalition of whites, including a substantial number of racists, who feared and opposed the institution of slavery because they were convinced it was a threat to *themselves*. Such whites understood that if the institution of slavery should spread beyond the southern states it could take away their jobs and depress the value of their labor. What they wanted was to keep both slavery and blacks out of sight. Furthermore, by the 1850s the state of Illinois, where Lincoln had begun his career, was without a doubt one of the most militantly white supremacist states in the North. Free blacks had been barred under law from setting foot in the state, and the practice of racial intermarriage had been made illegal. This was the political climate in which Lincoln had to work before his destiny took him to the White House.

One of the earliest statements by Lincoln that appears to support the charge of white supremacist values was a statement that he made in the course of his famous "Peoria Speech" of October 16, 1854. This speech was an attack upon the Kansas-Nebraska Act that was championed by Illinois' very own United States Senator, Stephen Douglas. The act allowed slavery to spread into parts of the Louisiana Purchase in which the institution had been barred for many years.

Before we turn to the statement by Lincoln that appears to be racist, it behooves us to glance at some other vital portions of the speech. In attacking the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Lincoln told his white supremacist listeners to look beyond the threat that the institution of slavery might pose to themselves. He told them to consider the brutality of slavery itself: it was an evil that deprived human beings—fellow human beings who were *black*—of their unalienable rights. Listen to his words: "Equal justice to the south, it is said, requires us to consent to the extending of slavery to new countries. That is to say, inasmuch as you do not object to my taking my hog to Nebraska, therefore I must not object to you taking your slave. Now, I admit this is perfectly logical, if there is no difference between hogs and negroes. But while you thus require me to deny the humanity of the negro, I wish to ask whether you of the south yourselves, have ever been willing to do as much?"

In referring to the people of the South, Lincoln asked his midwestern listeners to think about the spectacle of guilty white southerners who freed their slaves over time. "There are in the United States and territories," Lincoln pointed out, "433,643 free blacks." How could this have happened if blacks were merely beasts of burden? "How comes this vast amount of property to be running around without owners," Lincoln asked. "We do not see free horses or free cattle running at large. How is this? All these free blacks are the descendants of slaves, or have been slaves themselves, and they would be slaves now, but for SOMETHING which has operated on their white owners, inducing them, at vast pecuniary sacrifices, to liberate them."

Lincoln pressed the argument further: "What is that SOMETHING? Is there any mistaking it? In all these cases it is your sense of justice, and human sympathy, continually telling you, that the poor negro has some natural right to himself—that those who deny it, and make mere merchandise of him, deserve kickings, contempt, and death...If the negro is a *man*, why then my ancient faith teaches me that 'all men are created equal.'"[1]

Now consider the passage that the latter-day critics of Lincoln have attacked as being racist. In his Peoria Speech, Lincoln chose to look beyond the urgent short-term goal of keeping slavery from spreading to the territories. He talked about the long-term emancipation challenge. He embraced the idea of trans-Atlantic "colonization," the idea of sending former slaves back to Africa when slavery had ended. The idea had great religious resonance. As the Hebrews of old had been led from the house of bondage and returned to the promised land of the patriarchs, so the latter-day African "Israel" deserved a providential repatriation on an epochal scale. To be sure, there were numerous blacks who were offended by the clearly insulting connotations of a program to "ship them out of the country." Nonetheless, a substantial number of blacks had gone willingly to live in Liberia, a land that was founded to provide a safe haven for people of African descent who found the white supremacist culture of 19th-century America oppres-

sive—those who, like Marcus Garvey later on, could see no reason to linger in a land of white supremacy.

Regardless, here is the statement by Lincoln that is cited by some as a blatantly racist manifesto: "If all earthly power were given me," Lincoln stated, "I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution [of slavery]. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope, (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, can not be safely disregarded."[2]

What are we to make of this statement? Lincoln's feelings, he said, would not support the idea of making blacks the civic "equals" of whites after slavery was gone. He went on, however, to explore a most interesting conjecture, and one that makes very little sense for any racist to toy with in public: *if*, he pointed out, his own feelings should eventually embrace the idea of granting civil rights to blacks, the "great mass" of white people would oppose him. Why mention this scenario at all? A mere racist, one is tempted to presume, would simply state his opposition to equality for blacks and then leave the matter right there.

Indeed, why should Lincoln, as a putative racist, take on the abundantly risky and politically gratuitous chore of convincing an Illinois audience that blacks and their feelings really mattered? The most obvious way for a racist politician to attack Stephen Douglas in front of the voters was to harp upon the menace of slavery to working class *whites*. But Lincoln used the opportunity to soften up his listeners' resistance, to urge them to transcend their prejudice and view black slaves as fellow *men*, as fellow human beings.

Consider what Lincoln was up against. Consider the inflammatory rhetoric of Stephen A. Douglas, who regaled the electorate with unabashed racist appeals. Here's an excerpt that shows the man in action; please remember that the audience reactions in the passage were recorded by journalists trained in stenography. "I ask you," he thundered to the voters, "are you in favor of conferring upon the negro the rights and privileges of citizenship? ('No. no.') Do you desire to strike out of our State Constitution that clause which keeps slaves and free negroes out of the State, and allow the free negroes to flow in, ('never') and cover your prairies with black settlements? Do you desire to turn this beautiful State into a free negro colony, ('no, no') in order that when Missouri abolishes slavery she can send one hundred thousand emancipated slaves into Illinois, to become citizens and voters, on an equality with yourselves? ('Never,' 'no.') If you desire negro citizenship...then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican Party...For one, I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. (Cheers.) I believe this government was made on the white basis. ('Good.') I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever..."[3]

Here was a racist. And he frequently invoked the threat of interracial sex—miscegenation or "amalgamation," as he called it in the parlance of the times—to work his audience to fever pitch. In one speech, for example, he sneered to some partisan detractors as follows: "If you, Black Republicans, think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have a perfect right to do so."[4]

Douglas was counting on the phobias of Illinois whites as he engaged in this salacious demagoguery. Lincoln was obliged to respond. On June 26, 1857, in the course of a significant address that he delivered at Springfield, Illinois, he acknowledged the "disgust in the minds of nearly all white people, to the idea of an indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races."[5] Lincoln responded to this widespread "disgust" in a number of ways. At times he urged the voters to transcend it; Douglas, Lincoln said in his Springfield address, "finds the Republicans insisting that the Declaration of Independence includes ALL men, black as well as white; and forthwith he boldly denies that it includes negroes at all, and proceeds to argue gravely that all who contend it does, do so only because they want to vote, and eat, and sleep, and marry with negroes!...Now I protest against the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a *slave* I must necessarily want her for a *wife*. I need not have her for either, I can just leave her alone."[6]

He also tried to make fun of the issue through the methods of tongue-in-cheek humor. At another point in the address he said that there were fortunately "white men enough to marry all the white women, and black men enough to marry all the black women; and so let them be married." A clever ploy: he took the ugly and nasty innuendoes of Douglas and rebutted them with gentle forms of whimsy. Whereas Douglas appealed to the brutal and even pornographic feelings of the voters—he talked, we recall, of the "negro...riding in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team" (one thinks of Madame Bovary)—Lincoln tried to distract and amuse his touchy audience with visions of benign mass weddings.

But such evasions, evidently, did not do the trick, for Lincoln also made the following explicit statement in the Springfield address that appears to be racist indeed: Douglas, he said, was "especially horrified by the thought of the mixing of the blood by the white and black races: agreed for once—a thousand times agreed."[8] This would seem to resolve the matter quickly: Lincoln was a racist.

Or was he? Here was a man who alleged that, like Douglas, he was "horrified"—revolted and appalled—by the prospect of interracial sex. But then he *joked* about the subject and he tried to make light of it whenever Douglas raised the issue. He repeatedly attempted to persuade his white listeners to spurn this issue as a

foolish one. They should think about the evil of *enslavement*, he repeatedly insisted.

This leads us to the issue of *candor*. Was Lincoln really telling the truth about his feelings on racial intermarriage? Perhaps he was. Or perhaps he was faking it for reasons of political strategy. Douglas, after all, had been successfully distracting the voters from the slavery issue by pandering to racial aversions. Lincoln, on the other hand, was trying to force consideration of the slavery question and to render the subject of inter-racial sex a *non-issue* as much as he could.

As he launched his campaign to remove Stephen Douglas from the Senate in 1858, Lincoln openly called for cessation of race-conscious thinking in America. On the evening of July 10, he exhorted his supporters at a torchlight rally to "discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position...Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people." He chanted out the following questions and angry admonitions: "I should like to know if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle and making exceptions to it where will it stop. If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? If that declaration is not the truth, let us get the Statute book, in which we find it and tear it out! Who is so bold to do it! [Voices — "me" and "no one," &c.] If it is not true let us tear it out! [cries of "no, no,"]."[9]

Douglas's response was to accuse his rival of opening Pandora's box. He contended that Lincoln was in favor—secretly in favor—of giving social equality to blacks. He demanded that Lincoln address the issue clearly. He kept insisting that Lincoln answer the following question: did he—or did he not—intend to lead the American people by stealthy degrees to a mongrelized, "amalgamated" future? Lincoln's response was both forthright and shifty; on July 17 he fought back by accusing Douglas of attempting to put words in his mouth. "Last night," Lincoln said, "Judge Douglas [it bears noting that Lincoln was referring to the earlier service of Douglas on the Illinois Supreme Court] tormented himself with horrors about my disposition to make negroes perfectly equal with white men in social and political relations. He did not stop to show that I have said any such thing, or that it legitimately follows from any thing I have said, but he rushes in with his assertions. I adhere to the Declaration of Independence. If Judge Douglas and his friends are not willing to stand by it, let them come up and amend it. Let them make it read that all men are created equal except negroes."[10]

Lincoln then went on to embrace full equality for blacks when it came to their *freedom*, while demurring, in slippery terms, on the ancillary issues. "Certainly," Lincoln stated, "the negro is not our equal in color—perhaps not in other respects; still, in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man, white or black...All I ask for the negro is that if you do not like him, leave him alone."[11]

This was very clever language indeed. On the surface Lincoln seemed to be embracing a few racist platitudes. But his language, which appears to have been carefully chosen, could convey *alternative meanings*. Consider the following sentence: "Certainly the negro is not our equal in color" and "perhaps not in other respects." Let us analyze the sentence as to meaning, beginning with "certainly," a very clear term. What was "certain," according to Lincoln? That the negro is "not our equal in color." And yet the meaning of the crucial term "equal" was notoriously vague in this particular statement. Was Lincoln saying that the darker pigmentation of blacks was less worthy than the skin tone of whites? Or was he merely observing that black and white skin tone was *different* (that is, not equal in the sense of *not the same*)? If the latter, then the difference in question was trivial, a matter of taste. If one happened not to like the appearance of others, one could obviously leave them alone, as Lincoln said quite clearly at the very end of his statement.

What else? Lincoln then went on to observe that "perhaps" other racial differences existed. Note the qualifier term—"perhaps"—which was heard by many, no doubt, in the positive sense that "perhaps they do exist," but with its flip-side corollary left to be inferred by discerning minds: perhaps they do *not*. It is certainly possible to argue that Lincoln was guardedly revealing between the lines of this speech that *he did not really know* whether blacks and whites were really different aside from their skin tone. But in all probability it sounded like he said (or implied) that he *did* know. No wonder that his enemy Douglas would complain in the course of the Lincoln-Douglas debates that Lincoln possessed "a fertile genius in devising language to conceal his thoughts."[12]

In the course of the debates, which lasted from August through October 1858, Douglas constantly tried to bait Lincoln on the issue of race. Lincoln chose to fend off this abuse with some clear-sounding statements, like the following: "I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which in my judgment will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position."[13] The common reading of the statement is simple: Lincoln was a self-proclaimed racist.

But consider an alternative reading. If Lincoln, who was after all a highly successful attorney, well versed in the arts of concocting ambiguous language to emerge from tight situations, was in fact playing games of deception with the audience, the ploy might have worked like this. Sentence One: "I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races." Translation: I have no intention at the moment ("no purpose") of trying to introduce political and social equality between the two races *in light of the existing political realities*. Sentence two, clause one: "There is a physical difference between the two, which in my judgment will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality..."Translation: Pure hatred arising from their physical differences will *probably* continue to generate the kinds of inter-racial tensions that will make a really tolerant society impossible. Sentence two, clause two: "...and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position." Translation: If there must be a difference in the power positions of the races, because of the political reasons just explained, then I would obviously not choose subjection.

If this reading of Lincoln's careful language is valid, then his racist-sounding statements in the course of the debates were merely gambits of a clever attorney. They were not necessarily the statements of an actual racist; if anything, they seem to be the statements of a man who, for political reasons, was deeply *pessimistic* when it came to the prospects for black civil rights in America.

Regardless, Lincoln was determined to strike at the fountainhead of racist doctrine: the notion that blacks were a subhuman species. He did this in 1859 in the course of some speeches that he gave in Ohio. In notes that he made before drafting these speeches, he focused on a statement that Douglas had made within the previous year: "At Memphis," Lincoln wrote, "Douglas told his audience that he was for the negro against the crocodile, but for the white man against the negro. This was not a sudden thought spontaneously thrown off at Memphis. He said the same thing many times in Illinois last summer and autumn, though I am not sure it was reported then. It is a carefully framed illustration of the estimate he places on the negro and the manner in which he would have him dealt with. It is a sort of proposition in proportion. 'As the negro is to the crocodile, so the white man is to the negro.' As the negro ought to treat the crocodile as a beast, so the white man ought to treat the negro as a beast."[14]

These were *notes* for speeches; now consider the fervor Lincoln brought to the subject when he spoke to a crowd in Columbus, Ohio, on September 16, 1859: "Did you ever five years ago, hear of anybody in the world saying that the negro had no share in the Declaration of National Independence," he asked, "that it did not mean negroes at all; and when 'all men' were spoken of negroes were not included?...I have been unable at any time to find a man in an audience who would declare that he had ever known any body saying so five years ago. But last year there was not a Douglas [supporter] in Illinois who did not say it."

How far had this sinister change of opinion proceeded in Ohio, Lincoln wondered. How many in Ohio now believed that the Negro was excluded from the Declaration of Independence? "If you think that now," Lincoln pressed his audience, "and did not think it then, the next thing that strikes me is to remark that there has been a *change* wrought in you (laughter and applause), and a very significant change it was, being no less than changing the negro, in your estimation, from the rank of a man to that of a brute. They are taking him down, and placing him, when spoken of, among reptiles and crocodiles, as Judge Douglas himself expresses it...I ask you to note that fact, and the like of which is to follow, to be plastered on, layer after layer, until very soon you are prepared to deal with the negro everywhere as with the brute. If public sentiment has not been debauched already to this point, a new turn of the screw in that direction is all that is wanting."[15]

Let us pause and consider: Is it possible to argue that a speech such as this could be delivered by a gut-level racist?

Not likely. The gut-level feelings of Lincoln appeared to be *repelled* by the racist mentality. Almost fifty years ago, historian David Herbert Donald concluded that Lincoln "was color-blind...He thought of the black man first of all as a man."[16] Nonetheless, Lincoln seemed pessimistic with regard to the prospects for changing the mainstream culture when it came to civil rights for blacks. So his long-term vision, at least until 1863, was to strike at the evil of slavery and then, as a long-term *voluntary* proposition, lay the groundwork for peaceful separation of the races through colonization.

After Lincoln's election to the presidency in 1860—an event that quickly unleashed the secessionist movement in the South—Lincoln used the vision of colonization to pacify racist opponents in the North, especially those who denounced his Emancipation Proclamation in 1862.

On August 14, 1862, about a month or so before he actually released the proclamation, Lincoln spoke about the prospects for colonization to a group of black leaders at the White House. He made it clear that he shared their feelings in regard to the oppressiveness of white supremacy. "Your race," Lincoln said, "are suffering the greatest wrong inflicted on any people...On this broad continent, not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours," and this, he continued, was "a fact about which we all think and feel alike, I and you." Take note: Lincoln told his guests that he shared their feelings in respect to the loathesomeness of white supremacy. But alas, he continued, racist culture was "a fact with which we have to deal," for "I cannot alter it."[17]

Lincoln then urged his listeners to think about the prospect as a *voluntary* venture, and he assured them that they would be moving to a country whose inhabitants were free of racial bigotry. If Africa should prove too distant or foreign, then perhaps a destination among the more racially mixed population of Central America should be considered. "To your colored race," Lincoln stated, the peoples of Central America "have no objection." And if blacks wished to found a new society there, "I would endeavor to have you made equals, and have the best assurance that you should be the equals of the best."[18] Some blacks took him up on the offer later on, though their point of destination was an island off the coast of Haiti.

But as Lincoln continued to experiment with colonization, he increasingly opened his mind to the vision of creating a tolerant and multi-racial society here in America. He began, in a number of speeches and letters, to argue with the racists and to work on public opinion. In his annual message to Congress on December 1, 1862, for example, Lincoln pointedly observed that if the black population, both free and enslaved, were "distributed among the whites of the whole country...there would be but one colored to seven whites." That being the case, he reasoned, why should whites have anything to fear? But more importantly, Lincoln continued, "there are many communities now, having more than one free colored person, to seven whites; and this, without any apparent consciousness of evil from it."[19]

In 1863, when he decided to permit the enlistment of blacks in the army, he immediately used the opportunity to shame white supremacists by praising black valor on the battlefield. On August 26, 1863, for instance, in a letter to a friend that he intended for release to the general public, he scolded northern racists in the following patriotic manner: "Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay, and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time...And then, there will

be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while, I fear, there will be some white ones, unable to forget that, with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they have strove to hinder it."[20]

In the same year he instructed his military officers to work with the hundreds of thousands of slaves who were then being given their freedom by dint of the Emancipation Proclamation. He told General Nathaniel Banks in Louisiana to be sure that any interim labor regulations should embrace some "practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of their old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new." He added that "education for young blacks should be included in this plan."[21] In Mississippi, Lincoln instructed General Stephen Hurlbut (an old friend from Illinois, whom he knew he could trust) to make provision for the needs of former slaves. "If there be plantations near you which are abandoned by their owners," Lincoln wrote, "first put as many contrabands [former slaves] on such, as they will hold—that is, as can draw subsistence from them. If some still remain, get loyal men, of character in the vicinity, to take them temporarily on wages, to be paid to the contrabands themselves— such men obliging themselves to not let the contrabands be kidnapped, or forcibly taken away. Of course, if any voluntarily make arrangements to work for their living, you will not hinder them."[22]

Most interesting of all, Lincoln chose to endorse an experiment through which some plantation lands in the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina would be sold to former slaves who had tilled the land for rebel masters. Lincoln instructed his agents in the islands to set aside lots of twenty acres for "heads of families of the African race…for the charitable purpose of providing homes for such heads of families and their families respectively."[23]

In 1864, Lincoln pushed for the empowerment of blacks in the area of voting rights. He secretly encouraged the occupation Governor of Louisiana to consider such a plan.[24] The new constitution of Louisiana, though deferring a clear-cut decision, had empowered the legislature to confer the "elective franchise" on blacks. (It should be noted here that the states had an absolute right to determine the credentials of voters, and this situation would prevail until the drafting and ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution).

On April 11, 1865, Lincoln openly sided with the advocates of black voting rights in Louisiana. Speaking of the situation at hand, Lincoln said that he knew it was "unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not [yet] given to the colored man." Then he made the big announcement at last; "I would myself prefer," he revealed, "that it [the "elective franchise"] were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers."

Lincoln shifted in a moment to a boldly charismatic tone as he encouraged the voting rights movement in the South. If we firmly support the new Louisiana constitution as well as the people who drafted it, Lincoln intoned, "we encourage the hearts, and nerve the arms" of all the decent and tolerant whites in the state; we help them "to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to complete success. The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring, to the same end."[25]

John Wilkes Booth was in the audience when Lincoln made the speech. "That means nigger citizenship," Booth muttered to his fellow conspirators when Lincoln had finished. "Now, by God, I'll put him through. That is the last speech he will ever make."[26]

We return once again to the question: was Lincoln a racist? It is possible to argue that he certainly was, while conceding that his feelings on the issue seemed to change and evolve over time. But it is also possible to argue that Lincoln was a brilliant *enemy* of racists. He was a clever and incremental fighter who attempted to work against the fact of white prejudice by carefully measured degrees. In his Springfield address back in 1857, he had talked about the meaning of "equality." He argued that by signing their names to a document proclaiming as a universal truth the proposition that all men are created equal, America's founders set a goal for all future generations. They meant to "declare the *right*," Lincoln said, the right of all men to be regarded and treated as equal, "so that the *enforcement* of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence, and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere."[27]

Lincoln used this method as he sought to raise the status of blacks. He summoned power—moral, political, military, patriotic power—to "enforce" the moral promise of America. To begin, he conferred the most basic of rights: the right to be free. Then as soon as the political contingencies permitted it, he strove to look beyond the great cause of emancipation, to explore whether public opinion (both North and South) could be pushed to embrace civil rights.

It seems that Stephen Douglas was right after all when he had sounded the alarm about Lincoln in the 1850s. In all likelihood, Lincoln was a "Negro-lover," just as Douglas had claimed all along. Without question, Lincoln was a strategist, a great moral strategist, the greatest of his kind that this country has ever produced. As a strategist, his deceptions were in all probability ploys to out-maneuver the racists. By twisting the truth in his encounters with Douglas, by producing an ingenious political rhetoric that synthesized truth, half-truth, and deception, Lincoln summoned the political power that would liberate millions and would open up a path to civil rights.

It was our nation's greatest loss that he was killed at the moment when he was. Who can say how far he might have gone if he had lived to complete his second term? We can only conjecture.

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Endnotes

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[2] *Ibid.*, 255-56.

[3] Stephen A. Douglas, "Mr. Douglas's Speech," in "First Debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Ottawa, Illinois," August 21, 1858, *Ibid.*, 3: 9.

[4] Stephen A. Douglas, "Mr. Douglas's Speech," in "Second Debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Freeport, Illinois," August 27, 1858, *Ibid.*, 55-56.

[5] Abraham Lincoln, "Speech at Springfield, Illinois," June 26, 1857, *Ibid.*, 2: 405.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 408.

[8] *Ibid.*, 407.

[9] Abraham Lincoln, "Speech at Chicago, Illinois," July 10, 1858, *Ibid.*, 500-501.

[10] Abraham Lincoln, "Speech at Springfield, Illinois," July 17, 1858, *Ibid.*, 519-20.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Stephen A. Douglas, "Senator Douglas's Reply," in "Sixth Debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Quincy, Illinois, October 13, 1858, *Ibid.*, 3: 261.

[13] Abraham Lincoln, "Mr. Lincoln's Reply," in "First Debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Ottawa, Illinois," August 21, 1858, *Ibid.*, 16.

[14] Abraham Lincoln, "Notes for Speeches at Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio," September 16, 17, 1859, *Ibid.*, 431-32.

[15] Abraham Lincoln, "Speech at Columbus, Ohio," September 16, 1859, *Ibid.*, 423-24.

[16] David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 135.

[17] Abraham Lincoln, "Address on Colonization to a Deputation of Negroes," August 14, 1862, *Collected Works*, 5: 370-75.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Abraham Lincoln, "Annual Message to Congress," December 1, 1862, *Ibid.*, 535.

[20] Abraham Lincoln to James C. Conkling, August 26, 1863, *Ibid.*, VI, 406-10.

[21] Abraham Lincoln to Nathaniel P. Banks, August 5, 1863, *Ibid.*, 365.

[22] Abraham Lincoln to Stephen A. Hurlbut, ca. August 15, 1863, *Ibid.*, 387.

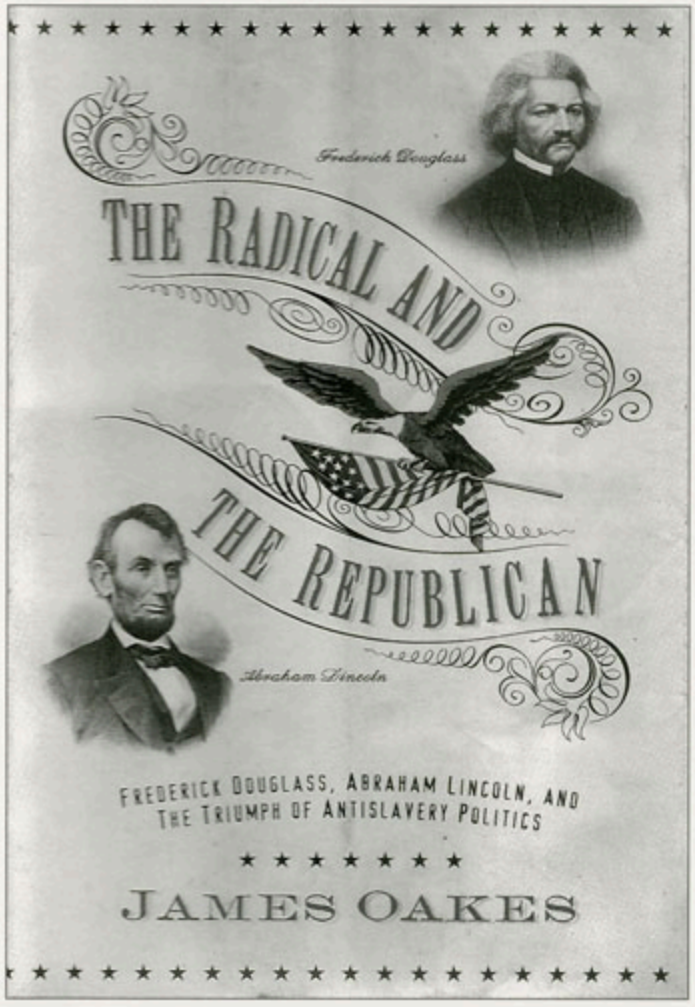
[23] Abraham Lincoln, "Instructions to Tax Commissioners in South Carolina," September 16, 1863, *Ibid.*, 457.

[24] Abraham Lincoln to Michael Hahn, March 13, 1864, *Ibid.*, 7: 243.

[25] Abraham Lincoln, "Last Public Address," April 11, 1865, *Ibid.*, 8: 399-405.

[26] See William Hanchett, *The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 37, and Edward Steers, *Blood on the Moon: The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 91.

[27] Abraham Lincoln, "Speech at Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857, in *Collected Works*, 2: 405-406.



The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics

By James Oakes (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007)
Reviewed by E. Phelps Gay

If, as I suspect, we are living through an age of remarkable Lincoln scholarship and storytelling, then James Oakes's new book on the subtle and symbiotic relationship between Lincoln and the great abolitionist Frederick Douglass probably deserves a spot on the top shelf.

A professor of history at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, Oakes tells the compelling story of two men who came from completely different backgrounds, had totally different temperaments, and who met on only three occasions. Lincoln was a white westerner who became a lawyer and a practical politician. During the 1850s, he opposed the extension of slavery, but he did not propose its abolition in the southern states where it existed. Also, he supported enforcement of the Fugitive

Slave Act. Douglass was an escaped slave from Maryland who in 1845 wrote the famous *Narrative* of his early life. He devoted all his energies to the cause of eradicating slavery wherever it existed, at one point advocating that the northern states should secede from a Union so badly corrupted by association with human bondage.

One man was a cautious and compromising Whig, avowedly not an abolitionist, who supported Henry Clay's "American System" of high tariffs to promote economic development; the other was a fiery orator and brilliant polemicist with no patience for those who regarded slavery as anything other than a moral outrage. Lincoln considered John Brown, the revolutionary who tried to spark a slave insurrection at the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry in 1859, a madman, while Douglass praised Brown as a "noble, heroic, and Christian martyr." In his 1858 debates with Stephen Douglas, Lincoln spoke out against the westward extension of slavery, but he also made pandering comments against the idea of social and political equality between the races—comments duly noted and detested by Frederick Douglass.

Given these differences, it was not surprising that as the presidential election of 1860 approached, Frederick Douglass wrote, "I cannot support Lincoln."

How did it come to pass, then, that after Lincoln delivered his Second Inaugural Address on March 4, 1865, Frederick Douglass went to the White House, uninvited, in order to congratulate the president? Turned away as a "person of color," Douglass asked a friend to let the president know he was there. Moments later Lincoln warmly greeted "my friend Douglass" and asked his opinion of the speech, saying there was "no man in the country whose opinion I value more than yours." Douglass famously replied, "That was a sacred effort."

The short answer to this question, according to Oakes, is that the exigencies of the Civil War brought the interests of the savvy politician and the moral crusader into near-perfect alignment. The Emancipation Proclamation may have been justified by Lincoln as a military measure he was constitutionally entitled to take as Commander in Chief; but it also marked the culmination of a shift in the country's overall attitude toward slavery. By late 1862, Lincoln sensed that the country was "ready" for the Proclamation on both military and moral grounds, even though he knew the adverse fallout would be substantial. In this respect, Oakes demonstrates (as have many others) that, although sometimes perceived as vacillating, Lincoln had to be a master of political timing and balance in order to keep the border states in the Union and placate both those who fought to save the Union and those who fought to destroy slavery.

Of course, the book offers a longer, richer answer to the question by detailing the intellectual development of the two men, illustrating how the passionate reformer and the art-of-the-possible politician came, over time, to appreciate each other's perspectives; and how they came to understand that both perspectives were necessary for the country to achieve the twin goals of saving the Union and ending slavery.

After his escape from slavery in Maryland, Douglass moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he came under the influence of William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the antislavery newspaper *The Liberator.* Garrison believed the Constitution was a pro-slavery document, a "pact with the devil," a view his acolyte Douglass quickly adopted. The Garrisonians saw no point in attempting to work within the existing political structure to effect change. Pacifists, they opposed violence and insurrection, and they did not believe in voting. Their opposition to slavery was based on moral grounds alone. They opposed other abolitionists who pursued practical antislavery politics.

The publication of Douglass's *Narrative* exposed him as a runaway slave, causing him to flee to Great Britain. After British friends purchased his freedom, he returned to America in 1847 and moved to Rochester, New York. There he began publishing his own antislavery newspaper, *The North Star*. Oakes points out that from this time forward Douglass began to shed the ideological purity he had imbibed from Garrison and to express interest in the realities of antislavery politics. Like Lincoln, he opposed the Mexican War and discerned in it an agenda to extend the reach of slavery. He joined the Liberty Party founded by his benefactor Gerrit Smith, but he also followed with interest the Free-Soil Party, the Free Democrats, and the rise of the Republican Party.

Studying the issue further, Douglass began to consider whether the Constitution might actually be characterized as an antislavery document, designed, as noted in its Preamble, to "secure the blessings of liberty." Through the three-fifths and the fugitive slave clauses, it sheepishly acknowledged the existence of slavery, but it also called for abolition of the Atlantic slave trade and pointedly avoided mentioning slavery by name. Douglass ultimately embraced the view Lincoln articulated (and documented) so well in his Cooper Union speech—that the Founders disapproved of slavery and hoped it would die a natural death.

Unlike Lincoln, Douglass did not believe in colonization. Oakes notes that despite reference to *your* holiday in his 1852 Fourth of July speech, delivered mainly to an audience of white women, Douglass still insisted that America was *his* country. It was a place where blacks and whites could live together as equals. "Notwithstanding the impositions and deprivations which have fettered us," he wrote, "we declare that we are, and of right we ought to be American citizens." Like Lincoln, he detested the *Dred Scott Decision*, calling it a "brazen misstatement of the facts of history."

Deftly, Oakes moves back and forth between Douglass and Lincoln in relatively short chapters, building up to their first meeting in August 1863. If there might be any criticism of the book, it would be that Oakes covers a lot of familiar ground—the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, *Dred Scott*, Harpers Ferry, Cooper Union, etc.—in summary fashion. Each of these subjects could form the subject of a book by itself—and has. Yet therein also lies the book's appeal: it is bracingly direct and concise. Oakes has digested the available research on each subject, but he chooses not to load the reader down with minutiae or burden his text with lengthy footnotes wherein one scholar says this while another says that. Instead,

he relies on primary sources (mainly the writings of Lincoln and Douglass) and compresses his account into essential facts. Occasionally, he produces vivid, quicksilver portraits.

For example:

> Douglass had the blustery oversize persona of a nineteenth-century Romantic. When he spoke, he roared, his booming baritone complemented by waving arms and devastating mimicry. Abraham Lincoln was the cautious grandchild of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. He stood still when he spoke, hands behind his back, his voice high-pitched but clear enough to be heard over large audiences. Douglass roused his listeners with his passion, shocked them with gruesome details, amazed them with his verbal pyrotechnics, and impressed them with his strong build and good looks. Lincoln disarmed his listeners with his homely appearance, folksy stories, and self-deprecating humor, leaving audiences all the more impressed by his piercing combination of lawyerly precision and simple idealism. Both men were masterful logicians, leveling their opponents' arguments with a withering lucidity. But where Douglass used logic to make people feel—viscerally—the bloody horrors of slavery, Lincoln used his oratorical skills to channel the voters' patriotic ideals into the cause of universal freedom.

Some authors seem to ascribe every action Lincoln took (or did not take) and every belief he held to nothing more than keen political instincts. Did Lincoln deny any interest in bringing about social and political equality between the races in his debates with Stephen Douglas, to the point of saying he was not in favor of "negro citizenship," merely as a tactic to take the wind out of the Little Giant's race-baiting, or was he stating his honest beliefs? Did he raise the prospect of colonization with certain handpicked black leaders at the White House in 1862 knowing full well it would never happen, but also knowing that news of the meeting would "play well" with those who might otherwise be inclined to oppose his Emancipation Proclamation? There is a point, as Oakes demonstrates, where political skill and expediency must give way to bedrock principle, just as there is a point where bedrock principle must accommodate political reality if the bedrock principle is ever to become reality. That was the core conflict between Lincoln and Douglass.

Oakes handles the evidence judiciously. He never tries to force a point merely on grounds that it might be supported by stringing together a few sound-bites. Scrupulously, he assesses Lincoln's and Douglass's actions and words in the context of their different backgrounds and characters and the different roles they played in this unfolding national drama. He never descends into hagiography toward either subject. In so doing, he deepens our understanding of their achievements.

Most scholars agree that once the "war came," once the olive branch held out to his "dissatisfied countrymen" in the First Inaugural was brushed aside, Lincoln became unyielding in his pursuit of victory. He called up a vast army, blockaded southern ports, and suspended the writ of habeas corpus. Through measures such as the Confiscation Act (declaring runaway slaves to be the contraband of war) and aggressive prosecution of Atlantic slave traders, Lincoln believed he and Congress had dealt slavery a "mortal blow."

Douglass didn't see it that way. The Confiscation Act was a "tame and worthless statute," which freed no one. Douglass wanted immediate emancipation of all slaves, and he thought Lincoln spineless for continuing to dither and wait for some future day when public opinion might catch up with what clearly needed to be done now. To Douglass the "hero of the hour" was General John C. Frémont, who had declared martial law in Missouri and proclaimed its slaves free. Believing Frémont had exceeded his authority, Lincoln ordered him to rewrite the proclamation to comply with the Confiscation Act.

In general, Douglass frowned upon Lincoln's efforts to curry favor with the border states, states which Lincoln urged voluntarily to emancipate their slaves in return for just compensation. Oakes agrees that Lincoln was naïve in believing the border states would, "with a little financial nudge," abolish slavery on their own. At the same time, he characterizes Douglass as "myopic" in failing to appreciate the "strategic soundness" of Lincoln's policy toward the border states.

Everything changed in September 1862, when Lincoln issued his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. Like many, Douglass was taken by surprise. He had been pillorying Lincoln for not following up on the enforcement provision of the Second Confiscation Act, passed by Congress on July 17th, and for his letter to *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greely on August 22nd, that declared that his "paramount object" was to save the Union, not free the slaves. When, five days after the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln released the Proclamation, Douglass rejoiced. Lincoln "may be slow," but he had shown he was "not a man to reconsider, retract and contradict words and purposes solemnly proclaimed over his official signature."

Oakes establishes that by this time Lincoln knew the military necessity of the Emancipation Proclamation could not be "severed from the moral conviction of slavery's evil." Despite the "drubbing" Republicans took in the November elections, Lincoln fired General George B. McClellan and instituted a military draft, part of a new strategy of "hard war." He also scaled new rhetorical heights in his Message to Congress in December 1862. "In *giving* freedom to the *slave*, we *assure* freedom to the *free*—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth."

The first meeting between Lincoln and Douglass took place on August 10, 1863. Douglass had been urged by a friend to "lay the complaints of my people" directly before the president. It was significant, Oakes asserts, that Douglass, who usually resorted to speeches and writings, now wanted to meet with Lincoln. Much had happened, of course, including the Union Army's use of black troops as authorized in the final Emancipation Proclamation. At Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend and during the assault on Fort

Wagner, black soldiers had more than proved their mettle. Still, they were not given the same pay as white soldiers. Douglass was also frustrated that Lincoln had not "responded in kind" to the Confederacy's decision to execute or re-enslave black soldiers, instead of treating them as prisoners of war. Reluctantly, Lincoln issued an Order of Retaliation on July 30, 1863, calling for the execution of a rebel soldier for every captured soldier killed by the Confederacy.

A respectful meeting between the two adversaries defused tensions. Expecting a long wait at the White House, Douglass was called in to see the president within a few minutes. He was received "just as you have seen one gentleman receive another." Lincoln's fundamental honesty and unpretentiousness ("I have never seen a more transparent countenance") so impressed Douglass that he had no doubt Lincoln's name would be spoken "side by side" with that of George Washington—in spite of Lincoln's frank expression of distaste for the concept of retaliation, and his unwillingness to order equal pay for black soldiers given the delicate political circumstances. Still, Lincoln reassured Douglass that he would not abandon his anti-slavery policy. In his sensitive description of this first meeting, Oakes conveys how "struck" Douglass was by the president's "sincerity and humaneness," and by the "decency" with which Lincoln treated his "longtime critic."

Yet, as always, Douglass remained volatile. When in late 1863 Lincoln issued a Proclamation of General Amnesty and Reconstruction, which called for only ten percent of the rebels in a state to swear loyalty to the United States and seemed to envision the freed slaves being forced to return to work for their former masters, Douglass was incensed. He demanded "the complete, absolute, unqualified enfranchisement of the colored people of the South," including voting rights. In a private letter to an English friend, he accused Lincoln of turning his back on the very persons he had exhorted to rise up and fight for their freedom. Douglass went so far as to join in an effort to replace Lincoln as the Republican nominee for president in 1864. But when those efforts fell flat, and the Democrats nominated George B. McClellan as their candidate, Douglass threw his support behind Lincoln.

Interestingly, Oakes notes that Douglass himself became a "minor issue" in the campaign when his private letter denouncing Lincoln came to light and when Democrats sought to capitalize on his earlier statement that Lincoln had received him "as one gentleman receives another." Far from "flinching" from such tactics, Lincoln invited Douglass back to the White House for a second meeting.

During this meeting on August 25, 1864, Lincoln expressed concern that Democrats and Republicans were calling for a negotiated settlement of the war. Lincoln had issued a public letter making it clear that he would not accept restoration of the Union without complete emancipation of the slaves, but he was considering another letter stating he would not wage war solely for the purpose of abolishing slavery. He showed a draft to Douglass, who counseled against publishing it. Lincoln never did.

Lincoln asked for Douglass's help in spreading word of the Emancipation Proclamation throughout the South. Although many slaves had escaped to freedom, a majority had not, in part because their masters had kept the Proclamation a secret. Douglass drafted a memo agreeing to Lincoln's plan, but its execution became moot when General William T. Sherman's forces captured Atlanta and Union cavalry swept through the Shenandoah Valley. With more military success in early 1865, Douglass's fears evaporated. Maryland ratified a free constitution, Missouri abolished slavery, and Congress adopted the Thirteenth Amendment.

As in their first meeting, Douglass seemed almost as impressed with Lincoln's character as with his policies. "In his company I was never in any way reminded of my humble origin, or of my unpopular color." Lincoln's honesty and lack of prejudice "stood out in sharp relief" to the attitude of other Republicans. A short time later, Lincoln invited Douglass to join him for tea at the Soldiers' Home. Although Douglass had to decline due to a previous commitment, it was by now clear that the two men had become friends, so much so that Douglass made a "special effort" to attend Lincoln's second inauguration.

Here Oakes describes the religious attitudes and backgrounds of the two men, one tending toward a "vengeful God" who would impose "divine retribution," the other toward an Almighty who "has His own purposes" and whose judgments "are true and righteous altogether." Immediately sensing the "greatness" of Lincoln's address, Douglass "decided to break all precedent" by going to the inaugural reception. No African American, Oakes points out, "had ever dared such a thing."

Oakes wraps up this remarkable story with an account of Douglass's later years—his acrimonious meeting in early 1866 with President Andrew Johnson, who refused to support black suffrage; his support for the Radical Reconstruction imposed on the South by Congress; and his ultimate acknowledgement that by the late 1880s the black man was "worse off, in many respects, than when he was a slave." Oakes focuses on Douglass's evolving re-evaluations of the 16th president. At one point Douglass labeled him "the black man's President;" later he called him "preeminently the white man's President." As usual, Douglass's pronouncements were both brilliantly perceptive and wildly exaggerated. By 1893, he was characterizing Lincoln as "godlike" and "saintly." Oakes maintains there was method in this madness: Douglass was using Lincoln as a weapon "as he charged back into battle against the regrouping forces of injustice and inequality." Alas, the charge was cut short when the "old warrior" dropped dead at his home on February 10, 1895.

The story told in this book is gripping enough, and it is essential to any proper understanding of our nation's history. That it is so well told by Mr. Oakes is a gift which admirers of Lincoln and Douglass will no doubt appreciate.

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Lincolniana 2006-2007

By Frank J. Williams, Chief Justice
Rhode Island Supreme Court

Introduction

As the bicentennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth gets underway with festive and scholarly activities in Kentucky on February 11 and 12, 2008—to culminate at The Lincoln Memorial in Washington on February 12, 2009—it is fitting and proper to reflect on the man, his times, and his legacy.

Lincoln remains the revered subject of Carl Sandburg's biography, the man who spoke enduring words at Gettysburg that high-schoolers once memorized, the man who won the Civil War and was its best known casualty. Lincoln continues to fascinate and intrigue. He lives on in museums and galleries, and among scholars, collectors, political junkies and enthusiasts.

In recent years, Lincoln has been subject to a kind of pseudo-scholarly debunking, in which we have been asked to revise – mostly in the negative – our understanding of his marital relations, his sexual preferences, his political skills, his religious beliefs, and, not least, his racial views. To revisionists, it often doesn't matter whether their case is made on merit. They promote their own agenda.

Lincoln has always provided a lens through which Americans examine themselves, and every generation reinvents Lincoln in its own image, as these revisionists often try too hard to prove.

As we continue to discuss our 16th president, one thing remains consistent: Abraham Lincoln was the original great communicator, unsurpassed then, unsurpassed now.

International Legacy

The International Lincoln Center at Louisiana State University in Shreveport has awarded its **2006 Abraham Lincoln Book Award** to **Roh Moo-Hyun's** *Encounters with Lincoln* (**Hakkojae Publications**). The author is the current President of **South Korea** and his book is the first on America's sixteenth president by an Asian political leader. The preface from the book (translated into English by **Emanuel Yi Pastreich**) may be found at http://www.lsus.edu/lincoln/library.asp.

William Strobridge and **Anita Hibler** have authored *Elephants for Mr. Lincoln: American Civil War-Era Diplomacy in Southeast Asia* (**Scarecrow Press**, 2006).

William D. Pederson and **Frank J. Williams** have edited *The Great Presidential Triumvirate at Home and Abroad: Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln* (**Nova,** 2006).

The International Lincoln Center sponsored a symposium in **Barcelona, Spain** on July 14-16, 2006. Presentations were delivered by **Donna and Ronald Byrd**, "The International Lincoln Brigade;" **Patricia Moral**, "Sarmiento and Lincoln;" **William D. Pederson**, "Lincoln's Legacy in Central America;" and **Norman W. Provizer**, "Tolstoy, Lincoln, and Leadership." Participants toured **Lincoln Street** which was named in 1907, and visited the **Lincoln Bar**. Photos from the trip are on display in the Center's conference room and collection.

Volume 16 of *Abraham Lincoln Abroad*, the newsletter of the **International Lincoln Association**, contained articles by **Norman W. Provizer** (**Metropolitan State College** of Denver) on "Lincoln, Tolstoy and Leadership;" **William D. Pederson**, "Lincoln Street in Barcelona;" and **Robert Cueva del Rio**, "Hands Across the Border."

Dana Foster presented, "The Abraham Lincoln of Mexico: Benito Juarez;" **Shashi Shiva** presented, "Lincoln's Legacy in the Works of Mexican Muralists;" and **William D. Pederson** delivered, "The Great Emancipator in Mexico," at the 24th annual meeting of the **Association of Third World Studies** (ATWS) on November 4-6, 2006 at **Winston-Salem State University**, North Carolina. Pederson was elected the Executive Director of the ATWS, the oldest and largest third world studies organization in the nation. It publishes **The Journal of Third World Studies**.

Hemendria Chandalia, "In Carrying Out Lincoln's Tradition," appeared in the December 20, 2006 *Dainik Bhasker* (Udaipur, India), along with his "Thoughts of Gandhi and Lincoln Are Always Relevant."

Photos of **President Bush** with Iraq Shiite leader **Abdul Aziz al-Hakim**, with a bust and a portrait of Lincoln in the background, appeared in the December 5, 2006 *New York Times*; with Iraqi-Vice President **Tariq al-Hashemi** in the December *Washington Times*; and with German Chancellor **Angela Merkel** in the January 5, *Washington Times*.

The International Lincoln Center co-sponsored a panel on "Lincoln and India: Cross Cultural Affinities," at the **Forum on Contemporary Theory**, held in Udaipur, India December 17-20, 2006. Papers presented included: **William D. Pederson** and **Sara P. Rath**, "Lincoln and Gandhi: Inter-Continental Flow of Forces of Emancipation;" **Rajendra Pandian**, "Lincoln's Legacy in South India;" **Chanchala K. Naik**, "Democracy and Emancipation;" and **Balaj Ranganathan**, "Lincoln's Speeches and Gandhi's *Hind* Swaraj." **William D. Pederson** (**LSU in Shreveport**) also delivered a lecture on Lincoln at **Sardar Patel University** in Gujurat on December 23.

Coy F. Cross, *Lincoln's Men in Liverpool: Consul Dudley and the Legal Battle to Stop Confederate Warships*, has been published by **Northern Illinois University Press**.

Newspapers in **India** carried large ads by **Qatar Airways** showing an image of Lincoln reclining in one of its posh seats. See the June 20 issue of *The Hindu*, and the June 12 issue of *The Times of India*.

Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki of Iraq wrote a column, "Our Common Struggle," for the June 13 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*, which mentions Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

Kumarpol Desai, "Brick and Building," appeared in the June 21 and 24 issues of *Gujarat Samachar*, dealing with Lincoln, Ann Rutledge, and Mary Todd.

William A. Jones' article for the July issue of *Scott Stamp Monthly*, "Indonesia Revolutionary Issues," included a photo of the 1949 Indonesian stamp depicting Abraham Lincoln.

Arts

John McClarey's nine-foot-tall statue of Abraham Lincoln was unveiled on June 29, 2006 in **Union Square Park**, Springfield, IL. It depicts Lincoln facing east toward Washington and, according to the sculptor, attempts to balance Lincoln's tenacity with his compassion.

The Smithsonian American Art Museum and the **National Portrait Gallery** of the **Smithsonian Institution** re-opened on July 1, 2006. As joint tenants of the old **United States Patent Office**, the redesigned museums allow visitors to flow from one collection to the other. The new presidential gallery includes the last known studio photograph of Abraham Lincoln.

Prompted by the rise in cost of manufacturing a penny to 1.4 cents, **Representative Jim Kolbe**, Republican of Arizona, announced legislation on July 18, 2006 to eliminate the penny and round cash transactions to the nearest nickel.

On September 27, 2006, **President George W. Bush** signed legislation to require the **U.S. Treasury** to issue a **commemorative one-dollar coin** in 2009 to mark Abraham Lincoln's 200th birthday.

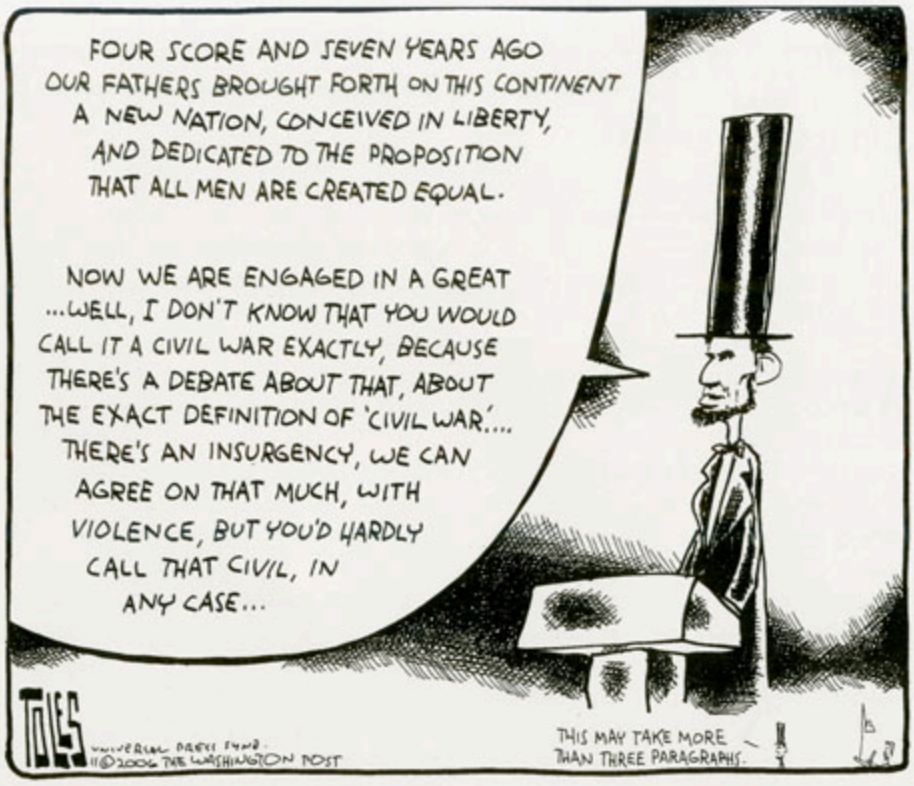
Fritz Klein portrayed Abraham Lincoln in the play, *Farewell to Springfield*, presented at **The Lincoln Museum** on September 29, 2006.

Lincoln Financial Foundation's project for the company's 100th anniversary in 2005 was the creation of the *Lincoln Financial®* Sculpture Walk at Riverfront in Hartford, CT. With a $500,000 grant from the Lincoln Financial Group Foundation, the **Greater Hartford Arts Council** conducted a competition among artists to create works representative of Abraham Lincoln's legacy. The first five installations were unveiled on October 19, 2006. The works included *Lincoln and Stowe*, a bronze by New York sculptor **Bruno Lucchesi** depicting President Lincoln and Hartford's Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Carl Volkmann, former Director of the **Lincoln (public) Library** in Springfield is writing the history of Lincoln-inspired sculpture in the State of Illinois. His article about **John McClarey's** statue, *A Greater Task*, located in **Union Square Park**, Springfield, was in the November/December 2006 *Illinois Heritage*, as was his discussion of **Augustus Saint-Gaudens'** *Standing Lincoln* in Chicago. His discussion of **Jeff Adams's** statue of Black Hawk and Abraham Lincoln, *Paths of Conviction, Footsteps of Fate*, located in Oregon, IL, appeared in the January/February 2007 issue along with his piece on *Lincoln the Lawyer,* **Lorado Taft's** sculpture in Urbana, IL.

Sculpting Lincoln appeared in the July/August *Illinois Heritage*. Part Five featured the description of *Lincoln the Orator* by **Charles J. Mulligan** located in **Rosamond D. Grove Cemetery**, Rosamond, IL. Part Six featured *Lincoln at the Crossroads of Decision* by **Avard Fairbanks** located at **New Salem State Park**, Petersburg.

On January 15, 2007, *Lincoln and God* by Anthony E. Gallo was performed at the **Playwright's Forum of Washington**, directed by **Richard Hendrich**. The two-act drama examined the complex relationship between the sixteenth president and God during the Civil War.



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Frederick Zilian, Jr. performed his one-man play, *Honest Abe*, at the **Redwood Library**, Newport, RI, on February 15.

The February 16 *Wall Street Journal's* "Abe Lincoln's Comeback" discussed the discovery by the **George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film** of a rare photograph plate of Abraham Lincoln that some believe helped win him the presidency. Estimated at a value of $150,000, it may be bound for a museum.

The Norman Rockwell seven-foot-tall-oil painting *Lincoln the Railsplitter* formerly owned by **H. Ross Perot**, was purchased by the **Butler Institute of American Art**, Youngstown, OH, for $1.6 million at **Christie's** in November 2006, and was unveiled at the Institute on February 16.

The Premiere Concert Performance of *Our American Cousin*, an Opera by **Eric Sawyer** and **John Shoptaw**, was held on March 31 at **Amherst College**.

Save Outdoor Sculpture has established *Lincoln SOS—Saving Abraham Lincoln's Monumental Legacy*, whose goal is to restore all of the outdoor Lincoln sculpture in America.

Illinois Circuit Judge Ronald Spears of Taylorville, IL, conceived the idea for the DVD that explores Lincoln's twenty-five year career as a lawyer traveling the Eighth Judicial Circuit. *A. Lincoln, Attorney-At-Law* was underwritten by the **Christian County Courthouse Preservation Fund** with 5,000 DVDs produced for distribution to Illinois elementary and secondary school libraries, public libraries and college and university libraries. Contact the **Illinois Judges Association** at (312) 431-1283 or the **Illinois State Bar Association** at (800) 252-8908.

Kellie Bramlet wrote "Abe on Film" for the August 2 *State-Journal Register*, describing the new video set to replace the old one at the **Lincoln Home National Historic Site**. **Fritz Klein** portrays Lincoln.

Sculptor John McClarey designed a new Lincoln sculpture to be given to recipients of the **Abraham Lincoln National Agricultural Award**. The approximately 20-inch tall *Field of Dreams* was presented on August 28, the first day of the Farm Progress Show in Decatur, IL.

A 20th-century portrait of Abraham Lincoln painted by former Illinoisan **Leroy Neiman** was purchased for $100,000 for **The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library & Museum**.

Diane Heilenman reported in the Louisville *Courier-Journal* on the $2 million memorial to Abraham Lincoln at **Louisville's Waterfront Park**. Louisville sculptor **Ed Hamilton** will provide the monumental bronze of an "approachable" Lincoln—hatless and casually seated on a rock with an open book and an outstretched hand.

Exhibits

The **Indiana State Library** opened an exhibit, *Abraham Lincoln Was a Hoosier*, at the library on July 29, 2006, and **The Indiana Historical Society** opened *The Faces of Lincoln* at the **Indiana History Center**, Indianapolis.

New Salem, IL, welcomed a replica of the flatboat used by Abraham Lincoln when he arrived there 175 years ago. **Ann Gorman** discussed this in "Rollin' on a River" in the September 5, 2006 *State Journal-Register* (IL).

The Lincoln Family Album, an exhibit of personal photographs once owned by the President and First Lady, opened at **The Lincoln Museum**, Fort Wayne, IN, on September 29, 2006.

Over 1,000 visitors came to view the new exhibit, *We Cannot Escape History* at the **Lincoln Memorial Shrine**, Redlands, California.

A comprehensive new exhibit, *Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America* opened in the new state-of-the-art 30,000-square-foot **Lehigh Valley Heritage Museum**, Allentown, PA, on February 19, 2007.

The exhibit, *Mary Todd Lincoln: First Lady of Controversy*, opened on April 28 at the **Abraham Lincoln Presidential Museum**.

The Grolier Club of New York held an exhibition from May 16-July 28, 2007, *Miniature Books: 4000 Years of Tiny Treasures*. Notable selections included the preliminary *Emancipation Proclamation* of Abraham Lincoln, first printed in book form as a miniature, and several miniatures produced by the late **Achille St. Onge**, a member of the **Lincoln Group of Boston**. **William Grimes** wrote about the exhibition in "Catching Up on a Little Light Reading" for the May 20, 2007 *New York Times*, and **Harold Holzer** discussed it on NPR.

Noting that Abraham Lincoln worked as a surveyor between 1833 and 1837, the **National Museum of Surveying** is being established in Springfield, IL.

Collections

James Washburn reported in the June 12, 2006 *State Journal-Register* (Springfield, IL) that an electrical fire damaged the 140-year-old **University Hall** on the campus of **Lincoln College**, Lincoln, IL on June 11. The ground was broken for the building on Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1865. Abraham Lincoln was the surveyor who originally laid out the town that bears his name.

Natalie Sweet, a student at **Lincoln Memorial University** and the Work Study Program at the **Abraham Lincoln Library and Museum**, has developed "Lincoln Letters for Kids," a quarterly newsletter for young people examining the Civil War and the 16th President. Students and teachers in 13 states receive this publication on a regular basis.

The **Lincoln Home National Historic Site**, Springfield, IL, has developed a **General Management Plan** for the **Lincoln Home** to help guide decision-making for the next twenty years, as the home is still operating under a 1969 Master Plan many of whose goals, such as acquisition of property and restoration of the neighborhood, have been accomplished.

The October-December 2006 *Lincoln Legal Briefs* of **The Lincoln Legal Papers** reported that the sale of the **Henry E. Luhrs Collection** by Heritage Auction Galleries included 98 new legal documents representing 17 new cases in which Abraham Lincoln was involved as counsel. The October-December issue of *Lincoln Editor* profiled the **Captain Forbes House Museum** in Milton, MA where **Mary Bowditch Forbes** assembled a collection of Lincoln artifacts and documents.

Michael Beschloss wrote about the restoration of the Lincoln bedroom at the **White House** in the February 12 *Newsweek*.

Jura Koncius in "Lincoln Never Slept Here: A Rare Peek at the Bushs' White House Style" (*The Washington Post*, February 15) described how **Laura Bush** refurbished the Lincoln bedroom in the space that originally served as Lincoln's office and cabinet meeting room.

Peter J. Klarnet discussed the papers of **Frederick N. Towers**, attorney to Robert Todd Lincoln, now in the possession of **The Library of Congress** in "A Trunk Full of Treasures: The Discovery of Lincoln Family Secrets and Gossips" for the Spring *RailSplitter*. In the same issue, **Lonnie W. Neubauer** discussed John Rogers's sculpture, *The Council of War*.

The *State Journal-Register* reported on May 9 that **Ron Elliot** found a long-lost letter by Abraham Lincoln written in

1853 to his father-in-law's Lexington law firm concerning a disputed $472.54 debt. The three-page letter was in a vault at the **Kentucky Department of Library and Archives**, Frankfort, for almost two decades.

Christie's held the sixth auction of the **Forbes Collection of American Historical Documents** on May 22, 2007. This completed the series of sales of the collection of the late **Malcolm Forbes** that started in 2002. The sales realized $41 million, a record total for any collection of books and manuscripts sold at auction.

On June 7, the **National Archives** announced the discovery of a message written in President Lincoln's own hand to Major General Henry Halleck. After General Halleck received the note from the President, he quoted the information verbatim in a telegram to General George G. Meade on the same day. The telegram was first published in 1889 as part of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*.

Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich's 2008 budget includes a $1 million dollar grant to the **Illinois Historic Preservation Agency** to renovate the **Lincoln-Herndon Law Offices State Historic Site** at Sixth and Adams Streets.

Lincoln Bicentennial

"Welcome to Kentucky the Birthplace of Abraham Lincoln" has been installed as new entrance signs on all highways coming into Kentucky.

Kay Smith of Springfield, IL, has been named coordinator of the **Illinois Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission**.

The Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, on April 15, hosted a second in a series of discussions on Lincoln and African-American history at the **New York Avenue Presbyterian Church**, Washington, DC, with a discussion between **Kurt L. Schmoke**, Dean of Howard University Law School, and "historian of the century" **John Hope Franklin**.

The Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission will kick off the bicentennial year on February 12, 2008 with a Presidential Address at the **Lincoln Birthplace**, Hodgenville, KY. To cap the year-long celebration, a Lincoln birthday gala will be held on February 12, 2009 in Washington where, it is expected, there will be a world premiere of the **Kunhardt** documentary, *Through Lincoln's Eyes*. On May 25, 2009, pursuant to the legislation creating the Commission, the Commission will host a rededication of **The Lincoln Memorial**.

Awards and Prizes

James L. Swanson received the **Edgar Allen Poe Award** for the best true crime book of 2006, *Manhunt: The 12-Day Chase for Lincoln's Killer*.

Sam Waterston was honored on September 20, 2006 by the **New York State Archives Partnership Trust** for his many performances as Abraham Lincoln. The actor received the **2006 Empire State Archives and History Award**.

John Hope Franklin shared this year's $1 million **John W. Kluge Prize** for the study of humanity with **Yu Ying-shih**. Professor Franklin, 91, is widely regarded as the first scholar to fully explore the role of African Americans in the nation's history.

Douglas L. Wilson became a two-time winner of **The Lincoln Prize** for his *Lincoln's Sword: The Presidency and the Power of Words* (Knopf). He received $50,000 and a bronze cast of an **Augustus Saint-Gaudens'** sculpture of Abraham Lincoln on April 2 at **The Yale Club** in New York. **Richard Gilder** and **Lewis E. Lehrman** established the annual award, which is administered by the **Lincoln & Soldiers Institute at Gettysburg College**.

The Civil War Round Table of Chicago presented **Edwin C. Bearss** with the **Sixth Annual Preservation Award** named for him.

For the third consecutive year, *Lincoln Lore* of **The Lincoln Museum**, Fort Wayne, IN, has been named by the *Chicago Tribune* as one of the top 50 magazines in the United States.

Civil War historian **James M. McPherson** was named the first recipient of the **Pritzker Military Library Literature Award** for lifetime achievement in military writing. The award of $100,000 "acknowledges the highest levels of scholarship and writing in a field that often does not gain appropriate recognition," according to the founder and chief executive of the library, **James N. Pritzker**. The award was presented on October 6 at a dinner in Chicago.

Books and Pamphlets

Indiana University Press has published **Thomas Goodrich's** *The Darkest Dawn: Lincoln, Booth, and the Great American Tragedy* in paperback.

John Chandler Griffin wrote *Abraham Lincoln's Execution* for **Pelican Publishing Company.**

To celebrate the re-opening of the **National Portrait Gallery**, **Smithsonian Books** with **HarperCollins** produced *Faces of Discord: The Civil War Era at the National Portrait Gallery*.

Simon & Schuster has published *Lincoln and Chief Justice Taney* by **James F. Simon**.

Mark E. Steiner has authored *An Honest Calling: The Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln* (**Northern Illinois University Press**).

Brian Thornton has written *101 Things You Didn't Know About Lincoln* (**Adams Media**, 57 Littlefield St., Avon, MA 02322).

A new edition of *Herndon's Lincoln*, by **William H. Herndon** and **Jesse W. Weik** freshly edited and annotated by **Douglas L. Wilson** and **Rodney O. Davis**, has been published by the **University of Illinois Press** in cooperation with the **U.S. Lincoln Bicentennial Commission**.

The Indiana Historical Society Press has published *Abraham Lincoln Portrayed in the Collections of the Indiana Historical Society*.

A new edition of *The Lincoln Family Album* by **Mark E. Neely, Jr.** and **Harold Holzer** has been published in paperback by **Southern Illinois University Press**.

Mayhaven has published the second revised edition of *Abraham Lincoln and*

Mike Lane. Reprinted with permission.

Illinois' Fifth Capitol by **Sunderine** and **Wayne C. Temple**.

Richard Lawrence Miller is the author of *Lincoln and His World: The Early Years* (**Stackpole**).

Helene Henderson is the editor of *The Abraham Lincoln Companion* (**Omnigraphics**).

Judging Lincoln by **Frank J. Williams** has been published in paperback by **Southern Illinois University Press**.

Hank H. Cox is the author of *Lincoln and Sioux Uprising of 1862* (**Cumberland House**).

Mr. Lincoln's T-Mails: The Untold Story of How Abraham Lincoln Used the Telegraph to Win the Civil War by **Tom Wheeler** has been published by **HarperCollins**.

W. W. Norton has published *The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery* by **James Oakes**.

Thomas E. Schneider has written *Lincoln's Defense of Politics: The Public Man and His Opponents in the Crisis Over Slavery* (**University of Missouri Press**).

Jennifer L. Webber is the author of *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North* (**Oxford**).

The Gettysburg Gospel: The Lincoln Speech That Nobody Knows by **Gabor Boritt** has been published by **Simon & Schuster**.

Simon & Schuster has published **Allen C. Guelzo's** *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* in paperback as part of its **Lincoln Library**.

Thomas J. DiLorenzo has written another anti-Lincoln book, *Lincoln Unmasked: What You're Not Supposed to Know About Dishonest Abe* (**Crown**).

Lincoln Revisited edited by **John Y. Simon**, **Harold Holzer**, and **Dawn Vogel**, containing essays of presentations at **The Lincoln Forum**, has been published by **Fordham University Press**.

Thomas J. Craughwell is the author of *Stealing Lincoln's Body* (**Harvard University Press**).

Lincoln the Lawyer by **Brian Dirck** has been published by the **University of Illinois Press**.

Manhunt: The 12-Day Chase for Lincoln's Killer by **James L. Swanson** has been published in paperback by **HarperPerennial**.

University of Illinois Press has republished **William E. Barton's** *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*.

Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural are included in **Wynton C. Hall's** *The Right Words*, which con-

tains, in its author's view, "The greatest Republican speeches to shape history."

Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency by **William C. Harris** has been published by the **University Press of Kansas**.

The 45th annual Fortenbaugh Lecture, "The Man and the Martyr: Abraham Lincoln in African-American History and Memory" by **James Oliver Horton** and **Lois E. Horton**, has been published by **Gettysburg College**.

Allen Jayne has authored *Lincoln and the American Manifesto* (**Prometheus Books**).

Jason Emerson's *The Madness of Mary Lincoln* has been published by **Southern Illinois University Press**.

Lincoln Legends: Myths, Hoaxes, and Confabulations Associated with Our Greatest President by **Edward Steers, Jr.** has been published by **The University Press of Kentucky**.

Burrus M. Carnahan's *Act of Justice: Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and the Law of War* has been published by **The University Press of Kentucky**.

Michael Beschloss has written *Presidential Courage: Brave Leaders and How They Changed America, 1789-1989* (**Simon & Schuster**). One section deals with Lincoln.

The bulletin of the 59th annual meeting of **The Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin**, *The Literary Lincoln—A Talk* by **Douglas L. Wilson**, has been published.

Janis Herbert has written *Abraham Lincoln for Kids* (**Chicago Review Press**).

Harold Holzer prepared an edited version of William O. Stoddard's autobiography, *Lincoln's White House Secretary: The Adventurous Life of William O. Stoddard* (**Southern Illinois University Press**).

Lincoln's Legacy: Ethics and Politics has been edited by the late **Phillip Paludan** for the **University of Illinois Press**. Contributors include **William Miller**, **Mark E. Neely, Jr.**, **Phillip Paludan** and **Mark Summers**.

Gabor Boritt and **Scott Hancock** have edited *Slavery, Resistance, Freedom* for **Oxford University Press**.

H. L. Pohlman's *Editorial Cartoons of the Supreme Court and Constitution* published by **Hill Street Press** contains many cartoons relating to Abraham Lincoln, the Civil War and the Constitution.

Frank van der Linden is the author of *The Dark Intrigue* (**Fulcrum Publishing**). The author tells the story about several political leaders conspiring with enemy agents during the Civil War to oust President Lincoln.

Orville Vernon Burton is the author of *The Age of Lincoln* (**Hill and Wang**).

Brian R. Dirck has edited *Lincoln Emancipated: The President and the Politics of Race* (**Northern Illinois University Press**).

Lincoln and Freedom: Slavery, Emancipation, and the Thirteenth Amendment, co-edited by **Harold Holzer** and **Sara Gabbard**, was published by **Southern Illinois University Press**.

Periodicals

William Lee Miller's "The Man With the Blue Umbrella: Abraham Lincoln and Edwin M. Stanton," an excerpt from his *Lincoln's Virtues: An Ethical Biography*, appeared in the Winter *Miller Center Report*, a publication of the **Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia**.

Joan L. Flinspach and **Gerald J. Prokopowicz** each reviewed the **Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum's** permanent exhibit for the Summer 2006 *Ohio Valley History*.

Joseph R. Fornieri wrote "Lincoln on Negro Citizenship" for the Summer 2006 *Lincoln Lore*. **William D. Pederson's 26th Annual R. Gerald McMurtry Lecture**, "The Impact of Abraham Lincoln's Constitutional Legacy: A Global Outlook" also appeared in this issue. The Fall issue included **Herman Belz's**, "Lincoln and the Right of Revolution in the Secession Crisis" and **Burrus M. Carnahan's** "Did President Lincoln Order the Assassination of Jefferson Davis and the Burning of Richmond?" The Winter 2007 *Lincoln Lore* contained **Myron A. Marty's** "Four Perspectives on Abolishing Slavery" and "Lincolniana 2005-2006" by **FJW**. **John D. Beatty** wrote "The Disputed Parentage of Nancy Hanks Lincoln" for the Spring *Lincoln Lore*. Also in this issue was "Abraham Lincoln and the Conservative Tradition in American Politics" by **Herman Belz**. **Harold Holzer's** "The Lincoln Family Album: New Insights, New Surprises From the New Edition" appeared in the Summer *Lore*. **E. Phelps Gay's** "Lincoln's Letter to Colonel Elmer Ellsworth's Parents: A Study in Literary Excellence" was also in this issue.

Gabor Boritt listed and described his choices of the five best books on the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863) in the July 1-2, 2006 *Wall Street Journal*. Included was *Lincoln at Gettysburg*, by **Garry Wills**, despite Boritt's disagreement with the book's thesis, as Boritt believes the speech did not "remake America, much less the world."

Wayne C. Temple wrote about "C.S. German: Photographer to President-Elect Lincoln" for the July-August 2006 *Illinois Heritage*.

"Lincoln, Davis, and the Dahlgren Raid," by **David Long**, appeared in the October 2006 *North & South*.

Douglas L. Wilson wrote "Lincoln the Persuader" for the Autumn 2006 *American Scholar*.

Dan Bannister's "Were Lincoln's Aspirations for the Highest Court Thwarted by Politics?" appeared in the Autumn 2006 *For the People: A Newsletter of the Abraham Lincoln Association*.

Jason Emerson's "Abraham Lincoln's Mechanical Mind, and the Complete Story of his Invention and Patent" was published in the Fall 2006 issue of *The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*.

John W. Koster discussed "Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler: Lincoln's Original Choice for Running Mate, 1864" in the Fall/Winter 2006 *RailSplitter*.

Wayne C. Temple wrote about "Abraham Lincoln and Thanksgiving" for the November

20, 2006 *Cook-Witter Report*. **John A. Lupton** wrote "Abraham Lincoln and the Corwin Amendment" for the September-October 2006 *Illinois Heritage*. **Guy Fraker's** "Lincoln's Bloomington" appeared in the January-February *Illinois Heritage*.

The November/December 2006 *Civil War Times* included "The Photograph That Made Lincoln President" by **Harold Holzer** and "Voting for Uncle Abe" by **Frank J. Williams**. **Tom Wheeler's** "Commanding by T-Mail," describing how Abraham Lincoln used telegraphy to win the war and transform national leadership, appeared in the March/April issue. **John Lockwood** described how Army Sergeant George Foster Robinson helped defend Secretary of State William H. Seward from assassination in "The Man Who Foiled The Other Assassin" in the May *Civil War Times*. The June issue included "Civil Liberties v. National Security: The Long Shadow of the Civil War" by **Frank J. Williams** and an interview with **James M. McPherson** and **Peter S. Carmichael** on Lincoln's legacy.

The remarks of **Congressman Jesse L. Jackson, Jr.** and **Harold Holzer**, delivered at the **Soldiers' National Cemetery**, Gettysburg, were published in the 2006 newsletter of the *Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania* (P.O. Box 332, Gettysburg, PA 17325).

Mark Fields, President of The Abraham Lincoln Association of Indiana (maf71459@yahoo.com) reports that he has published the first issue of *The Lincoln Times*.

Gabor Boritt discussed how the establishment of the **Soldiers' National Cemetery** in Gettysburg fused a new spirit in the town in the December 2006 *North & South*. An excerpt from **Boritt's** *Gettysburg Gospel* appeared as the cover story for the December 4, 2006, *U.S. & News & World Report*.

The inaugural **Richard F. Sokup Lecture**, *Lincoln and Civil Liberties: Then and Now*, presented by **Frank J. Williams** at the **Lincoln-Douglas Society** in Freeport, IL has been published (2236 Chelsea Avenue, Freeport 61032).

The Organization of American Historians devoted its entire January 2007 *Magazine of History* to "Lincoln and the Constitution," edited by **Frank J. Williams**. The issue, the first of three planned Winter editions focusing on Lincoln, included: "Dictator Lincoln: Surveying Lincoln and the Constitution" by **Phillip Shaw Paludan**; "Much Older Than The Constitution: Lincoln's Theory of Nationhood" by **Daniel A. Farber**; "Lincoln and the Constitutional Dilemma of Emancipation" by **Edna Greene Medford**; and "A Popular Demand and a Public Necessity: Lincoln and Civil Liberties" by **Frank J. Williams**. Teaching materials were prepared by **Veronica Burchard**, "Lincoln's Refutation of Secession," and **Jennifer L. Rosenfeld**, "Lincoln, Emancipation, and the Constitution." **Erin I. Bishop** wrote, "Teaching Lincoln at The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum" and **Sara Gabbard** wrote, "Teaching Lincoln at The Lincoln Museum in Fort Wayne, Indiana." **Richard Carwardine** and **George P. Fletcher** discussed, "Teaching American History through the Documents" in the **Gilder Lehrman Collection**.

"Wife versus Widow: Clashing Perspectives on Mary Lincoln's Legacy," by **Catherine Clinton** was in the Winter issue of the *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*.

Ronald D. Rietveld's "Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation" appeared in the January/February *Sacred History*.

Frederic D. Schwarz wrote about Abraham Lincoln's service in the **Black Hawk War** for the May *American Heritage*.

Adam Gopnik wrote *Angels and Ages —Lincoln's Language and its Legacy* for the May 28 *New Yorker Magazine*.

Jeanie Lowe wrote "Where is Abraham Lincoln's First Client?" for the *Summer Quarterly* of the **Illinois State Genealogical Society.**

People

Charles Doty is now the President of the **Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia**.

Ron J. Keller, Assistant Professor and Museum Curator at **Lincoln College**, Lincoln, IL has developed a baccalaureate level course on Lincoln and leadership.

Thomas D. Mackie has been named Director of the **Abraham Lincoln Library and Museum** of **Lincoln Memorial University**, Harrogate, TN.

West Virginia Governor Joe Manchin has appointed **Edward Steers, Jr.** to the newly created **West Virginia Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission**.

Lincoln Group of New York President Joseph Garrera has accepted the position of **Executive Director** of the **Lehigh County Historical Society** in Allentown, PA.

Eileen Mackevich has been appointed **Executive Director** of the **Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission**. Mackevich was the co-founder and immediate past President of the **Chicago Humanities Festival**.

Rick Beard, former Chief Operating Officer of the **New-York Historical Society**, has been named the new **Executive Director** of the **Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum** in Springfield, IL.

Professor **James Tackach** of **Roger Williams University** has succeeded **William Hanna** as President of **The Lincoln Group** of Boston.

Christian Kersten of Hillsdale, NY, was named to lead the fundraising efforts for the **Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library Foundation**.

Susan Krause, who for seventeen years served **The Lincoln Legal Papers** and **The Papers of Abraham Lincoln**, has retired.

Dan Weinberg has joined the **Lincoln College** Board of Trustees.

Lincoln in Popular Culture

Benedict Carey's "West Wing Blues: It's Lonely at the Top" appeared in the February 14, 2006 *New York Times* and addresses the alleged mental illness among many of our presidents including Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. "All told, almost half of American presidents from 1789 to 1974, had suffered from a mental illness at some point in life, according to a recent analysis of biographical informa-

Glenn and Gary McCoy/Universal Press Syndicate. Reprinted with permission.

tion by psychiatrists at **Duke University Medical Center**."

Adam Goodheart wrote "10 Days That Changed History" for the July 2, 2006 *New York Times*. One of those days was Abraham Lincoln's anti-Mexican War speech to the Congress on January 12, 1848. Lincoln attacked President James Polk and his "half-insane" militarism. According to the author, Lincoln's political career seemed doomed. But according to **Joshua Wolf Shenk**, quoted in the article, the speech saved Lincoln's political career as it insulated him from the politically treacherous years of the 1850s. Some may quibble over this, as Lincoln came out of political retirement in 1854 after passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Dr. Stanley M. Aronson wrote about "The weed that killed a president's mother" for the July 3, 2006 *Providence Journal*.

Fred L. Ray discussed the attack on Washington, DC, by the troops of Lt. Gen. Jubal Early on July 11, 1864, while President Lincoln observed from Fort Stevens in "Rebel siege on Washington fort fails" for the July 8, 2006 *Washington Times*.

Jonathan Zimmerman wrote "What Would Lincoln Do?—Trading our Liberties for Security" in *The Providence Journal* on July 29, 2006. Zimmerman recognizes the tension between preserving civil liberties and protecting America. While he does not think the "war on terror" rises to the risks in the Civil War faced by Lincoln and justifying President Lincoln's extra constitutional measures, Zimmerman, speaking for liberals, concedes: "Until we Democrats can specify when and how we'd take the same harsh measures that Lincoln did, we don't deserve to sit under his mantel. Or, to run the country."

Judge Richard A. Posner of the **Seventh U.S. Circuit Court** discusses Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties in his *Not a Suicide Pact* (Oxford University Press) as the historic example in which political leaders sometimes have a "moral duty to disobey positive law," when Lincoln suspended the right of habeas corpus during the Civil War, even though the Constitution reserves that power for Congress.

The October 26, 2006 *Washington Post* reprinted a column from the *Charlotte (NC) Observer* discussing the "Ghost Amendment" signed by President James Buchanan in March 1861 and left for the new President, Abraham Lincoln to send to governors for their legislators to ratify. Lincoln dutifully did so without a recommendation, as this proposed 13th Amendment to the Constitution would have prohibited Washington from interfering with slavery in states where it existed.

Gabor Boritt discussed the five drafts of the Gettysburg Address in "Change of Address: The Gettysburg Drafts" in the November 16, 2006 *Wall Street Journal*.

Allen Guelzo discussed the meaning of the Gettysburg Address in "The Stuff of Democratic Life," in the November 19, 2006 *Wall Street Journal*. He believes that emphasizing the Gettysburg Address at the 9/11 ceremonies was the right thing to do because Abraham Lincoln's words "are more than just a tonic for crisis. Self-restraint, self-enforcement, and the recollection that democracy has a transcended core arching far above *our poor power to add or detract*—these are the stuff of democratic life."

The December 2006 *Atlantic Monthly* released a list of the 100 most influential American figures in shaping U.S. History. Abraham Lincoln topped the list. Those who compiled the list included Pulitzer Prize-winning author and presidential

historian **Doris Kearns Goodwin**, who said she looked for those "who made it possible for people to lead expanded lives —materially, psychologically, culturally, and spiritually."

Garry Wills, author of *Lincoln at Gettysburg*, points out in "At Ease, Mr. President" in the January 27 *New York Times*, that the term "Commander-In-Chief" has been misused. Unless we are in the Army and Navy, the President is "not our "Commander-In-Chief." "When Abraham Lincoln took actions based on military considerations, he gave himself the proper title, 'Commander-In-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.'" To Wills, the full title is rarely heard today. And to Wills, "this reflects the increasing militarization of our politics."

Noah Feldman in "Whose War Powers?" (*New York Times Magazine*, February 4) discussed how, during the Civil War, Congress created the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War which exercised oversight of the President, "with a vengeance," debriefing generals after battles and questioning specific tactical choices. "But Lincoln struggled fiercely to preserve his decision—and since then, Congress has mostly avoided this sort of thing in wartime."

David Margolick gave the history of the Lincoln penny in "Penny Foolish" for the op-ed page of the Sunday, *New York Times* on February 11. While there are periodic attempts to eliminate the Lincoln cent, which now costs more to make than it is worth, such efforts are always beaten back by a coalition of zinc manufacturers, Illinois politicians, and Lincoln students. For the Abraham Lincoln bicentennial, the reverse side of the coin will feature four new designs. Margolick believes that Lincoln should be "emancipated" from the penny and moved to a new $2 or $5 piece, "so that our greatest president can be on the country's most valuable coin instead of its most reviled one as the penny is something to step on, toss out, and pave over."

"Lincoln's Leadership Strategies Ring as True Today as Ever" by **Frank J. Williams** appeared in *The Westerly (RI) Sun* on February 12. In an effort to explain Lincoln's greatness, Williams points out leadership strategies including Lincoln's ability to reach a consensus with a divisive cabinet, as well as his ability to communicate via the written word.

On February 16, MSNBC's **Keith Olbermann** condemned the Virginia legislature's House Rules Committee for celebrating Jefferson Davis instead of Abraham Lincoln. His winner in Olbermann's "Worst Person in the World" awards went to the Rules Committee of the **Virginia State House** for rejecting legislation that would have created a commission to oversee the state's participation in the bicentennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth in 2009.

The February 20 *Daily News* reported that Abraham Lincoln remains the nation's greatest president according to a **2007 Presidents' Day** poll conducted by the **Gallup Organization**. Lincoln was followed by Ronald Reagan, John F. Kennedy, and Bill Clinton. FDR was in fifth place, followed by George Washington and Harry Truman. With support of 18 % of the poll's respondents, Lincoln reclaimed the number-one spot from Reagan, who topped the field in June 2004.

Dr. Thomas Scalea, physician-in-chief at the **University of Maryland Shock Trauma Center**, believes Lincoln could have survived his fatal head injury had he been treated by modern medicine. **Alex Dominguez** discussed the theory in "Could Modern Medicine Save Abe?" for the May 18 *Washington Times*. **David Brown** also discussed this in an article for the *Washington Post* on May 21.

Two researchers performed a three-dimensional laser surface scan of the two life masks of Abraham Lincoln, one made in 1860 and the other in 1865. The study confirmed what many have already noticed: there was a difference between the right side of his face and his left. As a *New York Times* editorial said on August 15, 2007, "Every face is asymmetrical to a certain degree, and humans—all primates —are extremely good at recognizing faces." The more profound comment comes at the end of the editorial: "Perhaps the asymmetry would have been all the more visible as Lincoln looked from one person to another in the course of conversation and began to speak. But even the…face…carries the intensity of its own history, the burden of that war and that time." **Carla K. Johnson**, for the **Associated Press**, reported on the laser scans, printed in the August 14, 2007 *Providence Journal*.

Passings

Charles D. Platt, co-founder and Treasurer of **The Lincoln Forum**, died on August 5, 2006.

Dan Bannister, Esq., a past president of the **Abraham Lincoln Association** and author of both *Lincoln and the Common Law* and *Lincoln and the Illinois Supreme Court* died on March 27, 2006.

Bob Thaves, whose syndicated comic strip, *Frank & Ernest*, amused newspaper readers for decades, died on August 8, 2006, at the age of 81. Many of his cartoons featured Abraham Lincoln as a point/counter-point. Mr. Thaves's son, Tom, who has collaborated with his father since 1997, will continue to produce it.

David M. Rich, bibliophile and rare book cataloger for **Brown University Special Collections** and **The Frank & Virginia Williams Collection of Lincolniana**, died on February 13, 2007. He was 72.

James O. Hall died of pneumonia on February 26, 2007, at his home in McLean, VA. He was 94. He was one of the most authoritative scholars on the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. With **William A. Tidwell** and **David Winfred Gaddy**, he wrote *Come Retribution: The Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln*. Hall was the recipient of the **First Annual Lincoln Award** from **The Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia**.

Presidential Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. died of a heart attack in New York City on February 27, 2007, at the age of 89. Among countless other achievements, he delivered the **27th Annual Fortenbaugh Memorial Lecture** at Gettysburg College on November 19, 1988. His *War and the Constitution: Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt* was published by the college.

Cartoonist **Johnny Hart**, the creator of *B.C.* and who sometimes featured Abraham

President Lincoln on his way from New York to Washington for the opening of Madame Tussauds Wax Museum. Stan Honda/AFP/Getty Images.

Lincoln with his caveman characters, died on April 7, 2007.

Assassination scholar **Dr. John K. Lattimer**, who was also a distinguished and highly-decorated World War II veteran and prominent urologist, died on May 10, 2007, at the age of 92. Dr. Lattimer was a leading member of **The Lincoln Group of New York** and author of the 1980 study, *Kennedy and Lincoln: Medical and Ballistic Comparisons of Their Assassinations*.

New Yorker cartoonist **J. B. Handelsman**, who often depicted Abraham Lincoln as a foil for his biting commentaries, died at 85.

Civil War historian, **Phillip Shaw Paludan** died on August 1. Professor Paludan held the first distinguished professorship—the **Naomi B. Lynn Distinguished Chair in Lincoln Studies** at **The University of Illinois—Springfield**. His *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln* won The Lincoln Prize in 1994. Paludan was 69.

Works in Progress

Wayne Soini is working on a historical novel that features some of Lincoln's friends and acquaintances—Joshua Speed, Anson Henry, Edward Baker, Stephen Logan and several other Springfield men and women.

Kent Masterson Brown is at work on *The Lincolns of Kentucky* for the **University Press of Kentucky**.

The University of Virginia Press has completed copy editing of the first two volumes with the editing to be complete on the third and fourth volumes of *The Papers of Abraham Lincoln: Legal Documents and Cases*.

A critical comparative edition of the Abraham Lincoln-Stephen A. Douglas debates is being edited by **Douglas L. Wilson** and **Rodney O. Davis**.

Paul Finkleman is preparing a new Abraham Lincoln encyclopedia.

Barry Schwartz's *Abraham Lincoln at the Millennium*, which is nearing completion, traces Lincoln's images from the Depression decade through the turn of the twenty-first century.

David Keehn is at work on *Abraham Lincoln and Joshua Speed: The Civil War Friendship that Saved Kentucky for the Union*.

Gabor Boritt is completing the late **Don Fehrenbacher's** work, *Lincoln Delineated*.

George M. Fredrickson is at work on a book about Abraham Lincoln and race for **Harvard University Press**.

Ferenc Szasz has written *Robert Burns and Abraham Lincoln: How Burns and Scotland Shaped the Life and Legend of America's Sixteenth President*.

Former Senator and presidential candidate, **George McGovern**, will write a biography of Abraham Lincoln for the *Times Books Presidential Series of Short Biographies*.

David Gerleman is at work on *Riding Out with the President: Lincoln on Horseback and the White House Stables*.

David H. Leroy tells a story of the efforts of Abraham Lincoln to publish the Lincoln-Douglas debates in *Mr. Lincoln's Book*.

Attorney **Kirk C. Jenkins** is at work on Abraham Lincoln's appellate practice before the Illinois and United States Supreme Courts.

Brian McGinty's *Lincoln and the Court* will be published by **Harvard University Press** in February 2008.

Glenn LaFantasie's *Lincoln and Grant* is forthcoming from **Oxford University Press**.

Dick Etulain is organizing a book on *Lincoln and the West* which **Southern Illinois University Press** will publish.

Mark E. Neely, Jr.'s, *Abraham Lincoln and the American Nation* will be published in February 2008.

Adam Braver is at work about the relationship between the JFK funeral and the Lincoln funeral—especially the challenge of planning the funeral so quickly.

Author's Note

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